

Memoir

OF

HIS OWN LIFE,

BY

R. LAMB;

FORMERLY A SERJEANT IN THE ROYAL WELGH FUZILEERS,

And Author of

“A Journal of Occurrences during the late American War.”



“ Most men sink outright.

“ O'er them, and o'er their names, Time's billows close ;

“ To-morrow knows not they were ever born !

“ Others a *short memorial* leave behind :

“ Like a flag floating, when the bark's ingulph'd !”

YOUNG.



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ADVERTISEMENT.



THE writer of this *Memoir* takes leave to offer himself once more to public notice, relying on the kind reception he already experienced from a long list of generous and respectable Subscribers, by whose encouragement he was enabled to publish his “*Journal of Occurrences during the late American War.*” His present Publication is intended as an accompanying volume to that work, for the rapid sale of which, he has to thank the enlightened and learned among his Countrymen, viz. several Noblemen and dignified Personages, many General and Field Officers, a number of Gentlemen belonging to the Church, and the professions of Law and Physic, and, in short, the most distinguished and accomplished individuals of both sexes in Ireland. He is happy in the opportunity of making his acknowledgments for past favours, which, although they embolden, ought not to make him presuming. Whatever his circumstances may be, he is truly unambitious of ranking with the modern multitude of Book-makers, who, although sometimes men of talent and education, seldom add much to the stock of literary acquisition. If asked why he re-appears in Print—he begs to

say, that the plan of his *American Journal* precluded him from detailing many matters intimately connected with Trans-atlantic hostilities, which, he flatters himself, *HIS MEMOIR* introduces of course and with propriety. He also expects that the perusal of his obscure adventures and experience (deriving importance from an eventful cause in which the fates of the old and new World were so much involved) will be found entertaining in general, and edifying to ordinary Readers. He has laboured to give, if not the information of regular Travels, at least a correct general idea of North American scenes and affairs, and always interesting accounts and anecdotes of the prominent Actors and Officers employed pending the progress of war with the States. It has, moreover, been his endeavour to demark the right line of duty and behaviour which the soldier in the ranks ought invariably to pursue; and likewise the valuable and honest conduct becoming the humble hard-working individual in his outset and journey through life. In fine, the end he proposed in this Essay, has been to instruct as much as possible the young and unguarded, by furnishing the example of his own life without self-disguise or vanity. He may lose his aim, but, even in its failure, he trusts his motive will be thought laudable.

DUBLIN, JULY 15, 1811.

MEMOIR
OF
HIS OWN LIFE,

BY R. LAMB,

&c. &c. &c.

CHAP. I:

Motives why individuals make Memoirs of their Lives.— Author's parentage. His inclination for a Seafaring life. Learns to Swim. Recommends the Art of Swimming as useful for the preservation of life in Shipwrecks, &c. Captain Campbell saved by knowing how to float in the Water. Dr. Franklin's Account of Swimming, and curious methods to be used. A Child rescued from the conflagration of the Boyne ship of War. Description of an instrument to save persons from drowning who cannot swim. A Lady saved by means of her Farthingales. Account of a remarkable Shipwreck on the Sussex Coast. Bussard's extraordinary Narrative. Directions for recovering drowned persons.

VARIOUS are the causes which induced individuals to commit the incidents of their own lives to writing, and submit them to the world. Vanity has urged several to publish transactions which had been much better reserved

in secret, as matters of repentance and motives to amendment. Avarice has stimulated others, to fabricate tissues of falsehood, palatable to the public taste, but exceedingly injurious to unwary readers. Party and prejudice have had no small share in private memoirs; whilst even religion itself has been so misconceived by weak, though well meaning persons, as to furnish a leading inducement for laying before mankind an indiscreet exposure of their lives and actions, which ultimately proved deeply detrimental to the solid interests of piety and truth.

Fully aware of these powerful objections, the author ruminated much before he ventured to add one to the number of those who have published their own biography. But when he recollects what he was, when he feels what the Almighty has done for him, when he balances his present comforts against his past transgressions, when he thinks on the probability that his example may not be altogether without its moral and spiritual utility, when he considers the misrepresentations and falsehoods that have gone abroad relative to the important affairs in which he was personally engaged—the many exalted characters under whom he served in the army, and the facts concerning them, of which he is in possession; when he knows that the experience of his life supplies a plentiful harvest of interesting anecdote, he believes he does not assert too much when he declares, that he should hold himself inexcusable to his king, his country, his officers, the public, and himself, if he suffered the grave to close for ever on his story, without leaving some memorial behind him. These considerations induced him to publish a life, in which he has many things to deplore, and more to call forth his gratitude both to heaven and earth.

I drew my first breath in the city of Dublin, on the 17th of January, 1756, of humble, industrious, and virtuous parents. I was the youngest of eleven children. My eldest brother sacrificed his life in defence of his country :

he died in consequence of a wound which he received on board one of the king's ships. At the time of his death I was only five years old ; but I remember that my father was greatly afflicted at it : and the more so, when he found my inclination of mind was also to the sea. Considering his situation, which though reputable, was far from affluent, and the labour necessary to support his family ; he was a man of much reading, which strong native powers of intellect had led him to digest and methodize. He was far from being unacquainted with seafaring matters. I well remember, when a child, walking with him down the North Wall, he would describe to me, in the most easy and interesting manner, a naval engagement, and by the most apt and familiar transition, turn the discourse to the battles which were then fighting between the English and the French. I am aware that my father's motive, while he amused me in these conversations, was to instruct : but he little imagined, that in so doing, he was kindling a martial ardor in my young breast, which might, and ultimately did lead my heedless steps into the very dangers he would have wished me to shun, and against which he would have guarded me with the fondest anxiety. At length he began to perceive his error : for when he discovered my attention engrossed by these subjects, with tears in his eyes, he would say, " Ah, my dear child, I see your little breast is fired with this account. I only relate these things to inform your judgment. I have lost one fine boy already in fighting for his country. Surely you will never leave your father. You must stay with me and your mother ; and be our support and comfort in our old days." Much as I loved my father, and deep as these affectionate speeches sunk in my mind ; they had a tendency which he little imagined when he first used them. It was from these discourses of my father that an anxious desire was first raised in my mind for a seafaring life.

Our house being contiguous to the river Liffey, I was a constant frequenter of its quays, and the places where the shipping were moored. There I soon acquired the art of climbing up the masts of the vessels. At the age of six years I began to practice the art of swimming; but by my temerity, I was near losing my life at that tender period. This circumstance occurred in the old dock, near the spot where the new Custom-house now stands. The tide was full in, and, in imitation of some grown lads, who practised these leaps, as feats of activity, I jumped from off the steps. I soon, however found, that what I had before thought swimming, in shallow water, was but the paddling of a child: for I sunk like a stone, in nearly ten feet of water. Among the spectators, providentially for me, were many expert swimmers; one of whom observing that I did not rise to the surface of the water, immediately plunged in, and took me up, almost dead. This circumstance, far from deterring me from going again into the water, only made me more eager to acquire perfection in the art of swimming, in which, after some time, I became such a proficient, that, from off the bowsprits and round-tops of ships, I frequently leaped head foremost into the river. I now recollect the dangers to which I exposed myself on the watery element, even before I had attained my ninth year! I recognize with gratitude, the protecting arm divine, and, in humble adoration of that Providence which has hitherto guided me in safety, through the progress of an eventful life, am led to say with the poet,

“ Oft hath the sea confest thy pow’r,
And given me back to thy command;
It could not, Lord! my life devour,
Safe in the hollow of thy hand.”

It may be necessary here to remark, that the dangers into which boys precipitate, in learning to swim, might

for the most part, be avoided, by choosing places, where grown persons should attend, and protect them from danger, while they taught them the practice. I am satisfied, that a knowledge of the art of swimming would be far more useful to the rising generation, than many accomplishments which are at present taught at a very great expense. But until something of this kind is established, I may be permitted to remark, how necessary it is both for health, and safeguard against accident, that every lad, intended either for the sea or land service, should be taught to swim. I would recommend the following rules, to all, who may wish to become expert swimmers.

Throw yourself on on your back, so as to lie quite straight and stiff, suffering yourself to sink until the surface of the water becomes level with your ears. Your body will thus acquire an equilibrium, and so long as you keep yourself lying at your length in this way, you will be enabled to float like a log in the watery element. Some have been saved from shipwreck by these means.

A most extraordinary instance of escape from drowning in this manner, we have an account of in the narrative of Captain Campbell, who sailed from Goa in the year 1782, and was wrecked on the Malabar coast. Captain Campbell relates, that seeing a log of timber floating by the vessel, he left the wreck in the hope of seizing it, to float on the water by its means, but after repeated attempts to take it, a heavy sea snatched it irrecoverably from him, leaving him much bruised by the blows he received from it. The following extract from his narrative is highly interesting, whilst it furnishes a case in point respecting the advantage of floating in the water to save life :

“ Death seemed inevitable ; and all that occurred to me now to do, was to accelerate it, and get out of its pangs as speedily as possible ; for, though I knew how to swim, the tremendous surf rendered swimming useless, and all

hope from it would have been ridiculous. I therefore began to swallow as much water as possible; yet, still rising by the buoyant principle of the waves to the surface, my former thoughts began to recur; and whether it was that, or natural instinct, which survived the temporary impressions of despair, I know not; but I endeavoured to swim, which I had not done long, when I again discovered the log of wood I had lost, floating near me, and with some difficulty caught it: hardly had it been an instant in my hands, when I lost it again. I had often heard it said in Scotland, that if a man will throw himself flat on his back in the water, lie quite straight and stiff, and suffer himself to sink till the water gets into his ears, he will continue to float. This occurred to me now, and I determined to try the experiment; so I threw myself on my back in the manner I have described, and left myself to the disposal of Providence; nor was it long before I found the truth of the saying—for I floated with hardly an effort, and began for the first time to conceive something like hopes of preservation.

“After lying in this manner, committed to the discretion of the tides, I soon saw the vessel was at a considerable distance behind me. Liveliest hopes began to play about my heart, and joy fluttered with a thousand gay fancies in my mind: I began to form the favourable conclusion, that the tide was carrying me rapidly to land, from the vessel, and that I should soon once more touch *terra firma*.

“This expectation was a cordial that revived my exhausted spirits: I took courage, and left myself still to the same all-directing Power that had hitherto preserved me, scarcely doubting that I should reach the land. Nor was I mistaken; for, in a short time more, without effort or exertion, and without once turning from off my back, I found myself strike against the sandy beach. Overjoyed to the highest pitch of transport at my provi-

dential deliverance, I made a convulsive spring, and ran up a little distance on the shore; but was so weak and worn down by fatigue, and so unable to clear my stomach of the salt water with which it was loaded, that I suddenly grew deadly sick, and apprehended that I had only exchanged one death for another; and in a minute or two fainted away."

In my own experience, I frequently found that I could float for several hours on the water, when tranquil, and I have been so much in the habit of swimming, that I used to indulge myself by floating until I became desirous of sleeping on the water. It is therefore certain, that in cases where life is often endangered great benefit might arise from learning to float, if individuals drowning could preserve that presence of mind which is so necessary in such desperate efforts. Every mean, however, which tends to improve the art of swimming is exceedingly useful, and the improvement of the art has occupied the attention of some very great men. Foremost among the number was the celebrated Dr. Franklin. Many of his remarks are so very singular, that, although, from experience, I am inclined to differ from him with regard to some particulars, yet it may be proper on this subject, to let him speak for himself. The Doctor observes, "When I was a boy, I made two oval pallets, each about ten inches long, and six broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it fast in the palm of my hand. They much resembled a painter's pallets. In swimming I pushed the edges of these forward, and I struck the water with their flat surfaces as I drew them back. I remember I swam faster by means of these pallets, but they fatigued my wrists.—I also fitted to the soles of my feet a kind of sandals; but I was not satisfied with them, because I observed that the stroke is partly given by the inside of the feet and the ancles, and not entirely with the soles of the feet."

“ We have here* waistcoats for swimming, which are made of double sail-cloth, with small pieces of cork quilted in between them.”

“ I know by experience, that it is a great comfort to a swimmer, who has a considerable distance to go, to turn himself sometimes on his back, and to vary in other respects the means of procuring a progressive motion.

“ When he is seized with the cramp in the leg the method of driving it away is to give the parts affected a sudden, vigorous, and violent shock; which he may do in the air as he swims on his back.”

“ During the great heats of summer there is no danger in bathing, however warm we may be, in rivers which have been thoroughly warmed by the sun. But to throw one self into cold spring water, when the body has been heated in the sun, is an imprudence which may prove fatal. I once knew an instance of four young men, who having worked at harvest in the heat of the day, with a view of refreshing themselves, plunged into a spring of cold water: two died upon the spot, a third the next morning, and the fourth recovered with great difficulty. A copious draft of cold water, in similar circumstances, is frequently attended with the same effect in North America.”†

“ The exercise of swimming is one of the most healthy and agreeable in the world. After having swam for an hour or two in the evening, one sleeps coolly the whole night, even during the most ardent heat of summer. Perhaps the pores being cleansed, the insensible perspiration increases and occasions this coolness.”

But the Doctor was not aware of the danger that might arise to persons who wear their own hair, particularly if it should be long or bushy. I know not a surer

* In America.

† We may add Great Britain and Ireland.

way of catching cold, perhaps a deadly fever, than going to sleep with wet or damp hair. Bathing caps, although they keep the hair from becoming wet, not only prevent one chief purpose of bathing, the ablution of the head; but may in some instances occasion serious disorders by the action of the water operating on all the other parts of the frame, while it is prevented by them from approaching the head. To render evening bathing, which the Doctor so strongly recommends, at all safe, it appears indispensably necessary that the bather should walk a mile or two after he gets out of the water, and take special care that his hair is thoroughly dry before he retires to rest.

“It is certain that much swimming is the means of stopping a diarrhœa, and even of producing a constipation. With respect to those who do not know how to swim, or who are affected with a diarrhœa, at a season which does not permit them to use that exercise, a warm bath, by cleansing and purifying the skin, is found very salutary, and often effects a radical cure. I speak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others to whom I have recommended this.”

“As the ordinary method of swimming is reduced to the act of rowing with the arms and legs, and is consequently a laborious and fatiguing operation, when the space of water to be crossed is considerable; there is a method in which a swimmer may pass to great distances with much facility, by means of a sail. This discovery I fortunately made by accident, and in the following manner:

“When I was a boy, I amused myself one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the string to a stake, and the kite ascended to a very considerable height above the pond, while I was swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and enjoying at

the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned; and loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, went again into the water, where I found that, lying on my back and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond, to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue, and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course, and resist its progress, when it appeared that, by the following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occasionally I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The Packet boat, however, is still preferable."

Indeed, I think so too: for, with all due deference to the Doctor, he, or any one, who was hardy enough to try the scheme, would find himself, I believe, in a sad state of jeopardy, when in a large body of water, with no other assistance. It might answer for sportive exercise in a pond; but farther I should be very sorry to try it.

The principal art in swimming (without which every other is of little avail) is to keep the body in a due equilibrium. The following narrative, which furnishes an instance of the presence of mind derived from a knowledge of swimming, and the preservation of life in consequence, is submitted as not amiss, in treating this subject:

"When that rapid and dreadful conflagration which destroyed the Boyne man of war happened, a marine was peaceably sitting in his birth, with his wife and son, a boy about twenty months old, just beneath the place where the misfortune began, and, finding every effort to

escape the flames, in the ordinary way ineffectual, the man, with the greatest composure and presence of mind, took from the pens a sheep of the captain's live stock, and bracing the boy on the animal's fleecy back, dropped them into the sea. There, said he, turn to the land, and God go with you. Encouraged by the man's resolution, his wife leaped into the brine, and the husband followed after, supporting his companion above water, till the boats arrived to their assistance, when they were taken up, little worse for the venture. The sheep, with the greatest steadiness, was seen making for the shore, with young Ben. Bowline riding upon his back, like an infant river-god, to the vast delight of the spectators on shore, who, from the tenderest motives, finding themselves interested in the boy's safety, rushed into the watery element to meet the young navigator, whom they presently *unshipped*, and succoured with tenderness, till he again fell into the arms of his adventurous parents. The singularity of this event attached the patronage of a most liberal lady in the Isle of Wight, who, having prevailed on the mother of the child, to leave his future fortune to her guidance, declared in the most friendly manner, that, as the boy had began his naval career on a lamb, she would never leave him till he was able to end it like a lion."

Another fact which may not appear uninteresting, I had from a gentleman on whose veracity I can depend. It occurred some years since in his own family. At the period when hoops were in fashion, the ladies used, in half dress, to wear what were called farthingales. A party of pleasure sailing down the river Thames to Greenwich, were upset by the violence of the current. Three of them unfortunately perished. But a lady, who had on one of these farthingales, was buoyed up by it on the waves. Terrified at her situation, she stirred not a joint, and her terrors and her farthingales preserved her life, by keeping her in a fair equilibrium. She floated down a tremendous

stream to Woolwich, and there was picked up by a cutter's boat.

In the course of the narrative respecting the loss of the Boyne ship of war, an invention which might be rendered greatly instrumental for saving lives in shipwrecks, is described by the writer as follows :

“ The dreadful catastrophe of the Boyne, should be a warning to all captains, &c. to be guarded against similar accidents, by having on board such instruments as are most efficacious in preserving people from drowning. A recent invention, called the Colinette, has been much recommended on these occasions. It consisted of a copper tube in the form of a crescent, with which the experiment was made, weighing nearly five pounds, and is divided into several cells, or compartments, lined with block-tin, so as to prevent the natural air pent up from escaping; and in case of injury or accident to any of the internal divisions of the machine, it would still have sufficient power to float bodies. This bent tube is formed to fit the body under the arms, and any person may fix it on himself, with the straps, in about half a minute. A trial of this instrument was made on the river Thames, October 15, 1801, off Greenwich Hospital, in presence of several scientific gentlemen. It was found sufficient to float the heaviest person, though unacquainted with swimming, the wearer having his feet at rest, while the arms were freely used out of the water. This instrument keeps the individual upright in the water, and enables him to float on his side, back, or belly, with his hands and feet at rest, or taking a sitting posture, with his legs at right angles with his body. It may be made portable, of copper, tin, or leather. In cases of shipwreck, many lives that might otherwise perish would be saved, since a dozen or twenty of these instruments could facilitate the means of extending ropes to a lee shore, and thereby save a numerous crew.

I might continue to dwell on this theme, until I should be wholly diverted from the subject of my present memoir. But the shipwreck on the English coast (Sussex) in 1809, has so many awful and remarkable circumstances attending it, that I am induced briefly to mention it. "Six vessels under convoy of the Harlequin armed ship, Lieut. Anstruther, with a fleet of merchant-men, (the whole 23 in number) left Plymouth with a fair leading wind. The evening of the next day the wind began to blow, and the night became foggy. The Harlequin, mistaking her situation, imagined she had weathered Beachy Head, and standing in for the land, the whole fleet followed her example. At 4. P. M. the Harlequin, with the six headmost ships, ran aground. The sailors were seized with horror; the breakers dashed furiously against them, bringing the vessels in dreadful contact with each other, then bounding with the strokes, the instant after, with resistless violence, passed over the decks, sweeping every thing away in their progress. The shrieks of the sufferers, the cracking of the timber, the fluttering of the rent sails in the wind, the howling of the storm, and the roar of the billows, which threatened them with instant death, were enough to appal the stoutest heart. In the midst of their distress, however, they did not forget to give warning to those ships that happily were afloat. Signal guns were fired by the vessels aground, and various rockets exploded on board the Harlequin, which providentially had the desired effect. The remaining sixteen sail instantly hauled their wind, and with difficulty, weathered the Head of Beachy, and were preserved.

"Their signals of distress collected a number of persons on the shore, most of them disposed to render every assistance in their power. But among them some, so lost to nature, and her charities, as to be bent on no other object but plundering the unhappy sufferers.

“ Mr. Ginn, of Lewes, was an instrument, in the hands of Providence, of saving one man, belonging to the Weymouth. He cast a line from the extremity of the cliff on board the separating vessel, which the poor man got and secured round his body, and was dragged through the breakers, and up to the top of the cliff in safety.

“ The Harlequin was beheld at daylight, in a very wretched state. Her guns had been thrown overboard, to lighten her; and her masts were cut away. These measures, however, produced no permanent relief: and it became evident, that the ship must very soon go to pieces; to preserve the lives of the seamen was then the paramount and only consideration. At full tide, this ship was drifted to within a few yards of the shore; but the billows lashed the strand with that terrific violence, that to escape with life appeared impossible. A cask, with a hawser affixed to it, was, at length, let down from the ship, in hopes of reaching the shore, which, after the failure of the two first attempts, was, by the blessing of God, cast to its destination. The hawser, in an instant, was firmly secured, and rendered tight from the vessel; by the assistance of the people on the beach. By this means, they got a passage (but a very dangerous one) from the ship to the shore, by which the crew, and a passenger were all preserved. A most awful scene now took place, for, though every male had been so miraculously landed, the wife and two infant children of the passenger above mentioned, were still on board. The poor mother stood on deck, rending the air with her shrieks, and intreating that some means should be adopted for the preservation of her children. A sailor or two, less exhausted, perhaps, than their messmates, at the extreme hazard of their lives, pushed off a boat, and attempted to reach that vessel, which they had, under such threatening auspices, but a few minutes before abandoned. The progress of this boat was watched by those, who

had not the preservation of their own lives more immediately to attend to, with an anxiety, which may better be conceived than expressed. For some time the general opinion was, that these compassionate sailors would be lost. The kind hand of heaven, however, guided the tottering bark to the side of the ship; the sailors now called aloud to the mother to descend, expanding their arms to receive her; but this she peremptorily declined, until her children were secured; for the thoughts of seeing them perish, were more than she could bear. The men, by the divine blessing, were enabled to perform their dangerous task with success; the children they lashed to their bodies, who were, with the affectionate mother, brought safe to land. They were received by the friends on the beach with tears and shouts of exultation, and were treated with that tenderness which their condition required. A very short time after, the Harlequin split, and was presently reduced to fragments.

“The Middleback was a Prussian ship. The crew consisted of thirteen men, eleven of whom perished. The preservation of one man was very wonderful. Mr. Derenzy, a lieutenant in the 81st regiment, discovered a poor marineer in the agonies of death, sometimes beneath, and sometimes above the surface of the billows, feebly buffeting the waves, with the hope of being yet enabled to reach the shore. Mr. Derenzy's feelings were now wrought up to the highest pitch; ‘I will save that poor man,’ said he, ‘or perish in the attempt,’ and instantly plunged into the sea, and for some time was lost to observation. In a little while, he was seen grasping firmly part of the man's habiliments with one hand, while with the other, he attempted to make good his return to land. At this moment, a heavy fragment of the wreck struck Mr. Derenzy on the temple; the blow was forcible, and deprived him of his senses. He still held the poor sailor in his grasp, till lost, as it were, in the torpor of

death, both sunk together. Another gentleman, an officer in the same regiment, resolving to die with, or to save his friend, flew to his assistance, and soon after, all three appeared to be nearly lifeless. At this sight, the most feeling anxiety was manifested by the subordinants of the 81st, who were standing by; 'Our officers are perishing,' said they, 'let us save them, or die with them!' In a moment, these men enlinked their arms together, and instantly were immersed in the sea, and brought the three objects of general solicitude to land. All three, when they were brought to the shore, were senseless, but afterwards were restored to their country and friends."

I have taken the liberty with my readers, of introducing this painful narrative, under impressions which have frequently struck me during the course of my life. I am well aware that many inventions have been tried to rescue persons from the horrors of shipwreck. But, I am confident that much, very much, yet remains to be done. It must be evident, from this painful narrative, to every man of sense, that at every point of danger on the English and Irish coast, all the means of preservation which human ingenuity can invent ought to be deposited—be ready against the hour of danger, and (under the blessing and guidance of Almighty God) numbers of persons would be saved to life, and consequently, in many instances, to repentance, who perish immaturely, and are plunged into eternity, in an awful—tremendous—and, it is much to be feared, an unprepared moment. The encouragement given by the French government (when France had a government) to matters of this kind, is well worthy our attention. The conduct of Boussard was far more deserving a civic crown, than many of the most boasted acts among the ancients, or moderns. It ought to be universally known. It is one of these interesting documents to

apologize for the insertion of which, would be an insult to every reader of taste, feeling, or humanity.

Extract of a letter from M. De Crosne, Intendant of Rouen, to Mr. Neckar, Director General of the Finances of France, Dec. 17, 1777.

“ The 31st of August last, about nine o'clock at night, a vessel from Rochelle, laden with salt, with eight hands and two passengers on board, was blown towards the breakers of Dieppe. The wind blew so hard, and the sea was so violently agitated, that a coasting pilot could not get out to bring her safe into port, though he attempted it four different times. Another pilot, named Boussard, a man of courage and resolution, perceiving that the helmsman was steering a wrong course, which would expose the ship to almost inevitable destruction, endeavoured by signals, and a speaking trumpet, to set him right; but the darkness of the night, the whistling of the winds, and the roaring of the waves, prevented the captain from either seeing or hearing, what, if seen or heard, might have saved his vessel, which soon ran aground, about thirty fathoms beyond the breakers.

“ Struck with the cries of the unfortunate crew, who were just going to perish, Boussard formed the generous resolution to carry them assistance at the risque of his life: he was deaf to the remonstrances of his friends, who represented to him the impossibility of success; and sent away his wife and children, who endeavoured to divert him from his design. He tied a rope round his body, fastened the end of it to the pier, and plunged into the sea, to carry another rope to the vessel: when he had got near her, a wave bore him away, and left him on the shore: he was thus borne back twenty times, after as many efforts to gain the ship; his ardour, however, was not in the least abated, though he was severely hurt by being rolled violently upon the beach: he leaped again into the sea; a wave carried him under the vessel, he was

then thought lost; but he soon appeared again, holding in his arms a sailor, who had been washed off deck, and whom he brought motionless, and almost without life, to land.

“ He, after numberless efforts, reached the ship; threw the rope he carried, on the deck: such of the crew as had still strength sufficient left, tied themselves to it, and were drawn safe to shore.

“ Boussard now thought he had saved the whole crew, overcome with fatigue, his body all bruised, he went with difficulty to the hut, where the people had placed the unhappy men, who had, through his means escaped death: there he grew so faint, that he fell down and swooned away. Some helps were administered to him, he threw up the salt water he had swallowed; and he was just recovering his spirits, when he was told, that groans were still heard from the ship; he instantly broke from the arms of the people that were assisting him, ran down to the sea, plunged again into it, and was happy enough to save another man, one of the passengers, who lashed himself to a part of the ship, but had not strength enough to get off when the crew escaped by means of the rope.

“ Out of the ten persons who had been on board, two only perished, and their bodies were found the next morning: the other eight owed their lives to the intrepidity of Boussard.

“ DE CROSNE.”

Mr. Necker having communicated the contents of the above letter to the king, and taken his majesty's orders, writ the following letter with his own hand, to the pilot of Dieppe:—

“ BRAVE MAN—It was only the day before yesterday that I received an account from the Intendant, of the courageous action you performed the 31st of August, and I yesterday laid it before his majesty, who commanded me to express to you the satisfaction he felt at reading it;

and to inform you, that, your behaviour has appeared to him in so amiable a light, that he has ordered you a gratification of a thousand livres, and settled on you an annual pension of three hundred. I write, in consequence of this order, to the Intendant. Continue to give every succour in your power to those who may stand in need of it; and offer up your prayers daily for your good king, who loves brave men, and feels himself happy at having an opportunity to reward them.

“NECKER,

Paris, Dec. 22, 1777. Direct. Gen. of the Finances.”

The young monarch's conduct in the above affair, does him no less honour, than Boussard's humanity does to himself and his country. Happy would it be for subjects, if their kings always gave away the public money for such purposes. And does not this authentic fact demonstrate, more than volumes, the guilt of those regicides who robbed France of such a sovereign.

Persons brought on shore from wrecks, and, in some instances, bodies thrown on land by the violence of the waves, might frequently be restored to life, if the inhabitants were acquainted with the means of restoring suspended animation, and had at hand proper conveniencies to carry these means into effect.

A Society instituted for that purpose, in London, have practised nearly the following treatment, which has been attended with happy effects, in almost numberless cases. In lifting the body, great care is taken to save it from contusions, violent shaking, rough handling, rolling on the ground, or hanging by the heels. The head is peculiarly guarded from being suspended downwards. The unfortunate person is used to be carried, in removals from place to place, in the arms of men, or in some sort of carriage laid on straw, with the head somewhat elevated, and kept as much as possible at ease.

The limbs are afterwards dried with a cloth, and a moderate heat is applied, but the patient is never brought too near a large fire. The chamber is freely ventilated, having the windows open to admit a pure current of air, which is found of great benefit. A number of persons are not suffered to stop in the room, as a crowd always prevents a free circulation of the air, and besides, causes a confusion which cannot fail to retard recovery on such occasions. The best application of warmth is procured by keeping the patient in a bed or blanket moderately heated. Bottles of hot water are to be laid to the feet, joints of the knees, and armpits. Warming-pans, or hot bricks wrapped in cloths are rubbed over the limbs, and particularly along the back. Young and healthy persons, are made to lie along side of the patient, and the warm inside garments of some individuals present, or the skin of a sheep fresh killed are found of much advantage to wrap the body in. A hot-bath, brew-house, bake-house, or any fabric wherein warm lees, ashes, embers, grains, sand, &c. are kept, if contiguous, have proved serviceable to place the body in. But in such applications, precaution is required, that the degree of heat shall not much exceed that which suits a person in health.

After such a preparatory process is made, a variety of stimulating means are tried often with success. Blow with your mouth into the patient's lungs, closing his nostrils with one hand, and quietly expelling the air by pressing the chest closely with the other. One being constantly employed in this way, another should, by means of a pipe, or fumigator, (such as are used in administering tobacco clysters) throw up the smoak of tobacco into the bowels. In the mean time, rub the belly with coarse cloths or flannels, dipped in brandy, rum, gin, or other spirits, or with dried salt, but so as not to take off the skin. At the same time, apply to the nostrils, and rub on the temples frequently, spirits of hartshorn,

volatile salts, or the like, occasionally shaking and changing the position of the body.

When signs of returning life begin to appear, such as sighing, gasping, twitching, convulsive motions, beatings of the heart, and revival of the colour and warmth, it will be necessary to let blood in the arm, jugular vein, or temporal artery. Tickle the throat with a feather, for the purpose of exciting to vomit, and put snuff, or any other stimulant to the nose, to provoke sneezings. Administer now and then a tea spoonful of warm water, to ascertain whether the patient can swallow, and, if so, you may give a table spoonful of warm water, or brandy and water, but never before the power of swallowing returns, as the liquor might get into the lungs.

This kind of treatment, as circumstantially described, should be repeatedly continued for two hours and upwards, if even no symptoms of life are perceived, as there are many cases recorded in the accounts published by the Humane Society, when the patient has been restored after a longer suspension of the animal function. In cases where the individual remained but a short while under water, breathing strongly into the lungs, or throwing tobacco smoke into the bowels, have soon effected a recovery, but although restoration prove tedious, people ought not to despair, but proceed with unremitting spirit in using the specified means. It is consoling, that the applications are so simple, that ordinary persons can put them in practice, but it is highly expedient to procure the professional assistance of regular practitioners in surgery and medicine, whenever such valuable aid can be obtained. Because bleeding is always needful, and, moreover, that the surgeon and physician will be expert and capable to use such precautionary and actual remedies, as the difference of the patient's case and constitution may require on the spur of the moment.

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The Humane Society (who happily proved instrumental in saving a multitude of lives, which without their exertions, had been inevitably lost) recommend a similar treatment in various other instances of apparent decease, viz. hanging, suffocation from mephitic damps and noxious vapours, such as issue from coal-mines, confined air in wells, cisterns, caves, or the mist of fermenting liquors: as also, when persons are seized with convulsions or apoplectic fits, and when frozen with extreme cold. It has been proved by salutary experience, that in the timely and spirited use of these easy, although excellent methods of recovery, fellow creatures might be frequently rescued out of the jaws of death, and it is lamentable to know, that by reason of the vulgar ignorance respecting such simple applications, which are every where at hand, many an individual has been left to suffer an untimely and sudden dissolution. Where cases often occur in these islands to seafaring men, and those who indulge in swimming, a skill to practice such means of restoration is invaluable, and it belongs to the affluent and benevolent of all classes, to render the operation of them as universal as possible.

The following extraordinary case, published by surgeon Hall of Manchester, of a gentleman restored from drowning, ought to stimulate individuals to use the means prescribed without despairing of their being crowned with the wished for success:—

“ At Black Pool, on the 7th September, 1786, as W. Tidd, Esq. was bathing (the weather being tempestuous, and the tide ebbing) he was taken off his feet, and by the violence of the waves, involuntarily carried out to sea, to the distance of a mile. Some gentlemen on the beach saw him, and declared the impossibility of his returning alive: and being exhausted, he called out, but too late for any help to be given to him. He went down, and was carried out by the tide two miles or more to sea. A purse of thirty guineas was collected, and offered to the fisher-

men to recover the body, but was refused on account of the danger; when Messrs. Horton, Fenton, and Silvester, launched a boat, and, amidst numberless dangers and difficulties, brought the body to shore in about forty minutes after he ceased to call for assistance.

“ The body, when brought on shore, was to appearance dead, as there seemed to be an entire extinction of life and vital heat; (*for those gentlemen who had observed him from the first, were confident, that he had been under water forty minutes*). His eyes were fixed, and greatly inflamed, and the pupils much dilated. Warm blankets were prepared, in which he was carried to his bed, made very warm. From the boat to the bed, there was certainly the space of ten minutes; so that *nearly an hour* elapsed before the *re-animating process* was commenced; I insisted on the assistants only staying in the room. The apparent corps was dried well with warm flannels; his head fomented with hot brandy, and bottles of hot water applied to the extremities; with the application of volatiles to the nose and temples. In about *forty minutes* a grumbling noise was heard in the abdomen, and the pulse could be felt, though extremely languid, and warmth seemed gradually to diffuse itself over the thorax, but the arms and legs continued of a dead cold. In about an hour and a half I attempted to get down warm broth by tea spoonfuls; even at this time there was not the least power of deglutition, and the attempt gave him great uneasiness. His extremities continued cold and motionless; he spoke incoherently. Mr. Silvester intreated him to take a cup of broth; which he did not retain more than a minute, and from the instant of his vomiting, he became perfectly sensible, but had not the least recollection of having answered before any questions. The hands and arms became warm, but it was some time before his legs and feet were restored to their natural heat. In two hours from the time of his being put to bed, and *two hours and*

fifty minutes from the time of his drowning, we had the high satisfaction of having this valuable gentleman restored to the world."

A reverend and learned gentleman of great talent, and known integrity, addressed the public in a set discourse for the purpose of exciting a common interest in behalf of the benevolent body who associated under the title of the Humane Society of London, chiefly to rescue human life from drowning. The underwritten are extracts from it.

"One would wonder (said he) that such an institution as this, of so deep importance to mankind, should appear so late in the world. Have we any thing wrote on the subject, earlier than the tract published at Rome, in the year 1637? And did not the proposal then sleep for many years? Were there any more than one or two attempts, and those not effectually pursued, till the year 1700? By what steps it has been since revived and carried into execution, we are now to enquire. I cannot give you a clearer view of this, than by presenting you with a short extract from the introduction to the "Plan and Reports of the Society," published two years ago.*

"Many and indubitable are the instances of the possibility of restoring to life persons apparently struck with sudden death, whether by an apoplexy, convulsive fits, noxious vapours, strangling, or drowning. Cases of this nature have occurred in every country. But they were considered and *neglected*, as extraordinary phenomena, from which no salutary consequence could be drawn.

"At length a few benevolent gentlemen in Holland conjectured, that some at least might have been saved, had proper means been used in time; and formed themselves into a society, in order to make a trial. Their attempt succeeded far beyond their expectations. Many were restored, who must otherwise have perished.

* This discourse was written in the year 1778.

And they were at length enabled to extend their plan over the Seven Provinces.

“ Their success instigated other countries to follow their example. In the year 1768, the magistrates of health at Milan and Venice, issued orders for the treatment of drowned persons. The city of Hamburgh appointed a similar ordinance to be read in all the churches. In the year 1769, the Empress of Germany published an edict, extending its directions and encouragements to every case, that afforded a possibility of relief. In the year 1771, the magistrates of Paris founded an institution in favour of the drowned.

“ In the year 1773, Dr. Cogan translated the Memoirs of the Society of Amsterdam, in order to inform our countrymen of the practicability of recovering persons apparently drowned. And Mr. Hawes uniting with him, these gentlemen proposed a plan for a similar institution in these kingdoms. They were soon enabled to form a society for this excellent purpose. The plan is this:—

- “ I. The Society will publish, in the most extensive manner possible, the proper methods of treating persons in such circumstances.
- “ II. They will distribute a premium of two guineas among the first persons, who attempt to recover any one taken out of the water as dead. And this reward will be given, even if the attempt is unsuccessful, provided it has been pursued two hours, according to the method laid down by the Society.
- “ III. They will distribute a premium of four guineas, where the person is restored to life.
- “ IV. They will give one guinea to any that admits the body into his house without delay, and furnishes the necessary accommodations.
- “ V. A number of medical gentlemen, living near the places where these disasters commonly happen, will give their assistance gratis.”

“ In the short space from its first establishment in May, 1774, to the end of December, eight persons, seemingly dead, were restored to life.

In the year 1775, forty-seven were restored to life: thirty-two of them by the direct encouragement and assistance of the gentlemen of this Society: and the rest by medical gentlemen and others, in consequence of their method of treatment being generally known.

“ In the year 1776, forty-one persons were restored to life, by the assistance of this society. And eleven cases of those, who had been restored elsewhere, were communicated to them.

“ So the number of lives preserved and restored, in two years and a half, since their first institution, amounts to one hundred and seven! Add to these, those that have been since restored, and out of two hundred and eighty-four persons, who were dead to all appearance, no less than a hundred and fifty-seven have been restored to life!

“ Such is the *success* which has attended them in so short a time! Such a blessing has the gracious providence of God given to this infant undertaking!

“ It remains only to shew the *excellency* of it. And this may appear from one single consideration. This institution unites together in one all the various acts of mercy. It comprises all corporal (if I may so speak) and all spiritual benefits; all the instances of kindness, which can be shewn, either to the bodies or souls of men. To shew this beyond all contradiction, there needs no studied eloquence, no rhetorical colouring, but simply and nakedly to relate the thing as it is.

“ The thing attempted, and not only attempted, but actually performed, (so has the goodness of God prospered the labours of these lovers of mankind!) is no less in a qualified sense, than restoring life to the dead!

“ But is it easy for any one to conceive a scene of deeper distress than this? Suppose you are standing by,

just when the messenger comes in, and the message is delivered. 'I am sorry to tell you—but you must know it—your husband is no more. He was making haste out of the vessel, and his foot slipped.—It is true, after a time, his body was found. But there it lies, without any signs of life.' In what a condition are now both the mother and the children? Perhaps, for a while stupid, overwhelmed, silent; staring at each other; then bursting out into loud and bitter lamentation! Now is the time to help them; by assisting those who make it their business so to do."

The same eloquent gentleman, after using several apposite arguments of a similar tendency, in favour of this most laudible institution, subjoins the following forcible reflections.

"Consider, I entreat you, how many miracles of mercy (so to speak) are contained in one! That poor man, who has lately been numbered with the dead, by the care and pains of these messengers of God, again breathes the vital air, opens his eyes and stands up upon his feet. He is restored to his rejoicing family, to his wife, to his (late) helpless children, that he may again, by his honest labour, provide them with all the necessaries of life. See now what ye have done, ye ministers of mercy! Behold the fruit of your labour of love! Ye have been an husband to the widow, a father to the fatherless. And hereby ye have given meat to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked. For hungry, thirsty, and naked, these little ones must have been, had not you restored him that prevents it. You have more than relieved; you have prevented that sickness, which might naturally have arisen from their want of sufficient food to eat, or raiment to put on. You have hindered those orphans from wandering up and down, not having a place where to lay their head. Nay, and very possibly, you have prevented some of them from being lodged in a dreary, comfortless prison.

“ So great, so comprehensive is the mercy, which you have shewn to the bodies of your fellow-creatures! But why should their souls be left out of the account? How great are the benefits you have conferred on these also! The husband has now again an opportunity of assisting his wife, in things of the greatest moment. He may now again strengthen her hands in God, and help her to run with patience the race that is set before her. He may again join with her in instructing their children, and training them up in the way wherein they should go; who may live to be a comfort to their aged parents, and useful members of the community.

“ Nay, it may be, you have snatched the poor man himself, not only from the jaws of death, but from sinking lower than the waters, from the jaws of everlasting destruction. It cannot be doubted, but some of those, whose lives you have restored, although they had been before, without God in the world, will remember themselves, and not only with their lips, but in their lives, shew forth his praise. It is highly probable, some of these (as *one out of the ten lepers*) *will return, and give thanks to God*, real, lasting thanks, by devoting themselves to his honourable service.

“ It is remarkable, that several of those, whom you have brought back from the margin of the grave, were intoxicated at the very time when they dropped into the water. And at that very instant (which is frequently the case) they totally lost their senses. Here, therefore, was no place for, no possibility of repentance. They had not time, they had not sense, so much as to cry out, ‘ Lord, have mercy!’ So they were sinking through the mighty waters, into the pit of destruction! And these instruments of divine mercy plucked them at once out of the water, and out of the fire! By the same act, delivered them from temporal and from eternal death!

“ Nay, one poor sinner (let it never be forgotten) was just coming down from the ship, when (overtaken by the justice and mercy of God) her foot slipped, and fell into the river. Instantly her senses were lost, so that she could not call upon God. Yet he had not forgotten her. He sent those, who delivered her from death; at least, from the death of the body. And, who knows, but she may lay it to heart, and turn from the error of her ways? Who knows, but she may be saved from the second death, and with her deliverers *inherit the kingdom*.

“ One point more deserves to be particularly remarked. Many of those, who have been restored to life, (no less than eleven out of the fourteen, that were saved in a few months) were in the number of those, that are a reproach to our nation, wilful self-murderers. As many of the desperate men, who attempt this horrid crime, are men who have had a liberal education, it is a pity but they would consider those fine words, not of a poor narrow-souled Christian, but of a generous heathen, nay, a Roman! Let them calmly consider that beautiful passage:—

“ Then crowds succeed, who prodigal of breath,
 Themselves anticipate the doom of death:
 Though free from guilt, they cast their lives away,
 And sad and sullen hate the golden day.
 O with what joy the wretches now would bear
 Pain, toil, and woe, to breathe the vital air!
 In vain! by fate for ever are they bound
 With dire Avernus, and the lake profound,
 And Styx with nine wide channels roars around!”

PITT'S VIRGIL.

CHAP. II.

Author's constant predilection for going to Sea. His Father tries to dissuade him from it, by taking him to behold four Seamen hung in Gibbets. Story of their Crime and Execution. Author accompanies a Mr. Howard on a visit to the Country. Account of Mr. Howard's Uncle.

I HAD not yet attained my eighth year; nevertheless such was my predilection in favour of a seafaring life, that it did not escape the observation of my father. He was much grieved at the discovery, and frequently laid before me in the most fond and anxious manner the distresses and dangers to which sailors are exposed. Giddy, unthinking, bent on marine pursuits, this had little effect on me. However, a circumstance happened at that time in Dublin,* which in a great degree turned my mind against its favourite pursuit. It was as follows, I have mentioned that it was the usage of my father to walk with me on the banks of the Liffey, and the quays of the harbour. In one of these amusing and instructive little rambles which my affectionate parent always tried to turn to my advantage, he carried me (no doubt on purpose) along the South-wall, and near the Pigeon-house, in the direction of the Light-house, where at present the wall is extended by that strong and beautiful work which adds so greatly to the advantage and ornament of the city. Here were hung in chains, on gibbets, four criminals,

* In the year 1766.

whose dreadful offence almost appears to have called down the avenging hand of Divine justice itself, to arrest and exhibit them, as terrible examples to individuals in general. They were purposely exposed in the mouth of the harbour as a warning to seafaring men. The exposure, and the whole circumstance of the affair proved a powerful dissuasive to prevent me, at that time, from entertaining the desire which before engaged my thoughts. I no longer wished for the sea. The story of this case is so highly interesting that it may not be amiss to relate it, as a lesson to the thoughtless, and dissipated.

A merchant ship, the *Earl of Sandwich*, bound to London from Oratova, and laden with wine, Spanish dollars, gold dust and jewels, proceeded on her passage into the English channel, when Peter M^cKinley, boatswain, George Gidley, cook, Richard St. Quintan, and Andrew Zikerman, mariners, conspired to murder John Cockeran, master, Charles Pinchent, mate, James Pinchent, mariner, Benjamin Gillespie, cabin boy, together with Captain Glass, his wife and daughter, and their servant boy. In pursuance of this inhuman plot, on the 30th November, 1765, the conspirators keeping the night watch; and the master going on the quarter-deck to see if all were safe, M^cKinley and Gidley knocked him on the head with an iron bar, and threw him overboard. The noise and groans of the master brought Captain Glass from below, who was murdered with his own sword: the Pinchents were soon dispatched in a similar manner; Mrs. Glass and her child imploring mercy from the ruffians were tossed into the sea.

Having altered their course and made for the coast of Ireland, they landed on the 3d December, some leagues distant from Waterford. They then loaded a boat with treasure, and left the vessel with her ballast port opened, and the two boys who survived in her to sink, as she soon did. One of the boys following the boat was struck on

the head with the gunwale, and drowned—the other lad they saw washed from the ship's deck as she overset, and filled with water. They now flattered themselves that the deceased could not disclose their secret, or the sea give any evidence against them, and having buried 250 bags of dollars, they reserved in their possession and for use the remainder, along with the jewels and gold. Yet after all this extraordinary precaution, their appearance and prodigal manner of living caused them to be looked on as suspicious individuals, and the ship which they thought could never stir from the bottom of the great deep, rose from her watery bed, and was washed near Waterford on the shore. The ship so circumstanced caused much speculation, and turned the suspicions of some persons to the murderers, who had left the neighbourhood and come to Dublin, where they continued to pass their time in great excess and expense. In the mean time two gentlemen repaired to Dublin, in the hope of apprehending them, and having taken the necessary steps, Quintan and Zikerman were secured, and being examined apart, they confessed the commission of the horrid crime; as also that their ruffian associates, Gidley and M'Kinley, sold dollars to the amount of £300 in Dublin. By the means of the goldsmith who bought the silver, M'Kinley was seized, and two men who were immediately sent off to search for the buried treasure which had been robbed from the ship, fell in with and took the remaining offender, Gidley, making his escape toward Cork, from justice, which seems to have followed those murderous wretches with a swift and unerring step, until all of them were brought to that conviction and awful punishment which they so highly deserved, and which even shews that an Almighty Providence, though sometimes slow in interposing to visit the wicked for murder, is by no means regardless of the blood of man *crying from the ground for vengeance!*

When I was eleven years of age, I began to entertain a strong desire to leave home. My father, ever anxious to comply with my wishes, yielded to an offer which presented itself, and consented that I should go with a friend of his to the country. This proposal was joyfully received by me, and preparations were accordingly made for my departure to the north of Ireland.

The gentleman who thus took charge of me, was going to visit his sister a Mrs. Hinds, near Killishandra, in the county of Cavan, and some other relations which he had in the county of Westmeath. But it was to his uncle, who was my father's great friend, that I was principally indebted on this occasion. On my father's application, he recommended me to his nephew, with the warmth of a friend, and the authority of a parent. This gentleman, whose name was Howard, was a respectable merchant in Jervis-street. He was a man well acquainted with the world and all its vanities, which he happily forsook for the more solid enjoyments of religion, and the more laudable pursuit of virtue. An account of this excellent man has been published by a learned and pious gentleman, who informs us in consequence of his giving him to understand, that an account of his life and conversion might be attended with public use, he drew up a narrative which the writer submits, for the most part, as Mr. Howard himself wrote it, and in his own words as follows :

“ I was born in the county of Westmeath, in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1721. My father was a reputable farmer, a person of great modesty, temperance, decency of conduct, and the strictest honesty. Though he gave abundantly to the poor, his substance increased. He took great pains to bring up his children, bestowing on us, what in his eyes at least was, a liberal education.

“ Alas! neither his care nor his example had the desired effect on me. To lie and to swear were lessons I had but too great a docility in acquiring. In the mean

time, however, I made no efforts to controul my passions, but cherished them with all my might, so early (with shame be it spoken) was I the slave of sin, a servant of Satan, and a rebel against the blessed God.

“ In 1741, I married the only daughter of a wealthy tallow-chandler and soap-boiler, in the town of Drogheda; lived with my father-in-law to his death, learned his business, and in right of my wife, became heir to his fortune.

“ My wife died in 1745, and within two years I married an heiress as before, by whom I obtained a considerable fortune, which enabled me to enlarge the sphere of my business, which I now carried on with great success.

“ In 1755 I was sworn in mayor of Drogheda. I now indulged in riotous excesses, which brought on that punishment which Providence has, in the natural course of things, connected with intemperance. Before the year of my magistracy was expired, I was seized with a fit of the gout, and remained three months in the utmost torture. My irreligious situation left me no resource in God; my impatience was uncontrouled, I often wished myself dead; but the God of all mercy was deaf to my wicked prayers, and restored me to health. I knew not then how to admire the riches of his goodness and forbearance, and had no idea of that unutterable kindness for which he had reserved me.

“ When my anguish in some measure abated, my conscience severely rebuked me for continuing in sin and rebellion against a merciful God. I determined, (but alas! in my own strength) to lead a new life, and never more to offend. The consequence was what might be expected; where there is no other dependance but in the arm of flesh. As soon as health and strength permitted, I brake through all my resolutions.

“ I went on in a continual hurry of business, all appearance of religion ceased, public and private worship

were both neglected entirely; worldly business and sensual gratifications by turns engrossed me; and the bountiful Giver was never mentioned, except in blasphemy and profaneness. What blessing could indeed attend a life spent in the service of sin, and in rebellion against the Most High? Surely nothing but his tender mercy could save so vile a wretch from total perdition.

“ I had removed from Drogheda to Dublin, and engaged in mercantile business; where my affairs soon became so deranged by my imprudence, that I was obliged to fly from my creditors (who were justly exasperated against me) to London.

“ After my failure in Novembér 1770, my heart, still unhumbled under the mighty hand of God, remained under the power of sin, amidst all the variegated scenes of flight, exile, and distress. In London I found a new world overspread with allurements to captivate my soul, and my conduct was, as before, equally foolish and wicked. There is, however, such a thing as satiety in vice, even where the real love of it is not all diminished. This was my case. The large draughts of sin and folly which I had taken in the metropolis, occasioned it. I felt a wish to retire to some remote corner of England, where I might live at a cheaper rate, and safe from my creditors. a generous friend providentially supplied me, at a time that I was in the deepest distress, and enabled me to put this scheme into execution.

“ I left London about the middle of May 1772, with a view to retire into Yorkshire. In this journey I reached the Humber, a large river which divides Lincolnshire from Yorkshire. While I waited for the passage boat, I observed, on the opposite side, some miles to the left, a beautiful village, standing on an eminence near the river, finely adorned with trees and stately buildings. To me it seemed an earthly paradise. Better than that it proved; for there my heaven began. I was informed that its name

was Ferriby, eight miles from Hull; several of whose opulent merchants adorned it in the manner which had so strongly feasted my sight. I felt myself, however, determined to live there, and found a public house for my reception. The village fully answered my ideas; beautiful beyond description, by its delightful situation and elegant improvements, where was a church served by the Rev. Joseph Milner. He was a lecturer at the High Church in Hull, where he resided, and taught the public grammar school there, and preached on Sunday mornings at Ferriby. I went constantly to hear him, though with no other motives than that mechanical kind of habit which disposes us to do as our neighbours. Little attention did I pay to any thing that came from his lips. His sermons seemed long and tedious, worldly sorrow left no room with me for pious meditation. I felt miserable indeed, but had no idea of applying to that which alone could make me happy.

“Indeed the transitory things of time and sense can make no man happy. In the time of my greatest prosperity it was with me, as with every person who is a stranger to the grace of God,

“That cruel something unpossest,
Corrodes and leavens all the rest.”

I passed some time in a distressed state of mind, reflecting with bitterness on my hard fate and worldly trouble. About the beginning of August, instead of going to church on the Lord's day as usual, I sauntered by the river-side to kill time; when I was seized with a violent disorder in my head, and fell down terrified, dreading I was at the eve of death, and prayed to God to spare me, which he mercifully did. In an hour's time I arrived at my lodgings, and in a few days recovered from my frightful apprehensions of a sudden death. But a violent headache ensued, the anguish of which, in a great measure,

dissipated my worldly sorrow. I concluded that the judgment of God was upon me for neglecting public worship, which I therefore determined to omit no more.

“ I now paid more attention to the preacher, who, I observed, seemed to enforce his doctrine with much earnestness, and positively declared, over and over again, that except a man be converted, he could not see the kingdom of God. All the conclusions I drew from such assertions, were, *that too much learning had made him mad.*

“ On Sunday, March 28, 1773, my happiness began, though it appeared to me a day of terror indeed. However, it was the day on which *the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom,* took hold of my rebel heart.

“ Mr. Milner preached from these words, *Marvel not at this ; for the hour is coming, in which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth ; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.* No sooner was the text delivered, than the word reached my heart, quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword ; insomuch that I quaked and trembled. Woe is me ! thought I, for I am undone. The vengeance of God has at last overtaken me for my numberless crimes. I was so confounded, that I knew not a word the preacher delivered after giving out his text ; even that I forgot. On returning home, I begged my host to shew me the text. On looking over it, I told him, I was undone, that the words it contained condemned me to the resurrection of damnation : that instead of doing good, I had spent my whole life in doing evil. He endeavoured to comfort me, but in vain. I now began to pray from a wounded spirit, and humbled myself before God, confessing my sin, and crying out for mercy, if peradventure he would hear me. Cards, and various vanities which I before followed, appeared now so unsuitable to my condition, that I gave them up altogether. But how to be pardoned for my past

sins, I knew not. They remained a heavy burden on my soul. I retired every day to a grove at a little distance, to pray and read the bible, a book I had rarely looked into for many years. I could open no part of it, but it shewed me what a hell-deserving sinner I was. This increased my affliction, I now deeply lamented my deplorable state, and wept bitterly for my sins; my rejection of my father's good counsel was as a dagger to my heart. I continued the whole week without hope, dreading that the wrath of God would cast me into hell, never thinking of a Saviour, but imagining that my sins were too heinous to be forgiven.

“The next Sabbath, Mr. Milner preached from the following words: *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.* He proclaimed God's most gracious pardon for the most abandoned sinner, that would forsake his sins, repent, and believe in Jesus, whose precious blood cleanseth from all sins, however heinous or numerous. God be thanked, I received some consolations from that discourse; hope revived, and gladness dawned within me.

“Satan, enraged at my giving up all hope of my own righteousness, now cast a stumbling block in my way, in hope of stopping my progress, by filling my mind with Atheism. I was terrified beyond expression, cold drops of sweat fell from me. I arose from prayer, and ran about the grove as one distracted, struggling, but in vain, against the blasphemous injection. I was now helpless indeed! but that God, *who is nigh to the broken hearted,* relieved me, by fixing one of his faithful promises so powerfully in my heart, that my atheism was instantly burned up as stubble. The promise was, *seek, and ye shall find,* a promise worth more to me, than all the

mines of Peru, which supported me in all my subsequent trials. I was soon composed enough to renew my supplications, and to lift up my heart in thanksgiving to God for my deliverance. My soul was filled with a pleasing expectation, that by seeking the Lord, I should surely find him. And I knew distinctly, for the first time, what is meant by resting on a divine promise. I pressed forward with strong desire, labouring to see the Saviour, with the eye of faith, bleeding on his cross, and would have given the world to call him my own. And though I wavered often through the power of unbelief, yet, on the whole, I constantly fed on the promise, *seek and ye shall find*. The *shall* of the Almighty was an anchor of hope to my soul, sure and steadfast, and I was enabled to conclude that he would at length appear for my relief.

“ Soon after this, the tempter made a new attack, and suggesting that, as I had lived to grey hairs in the service of sin, I must, by a long course of repentance work myself into a state of holiness, before I could be pardoned: a mistake which cost me many a sorrowful hour: for no sooner had self set up his standard, than I felt my heart stony for the first time. Sometimes at prayer it seemed as it were a ball of iron within me. I could not now shed tears as before, which greatly distressed me: but I was not forsaken; the still, small, but powerful voice of God sounded some hours in my heart every day, drawing me with the cords of redeeming love. The Spirit of God caused my soul to aspire after heavenly things, and forget worldly cares, as if I had been new born. *How wonderful art thou, Lord, in all thy ways! How great are thy mercies to the children of men!*

“ I wrote an account of these things to my nephew at Dublin, giving him and the rest of my relations the best instructions I could, by which they might obtain the same precious gift. They concluded that I was beside myself, in consequence of which my nephew dispatched a friend to

visit me, who, on his return, removed their fears, by informing them of the change which had taken place in my conversation and conduct.

“ In March 1774, I went to London, and there heard various preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

“ After some time I returned to Dublin, my nephew and the rest of my family received me joyfully. I remained with them about two months.

“ During my short stay, I had some of my relations and acquaintances often with me. I laboured to convince them of their deplorable state by nature and practice, and to shew them the necessity of *Conversion*. Nor were my labours lost: my wife was convinced of her unworthiness, was led to true repentance, and was blessed with a sense of the love of Christ. After this she declined in health, and departed this life, having hope in her death, and entered into the joy of her Lord. She was the first ripe fruit that God was pleased to bestow on my labours.

“ I longed to hear Christ's ministers, and assemble with his people. The Lord my God conveyed me in safety, where I enjoyed that glorious privilege, *therefore, praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits, who pardoneth all thy sins, and healeth all thine infirmities.*”

Such is Mr. Howard's own account; and his residence among us after his conversion, though not constant, yet gave us large and frequent opportunities of discovering his spirit and temper. Those who rejoiced at the change, and those who were displeased, (for there were those who were displeased) had each an opportunity of observing, whether it was some transient whim which had seized his imagination, or a solid abiding alteration, which made him quite another man.

He lived for years a shining example of every christian virtue, and had time to give us the most convincing proofs of the solidity of his conversion. His religious joy was extraordinary; his fear of God was exemplary; his faith,

both for things spiritual and temporal, was of the most lively nature; his charity was uncommonly fervent and steady: the chastity and purity of his manners were strikingly evident; and in genuine humility of soul, he was an edifying pattern to the Church of Christ. For a number of years, till towards the eve of his life, he lived in a state of joyful communion with his God. He could scarce dress himself in a morning with sufficient haste, so eager was he to pour out his soul in thanksgiving to him whom his soul loved. His delight in public worship was, I am well assured, little less than rapture; his whole soul was exerted in it. For a year or two before his death, his infirmities increased apace. He felt the consequence of his former iniquities in a very excruciating degree. The gravel, the asthma, a general debility, and a complication of pains and disorders, rendered life extremely burthensome, and put to the severest trial all the graces he had attained. But his faith in the divine promises remained unshaken; it even grew stronger and stronger amidst his trials. It had less to do with sense, and was more simply fixed on the word of God. His humility received also a very great increase. He lost those remains of self-conceit and self-sufficiency, which had somewhat stained his brightest graces. His faith was more pure and simple, his love was more solid and genuine; his patience and meekness were truly admirable; the more so, when one considers the natural impetuosity of his spirit; and he waited for his dissolution with the calmest expectation of his eternal rest. Finding himself rapidly decaying, he wrote to his daughter, then in Ireland, a letter which he desired might not be transmitted to her till after his decease, in which he expresses, among other things, the strongest confidence of his expectation of being soon called to his Father's house. Very soon after, he was seized with slumberings, and continued increasingly in this state until his death. He was observed, amidst his slumberings at times, to sing hymns,

and a very little before his death, expressed his grateful wonder that God should ever take notice of such a rebel as he was. The last time I (the Rev. Mr. Milner) saw him, after waiting some time in the room while he remained insensible, he suddenly opened his eyes, and looked seemingly with some peculiar meaning at me. I told him he would soon go to Jesus; to which I heard him distinctly answer, "I hope I shall." And a little after he was called to eternal rest.

“ His looks, when language fails, new life impart ;
 Heaven in his looks, and Jesus in his heart ;
 He feels the happiness that cannot fade,
 With everlasting joy upon his head
 Starts from the flesh, and gains his native skies ;
 Glory to God on high !——the Christian dies !
 Dies from the world, and quits his earthly clod,
 Dies, and receives the crown by Christ bestow'd, }
 Dies into all the life and plenitude of God.”

CHAP. III.

Author, on his return to Dublin endeavours to go with the Son of Mr. William Howard to America. Being disappointed he enters on board a Vessel going to that Country. Is persuaded by his Father to forego the Voyage he intended. Dublin at that time badly circumstanced in its Peace and Police Establishments. Riots frequent. Author tries to learn the use of the Small Sword. Account of two fatal Duels.

HAVING stopped six weeks in the country, with the nephew of Mr. William Howard, and being much gratified with the tour, from the new scenes which it afforded, interesting to a young mind like mine, I returned to Dublin. On my arrival in town, my attention became greatly occupied in expectation of going to North America, in company with Mr. Howard's son, who had obtained a commission in a marching regiment, which was serving there. I besought my father to intercede with young Mr. Howard to take me along with him. But, although my indulgent parent agreed in compliance with my ardent wishes, to mention the matter to Mr. Howard, there could be no situation procured in the regiment for a boy such as I then was. I was obliged therefore to remain at home, and the disappointment very much distressed me. But I resolved at all events to depart for America, and, in pursuance of my determination, I seized an opportunity which soon offered, of entering on board a vessel destined for that part of the world. However, my father being apprised of my purpose, interfered with the captain of the

ship, paid my expenses on board, and so prevented my intended plan of folly for a time.

I remained at home a disappointed idler, and like most boys who have not received the advantage, the unspeakable advantage, of a truly religious education, became delighted with every folly that but too fatally captivate the juvenile mind. Did youth but seriously consider half the snares and temptations to which they are exposed, they would perceive, that early industry and a constant application to business are, under the divine guidance, their best preservatives.

At that period, the administration of justice was greatly relaxed in the city of Dublin. It was almost impossible for persons to walk through some parts of the city (particularly on Sunday evenings) without encountering the most violent, and sometimes dangerous assaults. Lower Abbey, and Marlborough streets, on the north side of the city, and the Long lane near Kevin-street on the south, were the places for general rendezvous for "Club-law," as it was vulgarly called. Here numbers of daring, desperate fellows, used to assemble, form themselves in battle array, and cut and main each other without either mercy or remorse.

Whether influenced by these scenes of personal contest, or from a natural and inherent love of a military life, I will not presume to determine; but at this early period of my life, the small-sword exercise became my favourite pursuit. But not meeting with a sufficient number of adversaries to exhibit my skill and keep my hand in practice, this in its turn, of course I abandoned.

" 'Tis granted, and no plainer truth appears,
 Our most important are our earliest years;
 The mind impressible and soft, with ease
 Imbibes and copies what she hears and sees,
 And, through life's labyrinth, holds fast the clue
 That education gives her, false or true.

Plants raised with tenderness are seldom strong ;
 Man's coltish disposition asks the thong ;
 And, without discipline, the fav'rite child,
 Like a neglected forester, runs wild.
 But we, as if good qualities would grow
 Spontaneous, take but little pains to sow ;
 We give him Latin, and a smatch of Greek ;
 Teach him to fence and figure twice a week ;
 And, having done, we think, the best we can,
 Praise his proficiency, and dub him man."

It might have been an over-ruling Providence that prevented my pursuing so dangerous an acquirement as the small-sword exercise. Though, to an humble individual like myself, it may be naturally asked, what evil could probably arise from the science? It requires so much hard-earned skill to become a proficient at this weapon, that it is confined to the higher orders of society; and that perhaps more as the exercise promotes health, and contributes much toward an elegant deportment, than for its use in what are termed affairs of honour. This fatal mode of deciding quarrels has for the most part given place to fighting with pistols, which certainly put the parties more on a level; as they do not depend so much on bodily strength and agility. Accordingly, since the invention of gun-powder, pistols have been the most common weapons. For even in those cases where the fire fails on both sides, combatants are not in general used at present to make a final appeal to the sword.

In this enlightened age it would tend to the honour of manhood to adopt some more humane mode of settling the differences arising between brave men. For the present practice (without departing for a moment from that love and respect which I bear the army) I am compelled to enter my humble protest against it. Humanity shudders at the idea—all the dearer ties and relations of life place themselves in array against the practice of it, whilst

religion aims her most awful thunders in eternal opposition to the deed of blood. It is speciously urged in favour of duelling, that the nice sense of honour which inspires the soldier, and respectable personage in society would become extinct in the abolition of it, and from this high motive it seems to be advocated as if it fed a laudable spirit in the mind. This begs an awful question, which the man of honour himself will not attempt to decide or even approve of; because the laws of reputation, it is evident, should have a tendency to strengthen the relations of peace and amity, and, as much as possible, promote the sacred interests of religion and piety. When the man of rank and distinguished condition begins to adjust the "point of honour," in this salutary way *Punctilio* will cease to commit murder and suicide, and then, and then only (in the faithful understanding and right economy of human life) the people of fashion will be honourable in truth and principle, noble in good nature and gentle indeed.

" The point of honour has been deem'd of use,
 To teach good manners, and to curb abuse.
 Admit it true, the consequence is clear,
 Our polish'd manners are a mask we wear,
 And at the bottom, barb'rous still and rude,
 We are restrain'd, indeed, but not subdu'd;
 The very remedy, however sure,
 Springs from the mischief it intends to cure,
 And savage in its principle appears,
 Tried, as it should be, by the fruit it bears.
 'Tis hard indeed, if nothing will defend
 Mankind from quarrels but their fatal end;
 That now and then an hero must decease,
 That the surviving world may live in peace.
 Perhaps at last, close scrutiny may show
 The practice dastardly, and mean, and low;
 That men engage in it compell'd by force:
 And fear, not courage, is its proper source.

The fear of tyrant custom, and the fear
 Lest fops should censure us, and fools should sneer.
 At least to trample on our Maker's laws,
 And hazard life for any, or no cause,
 To rush into a fix'd eternal state,
 Out of the very flames of rage and hate,
 Or send another shiv'ring to the bar,
 With all the guilt of such unnat'ral war,
 Whatever use may urge, or honour plead,
 On reason's verdict, is a mad-man's deed.
 Am I to set my life upon a throw,
 Because a bear is rude and surly? No.—
 A moral, sensible, and well-bred man,
 Will not affront me, and no other can."

These remarks are not offered in severity, but from humane motives, which an obscure narrator of common, but interesting occurrences, in publishing his unoffending memoir ought not to suppress. However duellists in general ought to be condemned, particular cases occur where we must lament that the fortitude and honour of the combatants had not a nobler scene of action and a better cause, in which to sacrifice valuable lives. The following case appears of singular interest, and furnishes a shocking example of the fatal effects of duelling in general:

"The Duke of B. having received an affront from lord B. at a ball given by the Imperial minister, sent him a challenge to meet him in Hyde Park, precisely at half after five the next morning.

"Lord B. returned an answer, and accepted the challenge. He then visited several of his friends, and was observed to be very jocose. He desired the messenger who carried his letter, to bring his Grace's answer to Lieut. Gen. D'Lees, the gentleman whom he had pitched upon for his second, and with whom he lay that night, at his house in St. James's-street; which was done.

About four in the morning his Lordship waked, and got softly up, without (as he thought) being observed by his bedfellow: and dressing himself, buckled on his sword, and fixed two agate flints in his pistols, then charged them; but recollecting that his Grace's seconds would probably desire to see them loaded, drew them again.

By this time the General was awake, and observing his Lordship to take a book out of his pocket, thought it improper to let him know he was observed. His Lordship kneeled down by a small jasper table in the General's bed-room, seemed to pray with great devotion for a quarter of an hour, often repeating, just loud enough to be heard, the errors of his youthful days, and fervently supplicated the Almighty not to impute them; after which he arose, and bade the General awake, for he would not willingly have his Grace, he said, wait a moment, as the morning was a little rainy, and cold withal. By the time they were dressed, it wanted just half an hour of the appointed time: General D'Lee desired to view his Lordship's sword, and examined the point and handle, then returned it, adding, that he heartily wished it was going to be employed in a cause more serviceable to his country. His Lordship answered, but it could be of little consequence in that respect, let the event be what it would.

“Just as his Lordship was opening the door for their departure, the General desired to know if there was any thing his Lordship thought proper to communicate; to which he replied, it was very fortunate that he had mentioned that, and delivered a letter directed for the Countess of E., desiring that he would give it to her alone, and not upon any consideration trust it to another hand; as for his family affairs, he said they were already settled according to his will. On this they immediately left the apartment, and arrived somewhat before the appointed time, and took several turns from the lodge to the tree. His

Lordship several times expressed wonder at his Grace's delay, though it was not two minutes by General D'Lee's watch above the limited hour, when he arrived, attended with one second only.

“ He bade his Lordship a good morning, and hoped they had not waited for them long; then pulled out his watch, said he had hit it to a point; adding, at the same time, that he had rather die than break his promise on such an occasion. His Lordship returned the expression with this addition, that though they had waited a little, there was sufficient time left to dispatch the business they were upon. To which his Grace replied, the sooner it is dispatched, the more leisure there will be behind. In the interim the seconds were preparing their swords, and each one loaded his adversary's pistols; then agreed to the following terms, viz. 1, That the distance of firing should not be less, at either time, than seven yards and a half. 2, That if either should be dangerously wounded on the first discharge, the duel should cease, and the wounded person would own his life in the hands of his antagonist. 3, That between the firing and drawing their swords, there should be no limited time, but each should endeavour to make the first thrust. 4, That if either should yield, as in the second article, during the engagement with the sword, whether by a wound, false step, or any other means, then the engagement should cease. To which four articles they both consented. His Grace stripped off his coat, which was scarlet trimmed with broad gold lace, when Lord B.'s second stepped in to unbutton his waistcoat, on which, with some indignation, his Grace replied, do you take me to be a person of so little honour, as to defend myself by such base means as hiding a shield under my doublet. Gen. D'Lee desired his excuse, adding, he was bound in honour to see justice to the cause he had espoused.

“The same ceremony passed upon his Lordship, who had already pulled off his coat, which was crimson with broad silver lace; and both the combatants being now ready, Lord B. added, ‘Now, if it please your Grace, come on,’ when they instantly both stepped into the circle. His Grace fired and missed, but Lord B., perhaps from more experience, knew that battles were seldom won by hasty measures, deliberately levelled his, and wounded his antagonist near the throat. They both discharged again, when his Lordship received a slight wound in his turn, on which they instantly drew their swords, and impetuously charged each other; rather each of them meditating the death of his adversary than his own safety. In the first or second thrust, Lord B. entangled the toe of his pump in a tuft of grass, and evading a push from his antagonist, fell on his right side, but supporting himself with the sword hand, by inconceivable dexterity sprung backwards, and evaded the push apparently aimed at his heart.

“A little pause intervening here, his Grace’s second proposed to his Lordship a reconciliation; but the ardent thirst after each other’s blood so overpowered the strongest arguments of reason, that they insisted to execute each other’s will, whatever might be the consequence. Nay, the anger of his Grace was raised to such a pitch of revenge, that he in that critical moment swore, if for the future, either of the seconds interposed, he would make his way through his body. Thus, after finding all remonstrances of saving them without effect, the seconds retired to their limited distance, and perhaps one of the most extraordinary duels ensued, that the records of history can produce, fairly disputed hand to hand. The parrying after this interval brought on a close lock, which Monsieur Barreux says, nothing but the key of the body can open. In this position they stood for, I dare say, a minute, striving to disengage each other by successive wrenches;

in one of which his Grace's sword point got entangled in the guard of his Lordship's, which, in fact, his Lordship overlooked; so that this disadvantage was recovered by his Grace, before the consequence, which it might have brought on was executed. At last in a very strong wrench on both sides, their swords sprung from their hands; his Lordship's flew six or seven yards upright.

“ This accident, however, did not retard the affair a moment, but both seizing their thistles at the same time, the duel was renewed with as much malevolence as ever. By this time his Lordship had received a thrust through the inner part of his sword arm, passing right forward to the exterior part of his elbow, his, at the same time passing a little over that of his antagonist, but alertly drawing back, I think partly before his Grace had recovered his push, run him through the body a little above the right pap. His Lordship's sword being thus engaged, nothing was left for his defence but a naked left arm, and his Grace being in this dangerous situation, yet had fair play at almost any part of his Lordship's body; yet he bravely put by several thrusts exactly levelled at his throat, till at last, having two fingers cut off by defending the pushes, and the rest mangled to a terrible degree, his Grace lodged his sword one rib below his heart, and in this affecting condition they both stood, without either being able to make another push, and each of them, by this time, was in a manner, covered with blood and gore, when both the seconds stepped in, and begged they would consider their situation, and the good of their future state; yet neither would consent to part, until, by the greater loss of blood, which his Lordship sustained, in being first wounded, he fell down senseless, but in such a position, that he drew his sword out of his Grace's body; but recovering himself a little before he was quite down, faltered forward, and falling with his thigh across his sword, snapped it in the middle.

“ His Grace observing that he was no longer capable of defence, or sensible of danger, immediately broke his own, and fell on his body with the deepest signs of concern, and both expired before any assistance could be got, though Dr. Fountain had orders from his Grace not to be out of the way, in case he should be called upon that morning. Thus fell these two gallant men, whose personal bravery history can scarcely equal, and whose honour nothing but such a cause could stain.”

This anecdote was signed by R. Deerhurst, who, it is presumed, was his Grace's second.

How afflictingly awful and full of sad reflection to the feeling heart is this case of inhumanity and horror! It would seem that man, even when the best educated, and the most gifted with advantages of reason and civilization, retains the latent rooted principle of depravity which operates in consequences the most disastrous. How were two brave men thus sacrificed to their imaginary wrongs, each of whom might have stood as a rampart in the defence of his country!

The following melancholy story from a periodical work published in this city, I thought so appropriate on the subject of duelling, that I feel disposed to submit it for the perusal of my readers :

“ Charles E——, was the son of a reputable citizen of Dublin; he was well educated, and early in life succeeded his father in the respectable employment of a tradesman. On the demise of his father, the protection of his mother and two sisters, devolved on Charles, whose amiable manners and social virtues, endeared him not only to his relations, but to an extensive circle of friends.

“ Mr. E——, soon felt his importance in society; strongly impressed with sentiments of filial gratitude, he endeavoured to repay the kindness and affection of a mother, who had cherished his infancy, watched over his youth, and been his monitress in manhood. His sisters

were the objects of fraternal affection; and he considered himself in the two-fold character of their brother, and protector. But notwithstanding the domestic tranquillity of Charles, his heart languished for a still dearer inmate. Miss F., the daughter of an opulent merchant, supplied that deficiency; and a passion at once pure and rational, conducted the lovers, with hearts throbbing in unison, to the temple of Hymen. The marriage was productive of felicity, and in seven years, four blooming children crowned the hopes and wishes of their parents. Success in business kept pace with domestic happiness, and Charles was as remarkable for his probity as a tradesman, as his conjugal, parental, filial, and fraternal virtue. While we contemplate the enjoyments, and the steady tenor of Mr. E.'s industrious and temperate life, with the complacency ever excited by a prospect of moral or natural beauty, we are animated with a generous wish, that no unforeseen incident, may intervene between him and felicity.

“On the arrival of two friends from the north of Ireland, they requested Mr. E. to accompany them through the city, to which they were strangers. After a fatiguing walk, they stepped into a coffee-house, as notorious for the systematic gambling pursued there, as for the excellence of its accommodations. While the three friends regaled themselves, a tall, athletic young man, with a ferocious aspect, strode into the box where they sat, and called for a bottle of wine. He continued silent for some time, and then followed up his first intrusion, by general dogmatic assertions, in opposition to the sentiments of the friends. His natural brutality was now stimulated by wine, and he treated Mr. E. and his companions with the utmost insolence, told them his name was ***, that he was a gentleman, and if any of them thought themselves aggrieved, they knew their remedy. Mr. E. who sat next to the

intruder, and to whom his discourse was particularly directed, felt irritated and shocked. He beheld before him a barbarian, eagerly bent on destruction; he was not himself a professed duellist, but he could not suppress his resentment, while his heart dictated the necessity of his avoiding a rencountre, that he might be able to continue his protection to an aged mother, an amiable wife, and four infant children. Indignant, however, at the insolence of ***, he replied to his defiance, that his behaviour was the very reverse of that of a gentleman, and he would look upon him in no other light than that of an ill-mannered intruder. Mr. *** started up, but was opposed by one of Charles's friends, a courageous young man, who, although unacquainted with the *laws of honour*, was now desirous of warding the danger from the head of his married friend. But Mr. *** insisted that the quarrel was at issue between him and Mr. E.; "when we have settled our business," said he, "I will be at your service." There now remained no alternative, and the antagonists engaged to meet at a particular spot in the Phoenix Park, at sun-rise next morning. The duellist then bowed to the friends, and left the box.

"On his return home, Charles felt his heart tortured with mournful emotions. He beheld his truly venerable mother, his smiling wife, and prattling children, perhaps for the last time. When his mother retired to rest, Charles accompanied her to the chamber-door, and kissed her hand, on which a precious tear of filial love fell as she withdrew it; she was alarmed at the grief perceptible in his countenance. 'What is the matter, my son?' exclaimed the good mother; 'has any misfortune happened?' 'To-morrow, my dear parent,' replied he, 'I hope I shall be able to explain the cause of my present inquietude.— Good night!' 'God bless and protect you, my son,' said his mother, while her eyes glistened with maternal love. Charles soon afterwards retired to bed, but not to

repose. The uncertainty of the issue of a duel, filled his mind with apprehension, not so much of the certainty of personal danger, as the moral and domestic evils resulting from the murderous system of false honour. As a Christian, he had his scruples respecting the justice of the act, and could not reconcile to his conscience the immorality of meeting an individual in mortal conflict; but as a man, he felt still more wretched; the idea of a final separation from a beloved consort, endeared by innumerable acts of kindness, and forsaking four innocent children, of whom he was at once the father and protector, wrung his heart with unutterable anguish. But he must meet his antagonist; and he beheld the glimmer of morning with horror. He hastily arose, dressed himself, and stealing softly to the bed-side, beheld his beautiful Amelia, with her youngest child, in sound repose; for Amelia, unlike fashionable mothers in Dublin, suckled her own offspring. He bent over them, and gently impressed, perhaps for the last time, a kiss on the cheek of each. As he closed the chamber door, he heard his wife turn herself in the bed, the sound of her voice struck his ear, he heard her distinctly articulate his name, and hurrying down stairs, he hastened into the street, where he found one of his friends, and a hackney coach waiting to convey him to the scene of combat.

“On their arrival, they found Mr. ***, with his watch in his hand, attended by his second. ‘I have been waiting impatiently for some minutes,’ said he, ‘as I want to dispatch this business, having an affair to transact with a lady, when I have concluded this with a gentleman.’ The parties then went to the ground, where twelve paces were measured with mathematical precision; they fired, but without effect. Their seconds, as usual, now interposed; Mr. E. declared his willingness to be reconciled, but not so the lowering Mr. ***, who, with the malignant brow of an assassin, exclaimed—‘I am not satisfied, one of us must kick the bucket; I would not give a damn for a duel

without bloodshed!' At the second fire, Mr. * * * was struck by a ball in the lower jaw, which disfigured his face, and deprived him of speech; but his precision was still more fatal, a pistol bullet pierced the warm and generous bosom of E., who with eyes turned towards heaven, and a querulous voice supplicating divine mercy, expired on the spot. His body was conveyed to the lodgings of his friend; but the fatal intelligence too soon reached home, where an aged mother, an amiable widow, and four innocent orphans, exhibited a mournful proof of the evils resulting from that sanguinary system of duelling, which has for ages disgraced the civilization of Europe, and appeared with circumstances of peculiar enormity in Ireland."

" The hero who asserts his country's cause,
Claims and receives unqualified applause.
The duellist devotes his life and fame,
And barter's honour for an empty name."

CHAP. IV.

Author enlists in the 9th Regiment of Foot. Acquires a knowledge of Discipline. Suffers great privations by means of a Non-commissioned Officer who had charge of him. Desertions were meditated in consequence of such abuses; but through fear, the men forbore to take so rash a step. Author much terrified at seeing a man flogged for Desertion. Hon. Geo. Rawdon (brother to the Earl of Moira) joins the Regiment. Account of Major Bolton. Author by means of bad company falls into snares in Waterford.

I HAD NOW arrived at a remarkable epoch in my life; since it was that which in a great measure gave a cast to its future operations. It was on the 10th of August, 1773, then in my 17th year, when being seduced to gaming by some evil companions, with whom I thoughtlessly associated, I lost my little all. This juvenile stage of existence is truly critical to both sexes. Forgetful of all the moral lessons so anxiously inculcated in my mind by my father, I was blind to my danger, and united with those who became my corrupters, and worst enemies. Afraid to return and tell my father of my indiscretions, who would have rebuked and forgiven me, I shrank from my best hope, parental admonition, and formed the resolution of entering for a soldier. Accordingly I went to one serjeant Jenkins, who kept a public house opposite the lower barrack gate, and enlisted with him for the 9th regiment of foot, which was then stationed in Waterford. On the 24th I joined the regiment, and was put into the

hands of a drill serjeant, and taught to walk and step out like a soldier. This at first was a disagreeable task to me. During twenty-one days I was thus drilled four hours each day. However, having at last rectified the most prominent appearance of my awkwardness, I received a set of accoutrements, and a firelock, and was marched every morning from the barrack to the bowling green, near the water-side, to be instructed in the manual exercise.

“ That instant he becomes the serjeant’s care,
 His pupil, and his torment, and his jest.
 His awkward gait, his introverted toes,
 Bent knees, round shoulders, and dejected looks,
 Procure him many a curse.—————
 Unapt to learn, and form’d of stubborn stuff ;
 He yet by slow degrees puts off himself,
 Grows conscious of a change, and likes it well :
 He stands erect, his slouch becomes a walk ;
 He steps right onward, martial in his air,
 His form and movement.—————”

The most disagreeable days of a soldier, are these in which he begins to learn his exercise. And it is seldom that he entertains much regard for those who teach it him. Hence the office of a drill serjeant, although one of the most important is not one of the most thankful. However, without disparaging the soldier’s character (an offence of which, I hope, I shall not be thought guilty). I must own that some of the old drill-serjeants were unnecessarily, if not wantonly severe. Indeed, to the honour, humanity, and enlightened policy of the Duke of York, is the army much indebted in this particular. Some most salutary alterations in the conduct of these officers towards the young recruits have been enforced, by special command of his Royal Highness, and the recruit is now taught, and obliged to learn his exercise. But he is taught it like a man and a soldier.

Soldiers deserve to be treated at all events as human beings, and not beaten like beasts of burden ; for cruelty is not the best means of producing improvement of manners. No doubt, the lash cannot always be withheld, but the severe exercise or application of it to the back will seldom eradicate the inveterate vices of the mind depraved. Terrible severity rather excites indignation than sorrow for faults and offences. The military man, like the civil individual, is won by generous treatment and humanity. A great and good officer was heard to say, he knew a Captain noted more for punctilio and the flippancy of his tongue, than for ability, or the acquisitions becoming a military gentleman, “ more famous (said the personage above mentioned) for caning his company that storming half-moons.” The anecdote adds, that he commanded a serjeant to pay him the proper respect, declaring with blasphemous imprecations, that unless he did so to his satisfaction he would “ make a devil of him.” The impious and unofficer-like manner of his enforcing subordination, did not intimidate the serjeant, who, knowing he had not offended, behaved with the becoming but respectful spirit of a soldier ; so much so, that the company in general re-echoed the young officer’s expression in ridicule of it, and he himself found his situation so awkward that he left the regiment. Thus it is, that a humane demeanour is proper even for persons put in authority, and we may observe on this subject, that David with his harp cured Saul, and by the melody of his music banished the evil genius that haunted him, when probably Balaam the prophet of Moab might have failed to do so with all the power of his curses.

“ A Persian, humble servant of the sun,
 Who, though devout, yet bigotry had none,
 Hearing a *Captain* grave, in his address,
 With adjurations ev’ry word impress.

Suppos'd the man a bishop, or at least
 God's name so much upon his lips, a priest ;
 Bow'd at the close with all his graceful airs, -
 And begg'd an int'rest in his frequent pray'rs."

Swearing and cursing ought to be avoided as misbecoming educated and christian officers, who, when they descend to such vulgar impiety and gross profaneness, give the most vicious and vile example to their inferiors, who will be found to imitate them in their worst vices, rather than their virtuous accomplishments. Cannot officers issue their orders without affronting the King of kings, and defying that Omnipotence *by which kings rule, and princes decree justice*. It is notorious, that officers who generously leave alone severity as much as possible, and foul abuse, are the best attended to and admired by the men, who, when they are obliged to become severe, as must be the case sometimes, obtain the excellent credit due to their usual good nature.

Matters changed with me much for the better when I joined my regiment, as far as regarded my personal feelings, but I had to experience other sufferings. I was put into a mess with a number of recruits. The non-commissioned officer who had us in charge received our pay every Saturday, and squandered the greater part of it in paying the expences of his weekly score at the public house, by which means, we had to subsist upon a very scanty allowance, although at that time, provisions were very cheap in Waterford. We often complained in private among ourselves, but whenever we remonstrated with him he menaced us with confinement in the guard-house, and such was our inexperience, and apprehension of being punished by his interference against us, that we submitted in silence. If we had boldly stated our grievances to the officer commanding, we most certainly had been redressed. No doubt such an effect would have resulted from our complaints properly made. However, it is certain, that

officers in command cannot be too vigilant in their inspections to detect the commission of frauds and breaches of trust in this way. Unless they take special, constant care, they leave avenues for the fraudulent to effectuate their unjust purposes; whereby it must happen that the soldier will be distressed in an extraordinary degree. What attachment can men have to the army, if they are deprived of a part of their pay, and perceive their appointed subsistence plundered from them by some audacious speculator, but one step above themselves? Such abominable treatment cannot fail to render the service in general odious to the privates, who, if thus disgusted and goaded, will take opportunities to desert, and will be ever insubordinate.

These pernicious and disgraceful frauds have been generally owing to the indolence or caprice of the officer commanding, who from carelessness, or ill-placed confidence, forbore to inquire and inspect how the men were actually served; but the like negligence and improper reliance on individuals are highly culpable, and put the blame entirely at the door of him, whose imperious duty it is to have all things conducted in right order, and with strict justice. An anecdote appropriate in pursuing this subject, is told of Lewis XIV, which was highly creditable to that Sovereign. As the Monarch entered one of the towns of France, his attention was arrested by two soldiers, who, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial, for desertion, were led out for execution. His Majesty having proceeded to the spot, the soldiers besought the interposition of the royal mercy to save them. Inquiring the cause of their condemnation, he turned to them, saying, "What moved you to leave my service? were you paid?" They answered, that fair and regular payments were not made to them, and that in consequence they deserted. The Potentate immediately made inquiry, and finding that the men had reason to complain of fraudulent dealings in the matter of their pay, he forthwith pardoned

them, and also cashiered the officers by whose connivance or neglect the speculation took place, while he tore their commissions with his own hand, and ordered their swords to be broken in his presence. This act ought to stand on record to admonish officers in command, and presiding on courts martial, how they ought to dispense justice, when men are so ill treated and defrauded by low individuals, who, from becoming favourites with their superiors, commit abuses sometimes with impunity.

Such ill usage actually proved so oppressive, and nearly intolerable to a party of our men, who were driven almost to abandon the service, that several of them, from continued extortion, and the hardship owing to it, actually conspired together to desert. Happily, however, for them, after proceeding some short way in pursuance of their plot, they were induced, from apprehension of the danger attending such rashness, or probably from the reviving energy of loyal motives, to return in time, before their intention of quitting the regiment could be known. This salutary determination perhaps was suggested by the confinement of a deserter at that time who had to undergo the sentence of a court-martial. The party alluded to, no doubt dreaded, that if they acted rashly as they at first intended, a similar punishment might soon await themselves. However, on the day subsequent to their returning to the barrack, after resolving to resume their military duties, the unfortunate man who deserted was taken out for punishment, attended by the entire regiment.

This was the first man I saw flogged. Being at that time (as I have already observed) only seventeen years of age, with all the warm youthful emotions operating within me, the spectacle made a lasting impression on my mind. I well remember, during the infliction of his punishment, I cried like a child.

The non-commissioned officer who had the charge of us, began to be fearful lest his conduct should be made

known to the Captain of the company. He spent less of our pay, and of consequence, we were much better provided. However, he still kept us on very unfair allowance. Indeed it would almost have been impossible for me to have supported life with any degree of comfort, had it not been, that I was employed by a serjeant and his wife to teach their son writing and arithmetic. These people were very kind to me, frequently inviting me to their table; and paying me beside. I had also plenty of writing to do for the various serjeants and corporals, in making out their reports, &c. These employments placed me above that starvation which my unfortunate comrades were compelled to endure. However incredible, it is a fact, that merely through fear of this man we endured all this fraud, without making that representation which must have effectually relieved us: for our commanding officer, Major Bolton, being strictly just as well as humane, would have severely punished any non-commissioned officer, found guilty of defrauding the men.

The author cherishes an interest for the honoured memory of this gentleman, of whom the reader may be inclined to receive some particular account.

Major Bolton was born in the city of Dublin, commenced his military life very young, and served with ability in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762. He held the rank of captain in the 9th regiment of foot, for seventeen years before he obtained a majority. Having fought under him in Canada, during the entire campaign of 1776, I had opportunities of witnessing his gallantry and worth. About the end of that year he was promoted to the Lieut. Colonelcy of the 8th foot, at that time on service in Detroit and Niagra; and having taken the command accordingly, he was as usual, distinguished for spirit, talent, and the attachment of the men. Soon after his being appointed Colonel, lamented by the army and all who knew him, he was unfortunately drowned in the lakes while coming

down to Montreal. Too much could not be said in praise of Col. Bolton, estimating him in his profession or in society. With all the intrepidity and ardour of the military character, he possessed the most honourable mind and benevolent heart. On the occasion of punishing a man for desertion, of which I before gave some account, the Major attended by the officers of the regiment, came to see the sentence of law-martial enforced. After the third drummer inflicted his twenty-five lashes, (i. e. when the offending soldier had received seventy-five,) Major Bolton, without addressing either the surgeon or officers in attendance, advanced, evidently much affected, to the halberts, in a compassionate manner expostulated with the man concerning the magnitude of his offence, and afterward ordered him to be taken down, remitting the remainder of the intended punishment, on the soldier's promise of future good conduct. Such severe inflictions were unusual whenever he commanded: he avoided flogging the men as much as possible, and only resorted to it for those great crimes which required extraordinary coercion. For the common breaches of the military laws and duties, he used to send them some hours of the day to drill, sometimes making them wear the regimental coat turned inside out, in order to exhibit them as examples of ill behaviour and disgrace. They were moreover prevented from going on any command, or mounting the principal guards. On some occasions he confined the ill conducted soldier to his barrack room, or the guard-house, and when his offence deserved it, the man was condemned to the black-hole, and at times obliged to live on bread and water. In short, his mode of treating the men shewed them his unceasing strictness in preserving order and discipline, as also his fine feelings and dispassionate motives.

In reflecting on Major Bolton's honourable career, and his manner of keeping his men correct and obedient, the reader will easily be led to entertain a more favourable

thought of military command, than probably he before received from hearsay, or the reports of passing observers. Individuals are a good deal possessed with an ill founded idea of the army, thinking that mercy and humanity are abandoned by those who maintain the government of it. On this interesting subject I shall have occasion to speak more in explanation, for the purpose of undeceiving persons who may take wrong impressions. Laws in general, whether civil or martial, are made, not against the well-conducted, but the guilty, and it belongs to me, who know from my own experience and observation, to insist that the needful coercions, which must be applied for ordering and disciplining our soldiery, are truly excellent in principle, while in their operation they produce the most salutary effects. They, as it were, mould the man for duty and propriety, in general—they form not merely good soldiers, but good citizens and subjects to benefit the commonwealth. This I have always endeavoured to inculcate since I ceased to serve as a military man. For the space of twenty-six years, during which I have been laboriously employed in the business of a school-master, I have ever given it as my opinion to parents who were charged with idle and ill behaved children, that sending them into some of our marching regiments, would probably school them better than if their friends expended large sums of money to educate them at home. In the truth and justice of such an argument, I think myself borne out by a variety of instances: numbers as well as myself can bear testimony to it. There are many worthy members of the community who are ready to confess, that serving in his Majesty's armies took them from vicious courses to the paths of virtue and religion. If we look around us at the world, it will be generally granted that the army furnishes a most excellent establishment to reform and regulate the lives of heedless, headstrong, and froward young men, too far gone in wickedness, to be educated by

school-masters, and capable merely of taming in the military life by the unyielding strength of discipline, and the necessary passive obedience which in all cases the soldier's duty demands.

To some it may seem that the author in his regards for the army, is desirous of saying too much for the service. He is sensible, that from the manner in which its levies are made up, it cannot but have many bad members. Aware of this disadvantage, he is also well assured that several individuals, whose lives and conduct were altogether objectionable, insensibly improved by the necessary round of duty and discipline, and moreover, are remarkable for subordination and obedient behaviour in general; so much so that they are often entirely changed in mind and manners, as if they were not the same beings. Thus the salutary restraints and strict submission which the military economy demand, gradually prove effectual to render a considerable part of the soldiery not only moral, but truly pious. Such is the author's argument for the army; and he is confident it is not exaggerated, because it is proved by many living witnesses.

Officers commanding know how to appreciate such a desirable amendment of morals among the men; for it not only originates and preserves good order and saves punishments in the regiment, but generates a well founded fortitude which neither peril or privations can extinguish. Of this, Gen. O'Hara, under whom the author served in America, was certain. When he had the government of Gibraltar in 1792, complaints being made against parties of men in the garrison, whose usage it was to assemble every evening to pray, and exhort each other in a religious manner; instead of encouraging the complainants, the General observed, "Let them alone: I wish there were twenty for every one of them, and then we should have fewer courts-martial in the garrison than we have." While in America, General O'Hara was remarkable for holding courts-martial on the

brigade of guards which he commanded, and he had noticed the orderly and correct conduct of the men who were known to be religious. He therefore spoke from his own knowledge of such soldiers, who were patterns in point of behaviour and discipline. Discipline, it is true, will not, unassisted, amend the mind and furnish the understanding. In Turkey and Russia the man might learn his exercise, and do his duty as a soldier without being able to improve himself in principle and virtue. It may be so in some measure among ourselves; but, notwithstanding the vice and immorality of society, they who avoid irregular habits will have many opportunities and incentives to acquire good opinions and cherish right motives. Such ideas will operate in good fruits, and thus regular habits have more efficacy than people are aware of. At present it is certain that numbers of the privates in our regiments, to whom the military line proved the path of improvement, are ornaments to human life. Numbers of our soldiers are conspicuous not only for general propriety, but leading truly christian lives. Of this the British soldiery on the Continent and in Great Britain and Ireland give abundant evidence. And the author is happy to say, that several of the youth, whose early education he superintended, are serving with credit in the army; and some of them, owing to their talents and excellent conduct, are preferred as commissioned officers.

While our regiment continued as I before described, commanded by Major Bolton (in 1774) the Hon. George Rawdon, brother to the Earl of Moira, joined it, and was appointed to the command of our company. He was then a promising young officer, and served afterward with distinguished credit under General Burgoyne, until the surrender of our army at Saratoga. At my return from North America, he was Major in a marching regiment quartered in Dublin, and recognized me with that urbanity and amiable attention, for which his family by all ranks are admired.

Major Rawdon soon after died of a fever, greatly regretted by his acquaintance.

The biographer who is governed by truth has sometimes a very painful task to perform : he has to narrate circumstances which he could wish never to have happened ; or having occurred, to have their remembrance for ever buried from human observation.

During our stay at Waterford I fell into many irregularities. But whatever excuse might be made for me and my companions, from the peculation by which we suffered, as also our youth and inexperience, the real cause lay deeper ; we were all alike aliens to God—breakers of his laws—and slights, if not open contemners of his ordinances. I thank heaven, those days of transgression are long since gone by ; and, I humbly hope, are forgiven : but even now, when I reflect on the actions of my life while quartered in Waterford, the remembrance fills my mind with the deepest sorrow.

“ Hear the just law—the judgment of the skies !
 He that hates truth shall be the dupe of lies :
 And he that *will* be cheated to the last,
 Delusions, strong as hell, shall bind him fast.
 But, if the wand’rer his mistake discern,
 Judge his own ways, and sigh for a return,
 Bewilder’d once, must he bewail his loss
 For ever and for ever ? No—the cross !
 There, and there only, though the deist rave,
 There, and there only, is the power to save.
 There, no delusive hope invites despair ;
 No mock’ry meets you, no deception there.
 The spells and charms, that blinded you before,
 All vanish there, and fascinate no more.
 I am no preacher, let this hint suffice—
 The cross, once seen, is death to ev’ry vice :
 Else He that hung there suffer’d all his pain,
 Bled, groan’d, and agoniz’d, and died, in vain.”

CHAP. V.

The Author marches with his Regiment for the North of Ireland. Is quartered at Downpatrick. Ordered to Saintfield. Dissipation of the privates there. Monsieur Pierre Viaud and Madame la Couture's extraordinary Narrative, as certified by Lieutenant Sweetman. Concluding Observations thereon.

IN the month of May, 1774, we received the route for the North of Ireland, and marched for our destination accordingly. The company to which I belonged was quartered in the town of Downpatrick. A few days after our arrival there, I was ordered on command in an officer's detachment, to the town of Saintfield, ten miles distant from Belfast. Here a circumstance occurred, which though it may appear uninteresting to many, should not pass in silence; because it became dangerous and detrimental to myself at the time, and giving it a place in this publication may prove a mean of cautioning and dissuading men in the army, and the various avocations of life, from perilous and depraving diversions. It is somewhere well observed, that "happy is he who takes care and pursues a right path, by marking the dangers and errors of others." In this way it will not be amiss for me to observe that, having by this time associated myself with card-playing companions, I commenced a professed gambler; and so ardent was my passion for gaming that by my losses at cards, I often brought myself into great difficulties.

Card-playing is often attended, no doubt, with dangerous consequences, when the mind becomes enamoured of the game. The winner proceeds with ideas of avarice, and the loser to recover his losses, and even where money is not risked, as a diversion, playing at cards administers to idleness and dissipation.

“ Cards are superfluous, with all the tricks
That idleness has ever yet contriv'd,
To fill the void of an unfurnish'd brain,
To palliate dullness, and give time a shove.”

When I look back at my unguarded and dissipated conduct at that period, I am obliged to pause and bless a kind Providence that I did not, from the precipice on which I then stood, fall into open disgrace and ruin. To supply the expences of playing, the privates sold their necessaries and squandered their pay. Many did even worse; and it is really matter of wonder, how they evaded detection, when the officers inspected and reviewed the state of their necessaries. On such occasions they frequently borrowed shirts, shoes, stockings, and other articles of regimental appointment from their comrades, who happened to be absent on guard, while the inspection and scrutiny took place. In this manner they frequently eluded strict examination. Once, an affair occurred, which, had it been detected, would have deservedly exposed the individual to severe punishment. It was as follows: it is notorious that soldiers in most quarters, can without difficulty find wives; but in the north of Ireland, wherever the regiment was stationed, young women appeared to have a predilection for our men, and it being expected that we would shortly be sent to serve in America, the commanding officer issued a general order to prevent them from marrying without a written permission, signed by the officers of the company or detachment; and even the ministers of the place were desired not to solemnize

the marriages of soldiers without consulting the officers, and having such military licenses, as but a few young women could be taken on board when the regiment embarked for foreign service. While this prevention was enforced, a soldier belonging to our detachment made a contract, and despairing of obtaining permission to marry, he prevailed on another to counterfeit the signature of his officer. The curate of the place was imposed on, and the soldier was married. And although Lieutenant Sweetman, who commanded at Saintfield endeavoured to find out the person who counterfeited his name, the man escaped an exposure; the consequence of which would have been attended with certain and just punishment.

I have adduced this circumstance, as a lesson of advice to young soldiers, placed under strict and necessarily severe subordination to serve as an antidote against incurring the strong penalties of martial law, by committing crimes, which when proved, even the common and statute law punishes as capital offences.

Whether or not Lieutenant Sweetman scrutinized in so strict a manner as he might, I cannot determine. Probably he was not displeased in his not having occasion to punish an individual in a manner sufficient to terrify others from committing such a transgression. Had it been ascertained, punishment of course could not have been avoided. The name and character of Lieutenant Sweetman, however, recalls to my memory the narrative of Monsieur Pierre Viaud, who came on shore at Pensacola, in the year 1766, while the Lieutenant commanded at that post. Monsieur Viaud's story was often related by Lieutenant Sweetman previously to its publication, which came into my hands some years back, and it is altogether so extraordinary, that I have reason to think it will contribute to the amusement and surprize of my readers. The narrative throughout abounds with such uncommon incident and adventure, that I think it right to submit the

substance of it, as also extracts of the most interesting parts in Monsieur Viaud's words.

In February 1765, M. Viaud sailed from Bourdeaux in the ship *L'Amiable Suzette*, and arrived at St. Domingo after a safe voyage. Intending to return to France he accepted a proposal of partnership for a venture home with a Monsieur Desclau. In prosecution of which agreement they hired a brigantine called the *Tyger*, commanded by a Monsieur Couture, which was freighted by the parties, and on the 2d of January, 1766, they embarked sixteen in number, viz. the captain, his wife and son, the vessel's mate and nine sailors, Messieurs Desclau and Viaud and a negro slave. They proceeded from the road of St. Louis, steering in the direction of the bay of Jeremiah, a port lying north of Cape Marie, where they touched and stopped a day. Thence they turned their course toward Little Goave, and sustained a gale, by which they were in danger of shipwreck on the Cayes Mittes. Stopping three days at Little Goave, they set sail for Louisiana, but they were taken by adverse winds during the entire course. On the 26th of January, they had a view of the Isle of Pines, situate towards the west of Cuba, which the captain mistook for Cape St. Anthony. Monsieur Viaud took the elevation, and found the captain was in error, but could not convince him of his sad mistake, until the ship drove among the rocks. In this unfortunate aberration, the vessel sprang a leak and with difficulty doubled Cape St. Anthony. The crew lost all confidence in the captain, and turned their anxious expectations of being rescued from their perilous situation by the knowledge and exertions of Monsieur Viaud, who took charge of the ship, and endeavoured by lightening her to keep her from sinking. It being found impossible to get the better of the leaks, they stood in for the Mobbille, the nearest land. The shifting gale made this effort hopeless, and they strove to gain Pensacola. In this attempt they also failed, and

were left without any destination, fearing to be swallowed every moment by the agitated ocean. In this dreadful manner, tempest-tost, they were driven from the 12th to the 16th February, when they struck on a ledge of rocks about two leagues from land, and the vessel was so damaged by violent shocks that her stern opened, and exposed them to the most horrible alarms. Unexpectedly they arrived within gun-shot of the shore, but the over-setting of the vessel on her larboard side, was near proving fatal to most of them; however, those that were cast into the sea recovered the ship. In this crisis of peril three sailors took the desperate resolution of attempting the shore in a wretched boat which they launched secretly, and were some distance from the vessel before they had been perceived by the suffering party they left to envy their escape. On the next morning, after having passed a night of trembling anxiety between horror and hope, they saw the rising sun, and, after offering their thanksgivings and prayers to that Being whom the raging sea obeys, they enjoyed a sensible consolation at the storm's subsiding, which enabled a resolute sailor to swim ashore, in order to refit the crazy boat, and take it back to the ship.

Monsieur Viaud observes on this awful occasion—"We saw the boat launched into the sea. It approached the vessel. How is it possible to describe the transport of the crew? It was expressed by shrieks, by tears, and mutual embraces. This extacy however, was quickly over, and took another turn when it came to the point of embarking. The boat was but small, it could not contain above a third part of our number; we could not attempt to embark all at once, without sinking it. Every one was sensible of the difficulty, but no one would consent to wait for a second passage, the fear of some accident happening to prevent a return, and the terror of lying another night exposed on the hulk, made every one obstinate for being taken in the first.

“ Those who had brought the boat to us called out to me, insisting that I should take advantage of this first opportunity, as they feared it would not be in their power to make two returns more ; which expression being heard by the rest excited new outcries, and desperate resolves in each to rush into the skiff all at once. I raised my voice above the rest, and entreated silence for a moment. ‘ Your clamours, your violences, (said I) but hurt yourselves, and retard your own safety. We are all lost, if you persist in going altogether, let us then determine the first passengers by lot; let us submit our fate to this impartial decision ; and, to convince those who may be left behind, that hope still remains with me, I will stay with them myself, and promise to be the last person that shall quit the vessel.’ This resolution surprised and silenced them ; they consented to the proposition, and one of the sailors happening to have a parcel of cards in his pocket, they were made use of to determine the chances. Of the eleven of us that were sticking to the vessel four were taken in, and were delivered safe on land by the other four, who returned immediately for to carry away its compliment of four more.

“ While they were coming towards us, I happened to perceive the stern of our vessel so loosened by the shock of the waves, that by the help of Monsieur Desclau and my negroe, I separated it entirely. This wreck appeared to me as good as a canoe, to carry us ashore ; Monsieur Desclau being of the same opinion, we ventured upon it directly accompanied by the negroe, when the other four took boat, and happily arrived at the same point of land a short time after them.

“ The inexpressible transport we were sensible of upon being thus far safely delivered, can better be imagined than described. The oysters that we happily found on the coast furnished us with a truly delicious repast, as the total privation of food we had sustained so long before

gave them a peculiar relish. We rejoiced in our present situation, and passed a peaceable night in a profound sleep, uninterrupted by disagreeable ideas about our further deliverance, which served to recruit our strength and spirits. The next day we awoke also with the same satisfaction, but it was not of long continuance."

The mate died in consequence of continued fatigue, and the tremendous dangers they encountered, and after burying him in his clothes, Monsieur Viaud went on board the wreck to regain some articles of value and use. He succeeded in getting a quantity of gun-powder, fire-locks, blankets, and biscuits, and was hailed by the greetings of his fellow-sufferers ashore. On the 22d February, as the party were asleep early in the morning, one of them awaking, perceived five natives, whom his fears made him magnify into a multitude. The little party terrified were about running into the woods, but on the remonstrance of Monsieur Viaud, they remained to meet those savages. Their chief said his name was Antonio, and that he resided at St. Mark's, in the Apalachian mountains. He was accompanied by his mother, sister, wife, and nephew, and agreed to conduct the party to St. Marks, which, by his account was distant but ten leagues. In this matter however, as they afterwards found, the savage, who otherwise deceived their expectations, misinformed them of the distance. On the 24th they freighted his canoe with as much of their effects as it could hold, and six of the party embarked in it, Monsieur Viaud pledging himself by a promise to send back Antonio to fetch the remaining people. Monsieur Viaud, after being landed in another island nearer the American mainland, or continent, with some difficulty prevailed with the savage to return for his friends who stopped behind. On the 28th February they all met again, being fourteen in number, and endeared by their terrible misfortunes as one family together. Anxious as they were to be carried to the

continent, and having but an ounce of biscuit each a day to subsist on, the savage became averse to comply with their entreaties, until by bribes, and somewhat of compulsory means, they at length succeeded with him to embark pursuant to his promise at first.

On the 5th of March, Messrs. Viaud and Couture, Madame La Couture and son (a boy of sixteen years, who surprisingly withstood a continuation of almost unexampled hardships,) Monsieur Desclau, and the negro, embarked once more. Antonio and his wife bore them company, and left their three Indian friends with the eight individuals who stopped in the island. The savage (although at sailing he informed them, that in two days they would arrive at their destination,) took them from one island to another of the groupe of islets which lie contiguous to the main of America, by which sailing about, their sufferings were increased; being worn with fatigue, and a scanty allowance of bad provisions. In this wretched plight it occurred to Monsieur Viaud that they ought to dispatch the treacherous Indian, who evidently meditated their destruction, and he communicated his design accordingly to his companions; but they from motives of humanity dissuaded him from entertaining it. They were now abandoned by the Indian, and almost spent with weariness and want of subsistence, while they waded from islet to islet, often in danger of drowning in the straits between, and prolonging a woeful existence by eating some oysters which they picked up on the sands. Reduced to desperation, on the 22d March they recollected, that in a neighbouring island lay an old canoe, which if repaired, might ferry them to the continent, and they accordingly went to make trial of it. After exhausting their enfeebled efforts, they found the canoe so loose and leaky, that they could not expect to sail in it with safety. However, despairing of any other conveyance, they determined to make the attempt with it, and, in this forlorn hope of reaching

St. Marks, it was resolved to leave Madame La Couture, her son, and the negro, until a sound boat could be sent back from the Continent to convey them there. In this miserable emergency, Monsieur Viaud goes on to conclude his uncommon story as follows:—

“ On the 29th March, at sun-rise, we set our canoe afloat, said our prayers, and embarked: but we felt the plank we stood upon bend under our feet; our weight sunk the boat too low for safety, and we soon perceived the water beginning to spring through its sides. These appearances deprived me of all manner of hope; in short, I stepped on shore, and peremptorily declined the voyage. Mons. La Couture pressed me to return, and made a jest of my apprehensions. My solicitations and arguments were to him of no effect; he still persisted in his purpose to hazard the voyage, and Monsieur Desclau departed with him. I remained on the strand looking after them while they continued in sight; I saw them proceed with great difficulty, and turn round a little island that was not far from our own, which soon prevented me from seeing any more of them.

“ We remained now but four persons in the whole island, and I had the care alone of providing for the safety and subsistence of us all. Six days had passed since the departure of Monsieur La Couture and Desclau. Tired to the last degree with my wretched situation, and knowing of a sad certainty, that I had no one but myself now to expect any relief from towards extricating us out of our deplorable circumstances, a thought occurred strongly to my mind one morning, that I might possibly be able to collect sufficient materials together on the island, capable of floating us over some calm day or other to the Continent. I instantly communicated my purpose to Madame La Couture, who seemed transported at the thought, and who immediately surmounting the natural feebleness of her sex, which her misfortunes had augmented,

set her hand to the business with amazing vigour and spirit. The tough rind of those trees which I had directed La Couture to strip, served us to bind the timber together ; but as we did not think those ligatures strong enough to trust to on our voyage, I made Madame La Couture cut up one of our blankets into strings for the purpose. My negroe brought me several pieces of smaller and more pliant branches, with which we interwove the grosser timber, and my raft was completed about noon. I then set up a stick in the middle of it, which I fastened as well as I cou'd, to serve for a mast, to which I tied a blanket by way of sail ; and then broke up our stockings, to form the thread into cordage, to shift it as the wind might vary. These lesser matters employed us for the rest of that day, when we finished the work, even to the fixing a small piece of timber behind, by way of rudder.

“ The next morning I went to awaken young La Couture to embark with us. I called him, but he made no reply ; I took hold of his hand, to shake him from his slumber, but found him cold as marble, without movement or sensation. I concluded him to be dead for some minutes ; but feeling his naked breast, I perceived his heart was still beating, though with a feeble pulse. Madame La Couture came just at that instant ; she fell into a swoon by his side, which I thought would have put an end to her life. Her son at length began to recover ; but there was no thinking of setting out on their voyage this day ; both the mother and son were too ill and weak to attempt it, as their deaths appeared to be the immediate consequence.

“ I lay awake that whole night by his side, watching to lend him any assistance he might stand in need of. About break of day he found himself growing worse ; and I had the precaution to keep his mother at a considerable distance from him, that she might not see him in his last agonies. The young man exerting all his strength, spoke

to me thus; 'Let me advise you to be gone; take the advantage of the present moment, and the raft you have prepared; if that should be lost, you have no other means of relief. Leave me what provisions you can spare; if heaven should yet lend me life a little longer, I may want them.' I applauded his fortitude, and left him all the necessaries I could. I then went to take charge of his mother, whom I awaked, with some difficulty. 'Madame,' said I hastily, 'we must be gone; a moment's delay may be irreparable.' 'Ah,' cried she, 'my son is no more! my husband dead!—all, all is lost!' I led her immediately to our raft, to which she made not the least resistance.

"It was on the 19th of April that we left the island; and after twelve hours sail, happily reached the Continent, without the least accident, or inconvenience, except that of labour and fatigue. We forsook the raft, after having taken out our provisions, blankets, and cordage.

"At noon next day, we began our journey, tending easterly, in hopes of getting to St. Marks, in the Appalachian mountains. Having continued our journey for two or three days, we became so languid with hunger, that I began to entertain the thought of murdering my negro. At length rising up with precipitation, and seizing a knotty staff, which I used to walk with on my marches, I ran at the wretched victim, who was then lying asleep, and with a sort of fury struck him on the head with all the force that my reduced strength could enable me to do. He awakened at the blow, and my uplifted arm, now trembling, refused to repeat the stroke. The unhappy wretch, recovering himself soon, had risen upon his knees, and joining his hands together, with a terrified look and dismayed accent, cried out, 'Have mercy on me! Oh, spare my life!' For the space of two minutes I stood motionless, without power to speak or resolve; but, at length, rage and hunger stifled the voice of pity; and thus

distracted I fell upon the miserable wretch, pressing him to the ground, and tying his hands behind his back, called out to Madame la Couture to assist me in this barbarous execution. She came readily on the summons, and keeping down his head, while I lay along the rest of his body, I drew out my knife, and striking it deep into his throat, soon put an end to all further strife. As soon as our pile was lighted, I cut off the negroe's head, and fastened it to the end of a stick, turned and roasted it before the fire: but our impatience did not suffer us to wait till it was quite done: for we began to devour it when it was little more than warmed through. After several days, I became very weak and ill, and was lying stretched before the fire, when I was roused from my mortal doze by some shrill voices, which awakened my attention. Perhaps, thought I, the persons I hear are sailing on the sea, and bound to some distant coast. I thought of every possible method of rendering myself visible: I happened to perceive a long branch of a tree within my reach, which I made use of to raise my cap upon, to which I fastened a part of the petticoat that my companion in misery had lent me; and this kind of floating ensign was at last happily taken notice of by the persons who were in the vessel; which I soon perceived, by the sudden shout they set up, and by their quitting their former course, and steering in directly to the shore. I immediately stuck my perch into the ground, that they might not lose sight of the signal, and by the assistance of my companion, went towards the strand. The boat at length arrived to shore, the crew landed, and came up to us; the excess of my joy in seeing them so near me, had like to have been fatal to me. A cup of taffia, which they poured down my throat, revived my spirits, and enabled me to express my gratitude, and to acquaint them in a few words of the miseries of my situation.

“Our guests informed us that they were English, the principal of whom was an officer of infantry, in the service of his Britannic Majesty, whose name was Wright.* The next day, by sun-rise, we embarked. When I had got into the boat, I resigned myself entirely to repose, as having now no other care upon my mind, and Mr. Wright thought of putting an end to his expedition. We arrived at an island after about twelve hours sail, with a favourable gale; and I recollected it to be the island whence Madame La Couture and I had departed together, and where her son had been left to expire. I prevailed on Mr. Wright to suffer us to sail round the island, while the soldiers were exerting the utmost stretch of their lungs, in the hallooing and calling out La Couture, at frequent intervals; but no answer was returned. However, a messenger being sent on shore, returned to us, in about half a quarter of an hour, with the report that he had seen the body, and found it dead. I now requested leave to go on shore and inter the body.

“When we all came to the place where the young man lay stretched out at length on the ground, with his face to the earth; his skin was all parched with the sun and



* When Mr. Wright (who certified and signed Monsieur Viaud's Narrative with his name, in order to attest its authenticity) met that gentleman and Madame Couture, after their amazing preservation, they had some of the negroe's flesh remaining, and that officer used to observe, that the appearance and smell of it proved disgusting and offensive to him, in a degree which he could not attempt to describe. During the American war Lieutenant Wright, in consequence of his activity and knowledge of the country, was appointed by General Burgoyne to serve in a company of rangers. In my Journal of Occurrences during that war, (see pages 153 and 175,) I gave an account of the death of this meritorious officer, who lost his life at the battle of Bennington.

wind; he sent forth a putrid smell, like a body that had lain too long unburied; and the worms had already taken possession of his legs and thighs. In fine, he was become an object offensive to the senses, and shocking to humanity. I kneeled down in prayer while the soldiers were digging his grave, which, when it was finished, they came to take the body and lay it in. But what was their surprise, mine, and his mother's, when one of the men who had laid his hand under his breast, in order to raise him up, cried out that he felt him still warm, and perceived his heart yet in motion; and I saw one of his legs, at the same time, draw itself up as soon as another of the soldiers put his hand to it! On the instant we all of us exerted our utmost endeavours to render him every manner of assistance in our power; we forced some taffia, mixed with fresh water, down his throat, and made use of the same lotion to wash and cleanse the wounds in his limbs, from which we picked out a great number of worms, which had formed their nests there, and were devouring him piecemeal. At length Mr. Wright ran to acquaint us that the young man had been recovered to his senses; that he had opened his eyes, wept much, staring at the strange faces he saw about him, he asked where his mother was; and what became of me also? When we appeared before him, he knew us both at once. We had him then carried on board the boat, where I laid him down upon some of the soldiers' clothes, which they were so humane to lend us: I covered him over with a blanket, and stretched myself close by his couch, in order to take care of him, during the voyage. His mother lay on the other side, and I had infinite trouble in defending him from her extravagant fondness and fatiguing caresses.

“On the 8th day of May we all happily arrived at Pensacola. I remained thirty days in the fort, and, having felt my health so far restored, as to need nothing more than time and regimen to confirm it, I resolved to

quit my happy asylum, as an opportunity just then happened, which I was advised of before hand, and which I resolved to take the advantage of. Here I took leave of Madame La Couture, whose son's health was not yet in a state to undertake the voyage. I landed at St. Augustin, June 13; the ship anchored on the bar, and the pilot's boat carried me on shore, where a corporal received and conducted me before Mr. Grant, the Governor of the garrison.

“ I staid with Mr. Grant till the 21st of July, when I departed for New York. This benevolent man sent for the Captain of the ship, to come to him ; and, after giving me into his charge, with the warmest recommendations of friendship, paid him before-hand for my passage, and ordered every accommodation aboard that might be necessary either for my use, ease, or convenience ; to which he added a portmanteau, filled with clothes and linen, which were a great comfort and refreshment to me. After fourteen days' sail I arrived at New York, on the 3d of August.”

However extraordinary this narrative may be, I have no reason to doubt of its verity. The reader will doubtless make his own comments on it. It abounds with awful and surprising incidents, which mark the evident path of an interposing Providence in human affairs, and ought to inspire us with a reliance thereon, even in dark and dangerous scenes. There is, however, one thing which cannot be perused without great emotion of mind, viz. the sacrifice of the faithful negroe slave, in compliance with the desperate arguments of hunger. Monsieur Viaud himself was often heard to declare, that the memory of it haunted and rendered him always unhappy ; for he could not fail to recollect it with the acutest feelings of remorse. In reading the relation, and considering the conclusion of Monsieur Viaud's sufferings, we have to regret, that when he sacrificed his negroe at the close of them, he was not

less hopeless. Even his continued misfortunes, during which he was so long endued with strength, and some precarious subsistence to bear, after gaining a footing on the American continent, ought to have fortified him with religious expectation of timely relief from that Being, who, often as by miracle affords effectual help in the severest trials, and afflicting events of this troublesome life. It is from such events, that the human mind derives its firmest foundation of confidence. Happy are they who consider themselves, amidst all perils, under the care of that guardian arm which will order all things in the best manner, and over-rule them to their temporal and eternal welfare. It is under the influence of such dispositions that we may exclaim in the sublime language of the great Christian moralist :—

“Cling there, and o'er wreck'd nature's ruins smile,
Whilst vile apostates tremble in a calm.”

CHAP. VI.

Author returns with his Regiment to Dublin. Is made Corporal by Lord Ligonier, the Colonel. New Exercise. Account of Lord Harrington. State of Newgate Jail at that time, and of the City Watch. Anecdote of Monsieur Sartine, Lieutenant of Police at Paris. Reflections on Military Justice, &c. Author embarks for North America. Stations of the Infantry force of the British Army at that period.

IN the beginning of the year 1775, our regiment was ordered for Dublin duty, and Lord Ligonier, the colonel, arrived from England to inspect and take the command of it. His Lordship was generous, humane, and, from the excellency of his mind, and the affability of his manners, was greatly beloved by the men in general. Some time after his having joined the regiment, I was by him promoted to be a corporal, and sent among several other non-commissioned officers to be instructed in the new exercise which shortly before had been introduced by General Sir William Howe. It consisted of a set of manœuvres for light infantry, and was ordered by his Majesty to be practised in the different regiments. To make trial of this excellent mode of discipline for light troops, and render it general without delay, seven companies were assembled at Salisbury in the summer of 1774. His Majesty himself went to Salisbury to see them, and was much pleased with their utility, and the manner of their execution. The manœuvres were chiefly intended for woody and intricate districts, with which North America abounds,

where an army cannot act in line. The light infantry manœuvres made use of at present are different from those of Sir William Howe, which were done from the centre of battalions, grand divisions, and sub-divisions, by double Indian files. They were six in number, and well adapted for the service in America. Our regiment was instructed in them by the 33d, at that time quartered in Dublin, and commanded by Lord Cornwallis. The 33d was in a high state of appointment, and exceedingly well disciplined, by that able disciplinarian Colonel Webster, of whose character and death I gave a correct account in my *Journal of the American War*, (see page 305). I never witnessed any regiment that excelled it in discipline and military appearance. The men mounted guard in a superior style. Each centinel, during the two hours he remained on his post, continued always in motion, and could not walk less than seven miles in that time. The soldier was ever alert and alive in attention; when on duty—all eye—all ear. Even in the centry-box, which the centinal never entered unless when it rained, he was not allowed to keep the palm of his hand carelessly on the muzzle of his firelock, which, if the piece were loaded, was considered dangerous, and always an awkward attitude for the soldier. This soldierly character they always maintained while they served in North America. The Royal Welch fuzileers were brigaded with the 33d during the entire of the campaign in South Carolina; both regiments were well united together, and furnished an example for cleanliness, martial spirit, and good behaviour. This in a great measure was owing to the care and attention of their Colonels, who were unremitting in trying to make their men excel in discipline, duty, and general propriety of conduct. In effecting this military excellence of our Brigade, Colonel (now General) Nesbit Balfour, who commanded the Royal Welch fuzileers, deserved great credit, and when he was removed to the important situation of Commandant at

Charlestown, the men sustained a loss; for it should be mentioned to his honour as an officer, that during his short stay with us, the regiment was much improved, so much so, that we were not in any thing inferior to the 33d. It is here not unworthy of remark to observe, that both in war and peace, the state of the regiment in every military point of view, and even in good morals, depends on the exertion and ability of the officer commanding, by whom the men are kept regular, steady, vigilant, and active in all cases.

On this subject, as a disciplinarian and experienced officer, Lord Harrington, at present Commander in Chief in this country, deserves notice, particularly for his introduction of the new exercise. When it was introduced by General Sir William Howe, his Lordship (then Lord Petersham) commanded one of the companies detached to Salisbury, for his Majesty's inspection, and preparatory to the general practice of it, and his Lordship's exertions contributed to give it the deserved extension and effect. A brief sketch of this distinguished Nobleman's character cannot but be gratifying to gentlemen of his own profession, and no doubt to every class of readers.

Although Earl Harrington's ability and efforts to accomplish himself in the military line, might have raised any individual to rank and honours, his Lordship had not the strong inducements which stimulate numbers, to make him proceed with ardour in the soldier's career. If he were disposed to lead a life of tranquillity at home, a title and opulent means by family inheritance awaited him. But with such high advantages, he inherited also from his ancestry a martial spirit. His father was a General, commanded in the old horse guards, and during the late king's reign was Secretary of State, and in the year 1747, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1770, his Lordship began to serve as Ensign in the foot guards; in 1774, he obtained a Captaincy in the 29th infantry; in 1776, embarked for

North America, where he was constantly and actively employed in the 29th regiment in Canada, as also in the whole of the difficult campaign, and the arduous encounters of General Burgoyne with the American armies.* He acted as aid-de-camp to that able commander, who particularly noticed his talents and services, and was favoured with the intimacy of all the General officers, and the friendship of Brigadier General Frazer, who frequently said, that Lord Petersham was one of the most promising young officers in the service at that trying time. After the surrender at Saratoga, his Lordship was sent home with General Burgoyne's dispatches, and to give his Majesty information respecting American affairs. Soon after his arrival from North America, he purchased a company in the foot guards, and in 1779, on the decease of his father, succeeded to his present title. His Lordship sometime after married his lady, then Miss Flemming, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Michael Flemming, Bart. with a large fortune. Her Ladyship, who always ranked in the highest circles as a pattern, not merely of engaging manners, but the most amiable and virtuous life, has been long honoured with the esteem and confidence of the present queen. Although his Lordship in the bloom of youth was thus favoured by Providence with the choicest blessings in this world, such enjoyments could not keep him in the lap of dignified privacy and peace. France now meditating the invasion of the British West India Islands, and new regiments to serve in them being raised, Earl Harrington received the command of one, and sailed with it as Lieut. Colonel Commandant for Jamaica. In this dangerous expedition he was accompanied by Lady Harrington, who could not be deterred from going, by the various perilous circumstances attending it, on the ocean; and in latitudes destructive to European constitutions, with the Divine aid,

* See Journal of the American War, page 158.

her constant attention to his Lordship when his health was injured in a tropical climate, became an excellent mean of preserving his valuable life. Before he was disabled by loss of health he greatly assisted Major Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell, the Governor of the island, to model and make up his troops there in an efficient manner, and was made a Brigadier General, with the command of the flank companies of all the regiments. His great exertions reduced him to a state of debility, which obliged himself and his Lady to return to England, where he met a gracious reception from his Sovereign, who appointed him one of his aid-du-camps; and, on the death of General Calcraft, Colonel of the sixty-fifth foot. With this regiment he came to serve in Ireland, and had the command of the garrison in Dublin during the administration of the Duke of Rutland, when General David Dundas submitted his plan of discipline, which his Lordship approved of, and tried it with the sixty-fifth, by which this celebrated system of tactics at first obtained attention, until it has been successfully brought into universal use in his Majesty's army. In 1785, his Lordship's regiment being ordered to America, he returned to England, and had some leisure for domestic avocations. He was not, however, inattentive to the duties of his honourable profession; he read much, and took every occasion to introduce good order and useful arrangements into the service in general. The present military sword was first introduced by Lord Harrington, adopted by his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, in the Coldstream regiment, and now by his Majesty's order is used in all the regiments. On the demise of Lieutenant General Evelyn, his Lordship got the command of his old favourite regiment the 29th; into which with joy he was received by his early associates, whom he accompanied in the hard fought battles under General Burgoyne. In 1792, his Majesty conferred on him the Colonelcy of the life-guards, with the gold stick,

an office which kept him near the royal person at all times. Previous to this, Earl Harrington had the credit of being an able infantry officer, but he soon shewed that his talents were not confined to a particular kind of service. In 1793, his Lordship was raised to be a Major General. During the campaigns of his Highness the Duke of York on the Continent, he solicited to serve there; but his place of gold stick detained him at court. Subsequently his Lordship was promoted General and Privy Counsellor, and latterly raised to the chief command of the forces in Ireland.

No doubt Earl Harrington is indebted to his family fortunes, and the smiles of his Sovereign for prosperity and preferment; but it must be allowed that his merits and talents deserved success in an eminent degree. His abilities and virtues were sufficient to originate that nobility which he derived from his father, and which he dignified additionally by his rare endowments and laudable actions.

In the summary of his character, the Author of the *Martial Biography* deservedly observes, "His Lordship affords a remarkable example of friendship, charity, and humanity. He has never failed in his attachment and assistance to his old friends, who, by unforeseen events have required his relief. Numerous are the instances of his public and private charities; the indigent widow and orphan have often partook of his bounty. In every regiment he has commanded, his attention and humanity to the sick among the troops, their wives and children have been almost unprecedented."

After I had acquired a knowledge of the new discipline from the non-commissioned officers of the 33d regiment, I was appointed to take charge of a squad of our regiment, and executed that important and laborious task to the best of my ability. The constant attendance and habit of exercise is almost every thing in the soldier's life; and it is indeed surprising to see how soon an awkward young man becomes well disciplined, performs his evolutions

with a neat agility, and handles his arms with a graceful dexterity. In the acquisition of these soldierly requisites, the drill-serjeant of course, is chiefly instrumental; and therefore his unceasing industry and faithfulness are indispensable. In performing the necessary business of the drill, I was constant and careful; by which activity and usefulness I obtained the good-will and esteem of my officers, particularly of Colonel Taylor, who commanded at that time the 9th regiment, and also of Major Bolton, who ever afterwards while he stopped with the regiment befriended me. My employment of drilling the men did not preclude me from the performance of other duties. I mounted guard in turn, and at one time, in 1775, was appointed for the Newgate guard. At that time the Jail of Newgate was a small mean building, and in no degree suited to the respectability of a great city. It stood on the scite of ground now denominated Corn-market, a short distance from High-street, and contiguous to Thomas-street. It happened in the range of my duty, to have the command of a guard there, upon a Saturday, when a criminal, pursuant to the sentence of the law, was to be taken from the prison to be hung at Gallows-green, at that time the usual place of similar executions. On this occasion considerable crowds collected in the adjoining streets and lanes, which, considering the local situation of the jail, proved inconvenient and very alarming to the guard. The mob assembled in such numbers that the narrow and confined arch leading into Thomas-street, was completely filled with people; and having but twelve men, a corporal and myself, I apprehended a rescue, as I could not confide much in the assistance of the city watchmen; they being in general infirm and altogether unfit for that severe and dangerous duty, which must occasionally devolve on the peace officers and body of the police. It is indeed necessary in cities to have an efficient police establishment, particularly in a land of freedom like ours, where the civil power ought

to be armed with every energy and constitutional strength : as otherwise the constitution itself provides a military corrective, severe no doubt but indispensable, when the law cannot controul and extinguish the spirit of outrage, and that revolt from good order and public peace, which even in the best regulated states, more or less remains latent in the insubordinate mind. It is not too much to remark, that at the period I am noticing, Ireland in general, and Dublin in particular, somewhat suffered, in leaving the civil power too much unarmed, and of course exposed to those seditious risings which partially disturbed the interior of the island, and at different times menaced Dublin itself, when disaffected multitudes used to rush forth from the Liberties and suburbs, interrupt the parliament's sitting, and even defy the military. This partial appearance and effort of sedition very justly awakened the legislature and government to provide the police protection, which at present so well secures the tranquillity of the city ; and allow me to add also, which made the duty I had to do on the day of a criminal's execution, to which I alluded, as perilous as when I had to fight in a foreign country, and when hundreds of my fellow combatants fell beside me. The awful business of executions is now better ordered, by having them in the front of the jails, which, even for the purpose of public exposure, answers as well as before to terrify the wicked from proceeding to commit the crimes they compass in their guilty intentions.— However, I disposed of my little guard as cautiously and ably as I could ; and the High Sheriffs of the city behaved with such circumspection and spirit on the occasion, that the mob was overawed, and the criminal's cart moved through High-street without any molestation being offered to the watch, who then always attended on such occasions, or making it necessary for the guard to fire, as it was suspected at first we would be under the necessity of doing.

Considering the inefficient body of watch which at that time took charge of Dublin, it was, no doubt, imprudent, if not unsafe, to use them as guards at the execution of criminals. Such a usage is for many years very properly discontinued, and in every point of consideration the police of the city has been of late put on a footing of strength and vigilance to answer all the purposes for which such establishments are kept up. The useful activity of the London police is generally allowed and extolled, and the police of Paris was probably never equalled, at least never surpassed for the prevention of crime and outrage, by means of its surprising vigilant exertions. Mr. Colquhoun, in his *Treatise on the Police of London*, relates the following anecdote illustrative of what is here urged, which cannot fail to entertain the reader. It happened during the old monarchy, and was related to Mr. Colquhoun, by a foreign minister who then resided at the French court.

“A merchant of high respectability in Bourdeaux, had occasion to visit the metropolis upon commercial business, carrying with him, bills and money to a very large amount. On his arrival at the gates of Paris, a genteel looking man opened the door of his carriage, and addressed him to this effect:—“Sir, I have been waiting for you some time; according to my notes you were to arrive at this time; and your person, your carriage, and your portmanteau, exactly answering the description I hold in my hand, you will permit me to have the honour of conducting you to Monsieur de Sartine.” The gentleman, astonished and alarmed at this interception, and still more so at hearing the name of the Lieutenant of the Police mentioned, demanded to know what Monsieur de Sartine wanted with him; adding, at the same time, that he never had committed any offence against the laws, and that he could have no right to intercept or detain him. The messenger declared himself perfectly ignorant of the cause of the detention; stating, at the same time, that when he had conducted him to

Monsieur de Sartine, he should have executed his orders, which were merely ministerial. After some further explanations, the gentleman permitted the officer to conduct him accordingly.

“ Monsieur de Sartine received him with great politeness; and after requesting him to be seated, to his great astonishment he described his portmanteau; and told him the exact sum of bills and specie which he had brought with him to Paris, and where he was to lodge, his usual time of going to bed, and a number of other circumstances, which the gentleman conceived could only be known to himself. Monsieur de Sartine having thus excited attention, put this extraordinary question to him. ‘ Sir, are you a man of courage?’ The gentleman still more astonished at the singularity of such an interrogatory, demanded the reasons why he put such a strange question, adding, at the same time, that no man ever doubted his courage. Monsieur de Sartine replied, ‘ Sir, you are to be robbed and murdered this night!—If you are a man of courage you must go to your hotel, and retire to rest at the usual hour; but be careful that you do not fall asleep; neither will it be proper for you to look under the bed, or in any of the closets which are in your bed-chamber, (which he accurately described,) you must place your portmanteau in its usual place, near your bed, and discover no suspicion:—Leave what remains to me. If, however, you do not feel your courage sufficient to bear you out, I will procure a person to personate you, and go to bed in your stead.’ The gentleman being convinced in the course of the conversation, that Monsieur de Sartine’s intelligence was accurate in every particular, he refused to be personated, and formed an immediate resolution, literally to follow the directions he had received; he accordingly went to bed at his usual hour, which was eleven o’clock. At half past twelve, (the time mentioned by Monsieur de Sartine) the door of his bed-chamber burst open, and

three men entered with a dark lantern, daggers, and pistols. The gentleman, who of course was awake, perceived one of them to be his own servant. They rifled his portmanteau undisturbed, and settled the plan for putting him to death. The gentleman hearing all this, and not knowing by what means he was to be rescued, it may be naturally supposed, was under great perturbation of mind during such an awful interval of suspense; when at the moment the villains were preparing to commit the horrid deed, four police officers, acting under Monsieur de Sartine's orders, who were concealed in the room, rushed out and seized the offenders with the property in their possession, and just about to commit murder. The consequence was, that the perpetration of the atrocious deed was prevented, and sufficient evidence obtained to convict the offenders."

When the French Revolution ruined the old monarchy, and removed the salutary restraints and solid regulations of civil life, the strict scrutiny and general conservation which had been so well supplied by the police at Paris, was no longer maintained; and of consequence licentiousness, disorder and outrage prevailed, with almost universal impunity. Such dreadful evils were the immediate direful effects of anarchy issuing like some mountain torrent through the downfall of the executive power, the silence of the laws, and the abandonment of old established usages, in the safe and sacred observance of which the vital stability and popular benefit of every commonwealth consists. The truth of this observation will find an echo in the breast of every individual who gave attention to the recital of the horrid vicissitudes accompanying the sanguinary factions, that obtained short-lived reigns of terror in France, until by means of Napoleon's sceptre the present arbitrary order of things acquired a stable footing. Without pretending to form any estimate of this new and amazing empire in Europe,

it must be allowed that even anterior to it, it was found necessary to reproduce a good deal of the old regimen and systems which had been abolished, and pronounced the engines and means of monarchical abuse before, and of course the conduct of the French people at and since the fall of the late monarchy, must serve as a lesson of warning to the world, in estimating and reforming the governments and *powers that be*. However, the authors and promoters of the Revolution found it necessary to break the civil and religious ties which caused the frame and establishments of society to be revered and kept inviolate. When the waves of strife began to subside, and order was in the progress of rising in some sort from the revolutionary chaos, laws and religion were gradually called back, for it became expedient to restore the Courts of Justice and the altars of Worship to the people. It had been the policy of anarchy to shut or convert to improper and profane uses, these justly honoured and hallowed edifices, which even Indians and Africans use for the purposes of safety and piety. How terrible therefore is the temper of anarchy in its want of wisdom and pursuit of vengeance! It is wilder in its plans of government, and worse in violence than the rude economy of savage life in the woods of America. In the year 1803, after four days' searching for religious books in Paris, but one bible was discovered, and, although the reading of that divine volume might have been a good deal denied to the multitude of the French nation, yet it is certain there was no such lack of bibles previous to the revolution, and therefore we must conclude that the sacred writings were industriously destroyed in the career of its outrage. This circumstance was ascertained by a deputation from the Missionary Bible Society of London, sent to France in the year alluded to, and they had the consolation of being well received, and satisfied in finding that a religious spirit was in the progress of encourage-

ment beyond their expectations. One bookseller applied for 1500 copies of the Scriptures, which he said he could dispose of without delay, and it was found that the people in general were eager to procure copies of the Old and New Testaments, without confining themselves to the editions acknowledged and allowed by the Church of Rome. The following extract from a periodical publication will further illustrate the barbarous and impious behaviour of the revolutionists :—

“ According to the report of the Prefect of the Police at Paris, to the Grand Judge, during the last republican year, ending September 23, 1803, four hundred and ninety men, and one hundred and sixty-seven women have committed suicide at Paris; eighty-one men and sixty-nine women have been murdered, of whom fifty-five men, and fifty-two women were foreigners, strangers, or have not been owned. Six hundred and forty-four divorces have taken place. One hundred and fifty-five murderers have been executed. Twelve hundred and ten persons have been condemned to the galleys, to the pillory, or to chains; sixteen hundred and twenty-six to hard labour, to longer or shorter imprisonment. Sixty-four have been marked with hot irons. Amongst the criminals executed, were seven fathers, who had poisoned their children; ten husbands who had murdered their wives; six wives who had poisoned their husbands, and fifteen children who had poisoned, or otherwise destroyed their parents. During the same period, twelve thousand and seventy-six public women, or street-walkers, have been registered, and have paid for the protection of the police. Fifteen hundred and fifty-two kept mistresses are noted and known at the Prefecture of Police; and three hundred and eight public brothels have been privileged and licensed by the Police Prefect at Paris. Since the war with England, of four hundred and seventy privileged gambling houses, one hundred and twenty have been shut up, and the

revenues of the Consular Government, from the republican lotteries, are three millions, (120,000*l.* sterling) less the three last six months than the six months preceding. The account adds, that the two latter deficits are occasioned by the absence of the English."

My observing on the state of the Irish metropolis in times past gave me occasion to contrast the then and present police establishments, and also induced me to remark upon the police of a foreign nation at different epochs of its fortunes and empire. In these estimates it is consoling to know, that in this most important matter our own government has provided the best improvement and every degree of security which public and private safety can require. I mentioned the peril of even keeping the guard at Newgate in 1775, and the mere mention of such insecurity of the city at that time cannot fail to excite some surprise, and to afford much satisfaction to the reflecting mind at present.

A circumstance which happened at another time of my mounting guard at the jail will shew what daring attempts used to be then made, and also the severe responsibility which attached to the guard on such a duty. It was afterwards found that a culprit named Cunningham, a noted highwayman, conspired with some other prisoners to escape from confinement on this night, but whether it was that their plan was not enough matured, or that they feared the guard, they postponed the meditated attempt until the next night. Unfortunately for the serjeant who relieved me, they succeeded in the following manner. On the stairs was a door leading down to the hall, in which were two apartments, one used as a tap-room, and the other occupied by a man called Meaghan, who was employed in the two-fold capacity of turnkey and hangman. The door on the stairs, when locked, secured all the prisoners, but an usage was permitted, viz. to indulge two or three prisoners together,

to regale in the tap-room, if they were supplied with money to pay for the refreshments they called for. It was a custom with the confined then as well as now, to beg from people passing the jail, by making loud appeals to the pity of individuals, and letting down a bag through the grated windows to receive alms; and the collections thus acquired afforded a fund for the expenditure of the tap-room, at least to some of the culprits.

The use of the tap-room suggested to the fertile invention of the culprit Cunningham a scheme which he concerted with two others. Having contrived to saw their iron bolts nearly through, Cunningham accompanied by one of them, asked for leave to go and take punch before the door on the stairs was finally closed for the night. Leave given, they proceeded to the room, asked for spirits, and while his comrade discoursed with the centinel, who had but a bayonet on his post, Cunningham broke off his bolts, and knocked the soldier down. The turnkey's wife (her husband lying sick of a fever in the room adjoining) rushed in on hearing the noise, and was seized by Cunningham, and his associate who strove to force the keys from her. After a struggle, which she resisted for nearly half an hour, before they could take the key of the door on the stairs, they admitted their companion down through the door which they then locked, and next proceeded to oblige the turnkey's wife to give the remaining key. The woman, although severely beaten and bruised continued to refuse, and made the most astonishing resistance. She endeavoured, with calling aloud, to alarm the guard, fastened the key in her clothes, which she did not let go until some of the joints of her fingers were broken, and she had been much injured from the blows she received, and was at last left entirely exhausted. By this time the guard from the cries of the woman, were alarmed and drawn up before the outer door, which (notwithstanding the obstacle of an iron chain fastened

diagonally across, and other strong precautions) they unlocked, and what was more amazing, effected their escape in the face of the guard, by running away through Towns Arch without being at all maimed, or receiving the slightest wound. This most extraordinary success of ruffian hardihood, no doubt emboldened Cunningham to resume his career of robbery on the roads; by which he put himself in the way of being again imprisoned, and making that capital atonement with his guilty life to often offended justice, which sooner or later is generally found to be the catastrophe of such incorrigible and inhuman offenders.

The escaping of the prisoners proved disgraceful to the serjeant on duty, who together with his guard, was confined for it. I felt a cordial satisfaction, when I reflected that this jail-breaking conspiracy was intended to take place on the day before, when I mounted guard. But it did not make that impression of thankfulness on me which it ought.

I was again seduced into habits of dissipation and idleness, which gradually proved instrumental in rendering me less esteemed by my officers, who, previously were induced in consequence of my generally correct behaviour to think well of me.

The private soldier's and non-commissioned officer's good name and moral character are most precious to him, they constitute his best property, they often, it is notorious, recommend him to that honourable preferment and rank in the army, which the sons of the nobility and gentry purchase with money; and thus station and fortune in the service are sometimes obtained by humble meritorious men, who otherwise must have for ever remained in poverty. At all events the soldier of regulated life and exertion in doing his duty, will be noticed and approved of by his officers, in furtherance of that discipline and subordination, without which armies could not subsist,

or be kept together. The well-behaved men in pursuance of such objects, cannot fail to be encouraged, and at times promoted by their superiors; and thus the soldier in the ranks is led to cherish a principle of virtue and honour.

Honour and virtue are names which some of my readers may consider too high for a private or non-commissioned officer, but it will be granted by individuals acquainted with the laudable economy which maintains and organizes his majesty's forces, that it is very properly attempted to inspire the soldiery through all the gradations of the army with an ardent spirit of propriety and self-estimation. This consciousness of fidelity and manly dignity, awakens and cherishes ingenuous sentiments in the breasts of individuals, which neither danger nor difficulty can subdue. Thus while much dissipation and evil practice follow and flow about the army, from the uneducated life and the thousand temptations which present themselves to the numbers who fill its regiments, it furnishes a good school for members who belong to it, in rendering them regular, obedient, and well disposed in general. To effectuate such great purposes, it necessarily applies remedies both severe and salutary, coercion and conciliation! Individuals taken from the lowest classes, who unfortunately, many of them, have been habituated to wicked courses, must be much controuled and sometimes severely punished, in order to bring them into the strict line of subordination, and supply them with other and better minds and manners. Thus very often the most ill-behaved, who have been found unfit to live in civil society from their vices, after serving some years as soldiers, have been made correct observers of every obligation which attaches to human beings, and after retiring from the military life, have become useful, industrious, and even pious members of the community. Such is often the happy change which takes place in some of the worst individuals from military service.

The laws provided for the forces are enacted in sagacity and prudence. While the greatest punishment can be inflicted, if unhappily needful for example, a merciful latitude of discretion is given to the officers in the finding and enforcing of sentences, and it is well known that the officers of the army (although of course from the usages of war, acquainted with death and devastation in all their terrors) are usually possessed of the most generous and humane dispositions. Men, who, in the late unhappy partial rebellion which disturbed and disgraced our native country, had been tried in a summary manner by courts or juries of military gentlemen, have been heard to declare that they experienced the fairest trials, and obtained the benefits of our inimitable code of jurisprudence and law from the equitable tenderness of his Majesty's officers. If such liberality and equity could be observed while sedition lifted its torch, and the rage of rebels committed outrages which an honest Irishman would fondly consign to oblivion for ever, what must be the military judge's mind in trying a man, whom the habits of his honourable profession makes him look on even at the bar of offended majesty and justice, as his brother in some degree, beholding before him one who accompanies him in the field of battle, where fortitude, and that faithful partnership which puts by the distinctions and punctilios of civil life, builds up a relationship disinterested and durable! It is from such a noble principle that the military judge makes his decision, and to this estimable principle the love which soldiers bear to their officers, as well as the necessary order of the army is ascribable. And if, in some instances, soldiers become objects of punishment, it seldom is resorted to but when every other mode of reformation fails.

I was seized with severe sickness in January, 1776; and being sent into the general military hospital in James'-street, (at present used as barracks). I was disabled to march with our regiment on its receiving the

route to proceed to Cork and embark for North America. I was the only soldier of the 9th obliged to stop behind in Dublin. The departure of the regiment was a source of regret, which made me anxious for health and strength to follow and embark with it for the American Continent. On the 3d of March, 1776, I thought myself enough recovered to leave the hospital, as I did, and without loss of time waited on Sir William Montgomery, our army agent, in Mary-street. Here I was informed, that the regiment was supposed to be on its voyage, and it was recommended to me to join the additional company belonging to us, employed in England on the recruiting service. My relations were urgent with me to go and stop with the recruiting parties, in order to detain me from the dangers of foreign service. But I considered that remaining aloof from it in a season of warfare did not consist with the spirit and manhood of a soldier. I resolved that I would not sit down indulging myself in the sunshine of peace and inactivity in the British islands, while my brethren and friends in arms were in the progress of fighting the battles of their king and country on distant shores. At all events I determined to repair to the Cove of Cork, and sail if possible, along with our regiment. In the event of my arriving too late to do so, I was purposed to take my passage in some ship bound to Quebec, that I might have an opportunity of partaking in the honourable dangers which my fellow-soldiers had to undertake. While I was about leaving Dublin, a recruit for the regiment from Downpatrick was sent by our army agent, that I might take charge of him. I was glad at finding an additional man for our ranks, and, he being in the need of clothes and other necessaries, I furnished him as well as I was able, and also advanced him a fortnight's pay, knowing I should be refunded whatever I thus gave him. I found a place to lodge him at night, desiring him to have every thing prepared

next day for our intended journey to Cork. I called on the morning following, but lo! our unfledged hero was flown. I was angry, and anxious that he should not have any cause to plume himself by *running the old soldier* so much to my expense, I put up placards in the most public parts of the city, advertising the deserter, and minutely describing his person, age, and every particular whereby I thought he might be taken. And I had the satisfaction to be instrumental in his apprehension; which was effected soon after on the Drogheda road, from whence he was sent under a guard of soldiers to the Cove of Cork, in time to embark with our men to America.

After making arrangements to arrest our run-away recruit, on the 6th of March, 1776, I took a mournful farewell of my fond parents and friends in Dublin. The scene of parting between humble but virtuous parents and the child of their affections, going on such a destination as I was then about to pursue, awakens sharp sensations which search the soul, and seem to strain the ties of our nature! A poor father beholds his beloved offspring going from his lowly roof (probably never to return) and most sensibly laments that want of competence which might keep his youthful family to prop his old age at home. The son himself (although his spirit is buoyant on the wings of expectation, and his foot is pressing forward in the step of inexperience!) pauses in the warm embrace of his weeping parent, and regrets that he ever indulged the wandering idea of forsaking domestic endearment and peace. The painful ceremony of separation in such a case, although it operates in a tumult of tenderness, faithfully exhibits the true satisfactions of our fluctuating lives—impressing us with a living seal of sorrow, that when we abandon the bosom of early affection and friendship, we leave our most precious pleasures behind us, and that home is the asylum of happiness here on earth.

A melancholy cloud hung on me at leaving my parents and native place, but youth and hope soon brightened my face, and induced me to think the labour of walking light. Thus, after being so long delayed by the pressure of sickness, I arrived at the Cove of Cork a fortnight before the regiment embarked. My valuable friend, Major Bolton expressed himself pleased at my joining the regiment of which he then had the command on its going abroad. Major Bolton's welcome for me was increased from his being aware that I was indeed a volunteer going to America, as I might have stopped with the recruiting parties. He therefore immediately promoted me in his own company. At the same time Surgeon Lindsay asked Major Bolton to permit me to go and assist in attending the sick, as there was then but a single Surgeon in the regiment. But I became so useful to himself that he would not comply, promising, however, that when he could better spare me he would accommodate Surgeon Lindsay, by letting him have me. I now had the happiness of being restored to the confidence and esteem of my officers, from whom I received many favours and much kind treatment. Thus I had much cause of satisfaction at leaving home and embarking for foreign service in a well appointed expedition consisting of the 9th, 20th, 21th, 34th, 53d, and 62d regiments. It was indeed a fine sight to behold 300 sail of transports full of British troops, convoyed by two frigates, proceeding together from Cove with a favourable wind at N. E. As we got out I stood on deck eying my native country with indistinguishable emotions, as the land was disappearing from my view. It of course occurred to me how probable it was that I might never again return to the embraces of the best of parents whom I had disappointed in their fond hopes respecting me. And although the "circumstance of war," martial music, and ships under weigh arrested my youthful fancy, the idea of being separated perhaps

for ever, from parents, friends, and country, penetrated my bosom with a pang which nothing could remove at the moment. I was sure my father suffered greatly on my account. I was his favourite child, and I have reason to apprehend, that my leaving my parents, and pursuing a perilous line of life, proved somewhat instrumental in accelerating his decease, which took place about two years after I went to serve in America. This thought frequently operated in my heart to render me indeed unhappy. However, it is one of those sad consequences, which attended travelling, that we frequently leave our dearest attachments, and find them gone for ever in this world when we return from our wanderings.

It may prove gratifying to some of my readers, and particularly to any of those officers and men at that time serving in America, who may chance to peruse this Memoir, to find an account of the stations of the different infantry regiments of the army on service beyond the Atlantic, and also those quartered in Europe, and the Islands at home at that memorable epoch of the British annals.

44 BATTALIONS IN AMERICA, VIZ.

4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 15th,
 16th, 17th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 26th,
 27th, 28th, 29th, 31st, 33d, 34th 35th, 37th,
 38th, 40th, 42d, 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th,
 49th, 52d, 53d, 54th, 55th, 57th, 62d, 63d,
 64th, and two battalions of the 71st.

In Jamaica, 1st and 4th bat. 60th regt.

In Antigua, 2d bat. of do. do.

In Grenada, 3d bat. of do. do.

In Minorca, 51st and 61st regts.

In Gibraltar, 12th, 39th, 56th, and 58th regts.

In Ireland, 3d, 11th, 19th, 30th, 32d, 36th, 66th, 67th, and 68th regts.

In Great Britain, 1st and 2d bat. of the 1st; 2d, 13th, 18th, 25th, 43th, 50th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 70th regts. and 41st invalids.

In America	44	battalions.
In Jamaica	2	do.
In Antigua	1	do.
In Grenada	1	do.
In Minorca	2	do.
In Gibraltar	4	do.
In Ireland	9	do.
In Britain	12	do.
Do. Invalids	1	do.

Total 76 battalions.

The above list is submitted as a correct calculation of our military force and war establishment in 1776, while the British empire was about to combat, without aid, the maritime powers of Spain, Holland, and France united; although the States General were then at their zenith of greatness, and France, our unceasing rival and foe, reinforced the American Colonists with her armies and a degree of impolitic hostility, which carried the contagion of anarchy and revolution home to her own subjects. From the strong confederacy of inveterate war which assailed England by sea and land in two years after, it was astonishing how she withstood the combination of its new and manifold attack, and it is deserving of reflection to consider how the allied assailants suffered, and were shipwrecked in their commercial and national fortunes, by straining all their resources to destroy British

prosperity and power. Our empire rose superior in the conflict, and now continues to fight and overpower her old enemy on every sea and shore ; and thus we are well consoled in the certainty of knowing that (by wise measures and the inexhaustible means we possess), we can defy the European world in arms or alliance. In this our vast imperial strength and insular stability the poet's patriotic phraseology is as truly appropriate in fact as it is finely imagined in thought and sentiment.

“ A world is up in arms, and thou a spot
Not quickly found if negligently sought ;
Thy soul as ample as thy bounds are small,
Endur'st the brunt, and dar'st defy them all !”

CHAP. VII.

In sailing to Canada Author's regimen of living prepares him for the Climate. Doctor Rowley's Advice and Prescriptions for treating Troops and Seamen on board. Description of the Banks of Newfoundland, and the Cod-fishery, &c. Canada, an important Theatre of the War at that time. Doctor Franklin's Correspondence with General Lee respecting Pikes, and Bows and Arrows as weapons of War. Some Account of Thomas Paine, and Author's Reflections on his Life and Writings.

IN the Author's Journal of the American War, the voyage to Canada has been amply detailed, and therefore he forbears to give a particular account of it at present, although he might not displease some of his readers by so doing. Travelling by sea supplies a variety of scenes and occurrences, which although uninteresting to persons used to them, abound with a degree of interest to others, and chiefly young persons. So it happened to the author of this humble work, who even at that early time of his life, indulged reflection a good deal, and while on his passage to America, considered he was going to a world which must be somewhat new and unsuited to the habits and constitution of Europeans. In this idea he commenced a regimen of diet and living which he thought might fit him for the severities of Northern latitudes, and the fatigues of warfare. He of purpose used a sparing diet, took his birth under the main hatchway, and slept on the boards. Having continued to live in this way for seven weeks, he found himself (if he can rightly use such language) seasoned and suited in constitution for the

changes and scenes he had to undergo. His precaution had its uses, as perhaps nothing so much contributes to break down the soldier on service abroad as suddenly passing to extremes of climate, viz. from a temperate sky like ours to an opposite atmosphere, and perhaps from the heats of the line to chill countries like Canada.

In conveying troops beyond the seas in transports, Dr. Rowley's advice to the army and navy deserves strict attention. The Doctor observes, that during the first fourteen days of sailing, there is generally little sickness, except that usual *nausea* which persons unused to the sea feel, but which has no ill effect. Against this sickness abstinence from fluids is proper; the use of a little magnesia and walking on deck will be of service. After the voyage is continued a fortnight a different diet must be taken which affects the constitution in some measure. The men instead of small beer get spirits and water, and are obliged to eat salted meat. This food and drink is not productive of disease, unless the water of which the grog is made be putrid, which, however, is common as well in the transports as his Majesty's ships of war. The water may be sweetened by hoisting the butts out of the hold, and letting the contents be pumped out with a hand pump from one vessel to another, repeating this method for two or three days before the water is put into the scuttle-butt for use. It is common, and attended with some advantage, to quench hot iron bars in the water, but much better to keep it agitated in the open air, and this, though simple, is too much neglected. In the tropical climates putrid water generates malignant fevers and fluxes, and, from sleeping on the deck, the sea-air produces also pleurisies and peripneumonies. In cold climates, the practice of keeping the sick of a man of war in what is called the ship's bay, may not be detrimental, but in the hot countries nothing becomes more hurtful.

Doctor Rowley mentions that more men have been lost through this injudicious management, than by the violence of the most malignant diseases. It is then needful to consider the climate's heat or cold, and in general to make the patients lie in the most airy births, as a free circulation of the air, is the best remedy against putrid and malignant disorders, by preventing the spreading of the contagion, and assisting in the operation of medicine.

The place entitled the vessel's bay has the worst circulation of air, from a number of sick being kept together there, the stench of disease, and the noxious *effluvia* from the evacuations of patients. Beside, the situation is dark, and its cleanliness is but little inspected into; while this and pure air, are it may be said, indispensable to prevent and cure disorders of the sea. The evils of such bad management are peculiarly felt during the summer months, in the West Indies and America, where fevers and fluxes prove fatal in a few days, rendering the entire habit putrid. Whatever medicine can accomplish must therefore be done forthwith, and to save life good air is instrumental, which often cannot be sufficiently procured, and again is not enough attended to. Doctor Rowley forcibly counsels that the Captain and superior officers must have a due care in these necessary matters. The working of the ship, he urges, is an objection to keep patients under the half deck, and as the galley-fire is under the fore-castle, the sick should be removed from it. In frigates he recommends the main hatchway births, where the ballast ports are fixed, or under the booms, between the fore and main hatchways, in the place called *no man's land*. In large ships patients can be kept in any part where the ports are open on both sides, and the keeping of them in such proper places, could prove no inconvenience to any, except depriving the armourer and a few petty officers of their accustomed births.

In explaining how diseases at sea are created, the Doctor informs, that putrid fevers are caught from the smell of the bilge water, lying at the ship's bottom. This becomes dangerously fetid from the soft loam and muddy matter of the ballast, along with the filth thrown down by the crew. He tells us, that this noxious air acts so powerfully, that articles of silver, taken into the hold are quickly turned to a black colour; and that the men who pump the putrid water from the ship, in hot latitudes, are frequently taken with giddiness, headaches, and fevers that prove fatal. Even the Surgeons attending on patients so attacked have caught disorders by which they have frequently died. Dr. Rowley always inculcates an attention to the procuring of a free and pure air, as the best, if not the only preventative against such fatal attacks and destructive disorders at sea. And surely in an empire established in the ocean (an element on which such a number of our most valuable countrymen are embarked) the inquiry of the faculty, and the constant care of naval officers should be particularly devoted, in maintaining cleanliness on board, and making arrangements, both in ship-building and nautical economy in general, to keep vessels well ventilated. No doubt, much has been done in this most interesting business, in which our vital concerns are greatly involved; but it is not improper to remark that a great portion of advantage remains to be derived from the improvements made by capable artists and ship-builders, and the strict observance of an healthful regimen, along with strong salutary regulations in nautical conduct and discipline in general. Every circumstance which might promote riots, quarrels, and ill-behaviour, should be precluded by wise and prudent means. As among numbers of men so confined and stowed together in a ship, very bad effects, and terrible accidents may be owing to causes which at first seem unimportant. This observation is confirmed by

some fatal disasters that happened as we neared Newfoundland, which have been mentioned in the Journal of American Occurrences.*

In sailing over the shoals or banks of Newfoundland, as usually happens, we seldom could behold the orb of the sun during the day. Here a thick hazy atmosphere generally hides the body of that glorious luminary which in most latitudes sheds animating light, and cheers the observer's eye. This heavy obscuration of the sky renders it very hazardous for a fleet to proceed as in other seas together. Sometimes total darkness like midnight covers the heavens, and at such times the unceasing firing of guns and beating of drums is necessary to enable the seamen to keep due distances, and prevent the ships from running foul of each other.

The banks of Newfoundland rank among the stupendous prodigies of nature in the creation. They consist of a surprising range of subaqueous elevated ground or mountain under water, extending in a direct line not less than 330 miles in length, and about seventy-five miles in breadth, with a variable depth of sea, from fifteen to sixty fathoms. The top of this sunken mountainous ridge, which there becomes the bottom of the sea, is covered with a coat of shells, and frequented by vast multitudes of small fish that serve as subsistence for the cod. The cod-fish consumes those inferior fishes voraciously, and multiplies in quantities inconceivable in this quarter of the ocean. The bank of Newfoundland appears to be his proper and favourite place of pasture and feeding in the world of waters. In this submarine soil this excellent fish is fattened, and taken in the most amazing abundance, for the markets of so many nations. And though hundreds of vessels, are annually laden for two centuries past from thence, no scarcity or decrease of cod happens. The wonderful supply does not seem to lessen the quantity,

* See page 66.

so incalculably prolific is this inhabitant of the seas. The bank is always discoverable by means of sea-fowl called penguins, which never leave it. They sometimes are seen together flocking in numbers, but usually scattered in pairs. The seaman makes an observation, that where the penguin is found the wave gradually changes from cerulean, or azure blue, to a pale colour, which he designates *sandy white*. It is usual with ships sailing to Canada and Nova Scotia to lay to in good weather for the purpose of fishing, when in less than an hour they often procure a sufficiency of cod for the remainder of their voyage. The method of taking the cod-fish will not be thought uninteresting in relating it to readers in general.

The hook is first baited with the entrails of a fowl, but as soon as a fish is taken the sailors open and use some parts of it for a better bait. It is indeed amazing to see (considering the depth which frequently requires a vast length of line) how expeditiously the fish is caught on these occasions. When the line is let down and allowed a few moments to gain the bottom, the angler gently pulls it with the finger and thumb. On which, if a fish is attached, a quick vibration is felt from its struggling to disengage itself. The line is then drawn in, and as soon as the cod-fish rises in view it appears (from the refraction of the rays of light in the watery element) exceedingly magnified, so much so, that an unaccustomed observer might imagine it a sea-monster which could not be mastered. And, although the sight is deceived respecting its actual size, a good deal of dexterity and strength must be used to haul it on board. It struggles with such violence as often to work from off the hook, and not seldom entangles itself in the tackle in such a manner, that the angler finds it difficult to take it up the ship's side. The curing of the cod-fish is also worthy of being mentioned. As soon as the fish is seized the tongue is cut out by one standing by for that business. A second is employed to

strike off the head and pluck out the liver and entrails. A third extracts the bone as far as the navel, and throws the fish into the hold, where the process of salting takes place, by putting them in layers each over the other. Between the layers a sufficiency of salt is regularly strewed, and great care is required to apply neither more or less than what is wanted for curing well; as in either case of a want or an excess the cod-fish is ill cured.

This fish is found in the greatest plenty on sandy bottoms, but in less numbers in muddy situations. The best depth for taking cod is thought to be from 30 to 40 fathoms. When a ship arrives at Newfoundland, she takes her station in some bay or harbour, and is unrigged. A proper place is then selected for curing and keeping the fish. Huts are raised for the men who work ashore, and a large scaffold is erected at the water's edge where the shallows necessary for the business of the fishery are made ready, and also laid by until the following fishing season. The ships which arrive the first in the bays of Newfoundland have the privilege of appropriating these shallows to their own exclusive use during the season; and the master of the vessel which gains Newfoundland first is distinguished as lord of the harbour, and he is by general consent authorised to settle differences and disputes among all who are engaged in fishing. The fishery of Newfoundland has been with justice in its great value compared to the precious mines of Peru and Mexico. In this trade the French used to embark, before the American war, 264 ships, which employed about 9403 seamen and workmen. Their tonnage taken together made 27,439, and their annual value was estimated at 270,000*l.* sterling. In the same fishery in 1785, England had engaged 292 vessels from the islands at home, and 58 owned by her colonies, whose tonnage averaged at 41,990. The trade of Newfoundland at that time carried to foreign markets 591,276 quintals of fish, and proved very profitable to the

then American colonists, who, when they succeeded in establishing themselves independent of the mother country, obtained a continuance of liberty to fish on the banks as before.

At this memorable era of American independence Great Britain and the United States (taking the lowest computation) employed in the Newfoundland fishing trade 3000 sail of small craft, on board of which, along with the men engaged ashore to cure and pack the fish, served upwards of 100,000 hands. Whence it must appear that this trade is incalculably valuable in its actual profits, and commercial effects. It favours the adventure of the merchant, affords the means of earning bread to numbers of individuals, and benefits the empire of the British Isles, in becoming a considerable and constant nursery for his majesty's navy, which maintains (with a degree of triumph and imperial means never known anterior to our own times) the power, prosperity and peace of these countries. While the European Continent is wasted with war, and of course disabled to follow the pursuits of domestic business, and the advantages arising from maritime enterprize.

Our voyage from what I have related of it, will be considered to supply amusement and interest to a reflecting mind, in the progress of acquiring that information which travelling affords. And the reader will perceive that, whatever might have been the disadvantages attending my education, my disposition led me to investigate the objects which passed before me, and which, no doubt, were calculated to awaken the attention of individuals less inquisitive. However, the passage to Canada afforded much novelty, and our arrival there presented additional matter for enquiry and even surprise on some occasions. It became at that time a theatre of important affairs in relation to the great contest of the Colonists. Congress had been sanguine in the hope of annexing Canada to the union,

and had authorized General Schuyler on his taking the command in the northern department to raise a regiment in that province.

It was determined to keep up in Canada nine battalions for the ensuing campaign, including one to be raised in that province, and General Schuyler was directed to have constructed at Tyconderoga, a number of bateaux for the purpose of transporting the troops to the scene of action. On the first intelligence received by the Americans of the fate of Montgomery, (see my American Journal, page 84,) the service in Canada was deemed of too much importance to be entrusted to Colonel (afterwards General) Arnold. General Lee, an officer standing high in the public opinion, was ordered to take the command of the army there. But before General Lee could enter on this service, the opposite extreme of the Union was so threatened by our forces under General Sir Henry Clinton, that the destination of this officer was changed, and he was ordered to take command in the southern department.

In the hope of exciting universally in that province the sentiments which prevailed through the United Colonies, and of forming with it, a perfect union, Dr. Franklin and two others were deputed as commissioners with full powers on this subject, and with instructions to establish a free press. These commissioners were also instructed to assure the people, that they would be permitted to adopt such form of government as would be agreeable to themselves, and that the province would be considered a sister colony.

General Washington himself then, it would seem, had determined to conquer Canada, if possible. This appears from a letter to General Lee, dated New York, May 1776, in which he says, "Immediately upon my arrival here, I detached four regiments by order of Congress to Canada, under the command of Brigadier Thompson, and since, by the same authority, and in consequence of

some unfavourable accounts from that quarter, General Sullivan and six other regiments." In the same letter General Washington takes some credit to himself in his favouring the preferment of General Lee to be second in command of the American forces. "General Ward (he adds) upon the evacuation of Boston, and finding there was a probability of his removing from the smoke of his own chimney, applied to me, and wrote to Congress for leave to resign. A few days afterwards some of the officers, as he says, getting uneasy at the prospect of his leaving them, he applied for his letter of resignation, which had been carefully forwarded to Congress, and as I have since learned, judged so reasonable (want of health being the plea) that it was instantly complied with." General Lee was probably apprized of his preferment anterior to this, since we find that two months before, as soon as an account of General Montgomery's defeat and death was received by Congress, John Hancock, the then President, sent the following notification of his appointment to the command in Canada. "It is the desire of Congress that you should repair to Canada, and take upon you the command of the army of the United Colonies in that province."

We also find Dr. Franklin on this occasion, holding a correspondence with General Lee on his being appointed to command the American troops in Canada. The Doctor appeared to consider the conquest of that vast district practicable, so much so that he advises Lee about the particular weapons and manner of warfare which he thought fit and useful on the great occasion. Dr. Franklin on this interesting subject observes to the General, "But I still wish with you, that pikes could be introduced, and I would add bows and arrows: these were good weapons, not wisely laid aside:—

1, 'Because a man may shoot as truly with a bow as with a common musket.

2, ' He can discharge four arrows in the time of charging and discharging one bullet.

3, ' His object is not taken from his view by the smoke of his own side.

4, ' A flight of arrows seen coming upon them, terrifies and disturbs the enemy's attention to his business.

5, ' An arrow striking in any part of a man, puts him *hors du combat* till it is extracted.

6, ' Bows and arrows are more easily provided every where than muskets and ammunition."

The observations of Dr. Franklin, however, on the subject of bows and arrows as weapons of war, are the remarks of a philosopher, which will make but little impression on experienced officers, who are well aware that fighting with arrows in these times would be vain and useless, against grape shot and the fire of musquetry. The invention of gun-powder and the tremendous effect owing to the use of ordnance in the field at present, has entirely superceded the tactics and modes, and instruments of attack and defence which had been successfully practised by the ablest of the ancients. Previous to the terrible experience of gun-powder, and the new arms and military arrangements originating from the using of it, as is now done on all occasions, bows and arrows obtained a pre-eminent place with the conquerors and armies of the earth. But these, with other weapons celebrated by the poets and historians of yore, are passed away never to return ; for the progress of the sciences and arts has powerfully found out means of manifold destruction in war, enough to consume with electric vengeance the boasted resources of the old empires, and to confound the understanding and skill of the Cyruses and Alexanders and Cæsars, who took wasting strides in the east and south, and west.

Probably the North American barbarians in Doctor Franklin's day used the arrow and bow with as much force and dexterous effect as any of the ancients ever did,

and yet we perceive them putting it gradually aside, as soon as the colonization of North America brought them acquainted with the use of firelocks. They found in their battles with the Colonists how trifling in comparison the arrow wounded, and how few it took off from the enemy's ranks, when compared with the fire flashing from a little line of musquetry. However, it is certain, that the arrow of the ancients was truly formidable, particularly in the barbarous usage of it, as poisoned, and often conveying a liquid flame into the wound which it inflicted. The savage tribes of America are known to poison it. In the 5th Chapter of the Apostle's Epistle to the Ephesians, we read of "fiery darts," in allusion to missile weapons used in battles and sieges, and Arrian describes a weapon of this sort surrounded at the lower extremity with combustible matter. Marcellinus gives an account of a fiery arrow called *malleolus*, constructed of cane or reed, having from the head to the middle a piece of iron open-work, containing, by way of a tube, consuming materials. In the shooting of it, this enclosed matter being inflamed, adhered to and burned the object fired at. Matthew Paris relates, that similar arrows were made use of in naval engagements and sieges, and that an archer could send, by means of a single weapon, nearly an ounce of combustible liquid, a distance of twelve score yards. Polydore Virgil, in speaking of one of our battles against the French, in the reign of Edward III, mentions the great confusion made among the enemy (*sagittarum nube*) by a tempestuous cloud of arrows, and concludes by saying, that it was surprising how signally so great an army was defeated by English archers only, (*adeo Anglus est sagitti potens*) the Englishman was so excellent in doing execution with arrows. Sacred history affords a variety of assurance, that the bow and arrow during the fortunes of the Israelites were successfully used at that era. Of this the description of a fatal battle with the Philistines,

gives us a lively idea, as we find it in Mr. S. Wesley's Version of the Scriptures, in the following sublime lines :

“ Lodg'd on the cliff, *an iron wall they stood ;*
 Floated the *hollow road* with streams of blood !
 The *battle hung !*—and neither side gave way,
 Till Achish charg'd himself—and turn'd the day.
 A shower of feather'd darts his guards let fly ;
 At once their bow-strings twang'd, and fill'd the sky !
 As with red light'ning, *forky shafts o'erthrown,*
 Stretch'd on the sod the expiring Hebrews groan.”

The pike, however, which Doctor Franklin suggests the use of in the mode of fighting, fit for raw levies like those of the Colonists opposed to regular troops, must be thought on some occasions a weapon of more advantage. The pike in its perfection is the Roman *hasta*, and has been greatly prized by the Scotch and Irish, and yet it is but ill calculated to combat an army furnished with pieces of ordnance and firelocks at present. Since the invention and use of gun-powder, it not only fell into disuse, but has been nearly forgotten for some ages back. The great belligerent powers have put it bye. It suits perhaps a rabble, undisciplined army, on the spur of their progress, but surely as soon as they would have to engage disciplined soldiers, like those of Europe at the moment, the pike as a weapon would be almost useless, and even an incumbrance. Its chief advantage seems to be in resisting the charge of cavalry, and so it was tried with some partial success in the late rebellious disturbances of Ireland. The regular pike seems to be made to meet such an onset, being in length eighteen feet, and having a sharp curved knife attached near the point of it. In meeting the horse-man's charge, one end of it was fixed in the ground, and held so to receive the horse on its point. The front-rank of pikemen stood firm and unmoved for that purpose, and the rear-rank men endeavoured to dispatch the rider by

thrusts of the pike, and, if they failed, it was attempted by means of the attached knife, to cut the bridle-reins, when the horse and rider happened to avoid the destruction prepared for them. It is somewhat surprising, that the weapon was attempted to be used in this way, and did damage to some detachments of our cavalry in the late rebellion here. However, the rebels could procure but few of the real pike or *hasbu*, and had they been all armed with it, they could not prevail in any degree to withstand the grape and musquetry fire which swept away whole lines at once.

It was at the important juncture of our arriving in America, a time big with event and interest, that Thomas Paine, of innovating notoriety, entered upon the political theatre there, where he made so much noise. It is remarkable that we find him at this time introduced for some singular coincidence of thinking, by his friend and patron Dr. Franklin, to General Lee, in which he proceeds thus, viz. "The bearer, Mr. Paine, has requested a line of introduction to you, which I give the more willingly, as I know his sentiments are not very different from yours. He is the reputed, and, I think, the real author of "Common Sense," a pamphlet that has made great impression here."

In mentioning the name of this singular individual, I think it will not prove displeasing to the reader to offer some remarks on his character and exertions as a Revolutionist. He possessed, it is notorious, sterling uneducated ability, the rudeness of which proved instrumental for the wide circulation of his opinions; but he cannot fail to be thought of with detestation, from his total dereliction or lack of integrity. While he abjured the Christian revelation, he did not disdain to avail himself of the vilest hypocrisy, and probably, at present, after his decease, in appreciating him we cannot decide whether or not he really was an infidel, or whether he at all uttered

the sentiments of his soul. When the revolution of America began to rage, he wrote his best and ablest work, "Common Sense." In this he took or borrowed the shield of truth from the sanctuary of our religion, and it is probable he was then in earnest. His "Common Sense," a good deal promoted the cause of independance, and gained him confidence and esteem in America beyond his value and his expectations. Buoyed by his unexpected success, he sailed in the current of revolutionary things from North America to Europe, and wickedly and wantonly thought himself able to supply incalculable aid to some wild reformists in the British Islands, to revolutionize that empire which (we piously hope) rests its foundations of power and permanency on the *Rock of Ages*, proof to invasion and seditious vicissitudes. In this perfidious attempt he wrote his "Rights of Man," and his "Age of Reason." The former evinced him a most despicable politician, who totally miscalculated the means and finances of Britain; and the latter in which he assailed revealed religion and moral virtue, declared him abominable even as an unbeliever, while he openly classed as the basest plagiarist. He merely garbled the irreligious arguments of a Spinoza and a Hobbes, the sceptical notions of a Hume and a Gibbon, and the impious sophistry of the French modern school, which the admirers of Voltaire in England had translated through disaffection, or from motives of base lucre. Paine executed his ugly task in strong simple phraseology, which caught the vulgar taste, and gave atheistical and ill-founded cavillings a diffusion among the multitude which they otherwise could not acquire. This he did, it may be said, to afford assistance in concert to the factions of the regicides in Paris, which almost every moon consumed each the other; and his Parisian friends provided him with an asylum from the just punishment which the constitution and law of the land was about to visit him with in England. As long as

the reign of terror lasted in France, Paine remained there, but as soon as some salutary regulations began to be adopted, he was looked on as an enemy to all government. Even previous to any revival of the civil power he was imprisoned and in danger of meeting the reward of his sanguinary labours, and obliged once more to re-cross the Atlantic seas to the American shores; where if he was received by a few, he was despised and avoided by all wise and virtuous citizens. It does not add to the then President's, Mr. Jefferson's honour, while it publishes the evils of factious party in the States, to find Paine invited back to pass his decline there, with prayers "for the success of his useful labours." Yet we are well assured that such an invitation was displeasing to the Americans in general, as appears from the accounts of him published by an American gentleman* after his decease. His biographer minutely narrates his conduct in England and France, where at length his atrocious dogmas set forth in all the outrageous tone of democratic fierceness, and his odious indecency of manners and intoxication rendered him universally obnoxious. In this deserved dilemma of low disgrace, his biographer informs us (in the underwritten extract) of his motive to revisit North America. "Wearyed with the republic, though obstinately bent on maintaining his principles against his feelings, he now sighed to return to the United States. He knew not indeed what to do with himself. He could not return to England, where he had been wisely outlawed, and he was aware that he was odious in the United States. Washington justly considered him an anarchist in government, and an infidel in religion. He had no country in the world, and it may truly be said that he had not a friend. Was ever man so wretched? Was ever an enormous sinner so justly punished? He must, however, return to the

* Mr. Cheetham.

United States, for he was poor; the plunderers of France having plundered only for themselves. He still retained his farm at New Rochelle, and he was sensible that, greatly increased in value, it would abundantly supply all his wants.*

On the 13th of October, 1782, he arrived at Baltimore, under the protection of the President Jefferson. But it appears that curiosity induced no body, of any distinction, to suffer his approach. While at — hotel, he was principally visited by the lower class of emigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland, who had there admired his 'Rights of Man.' With them it appears "he drank grog in the tap-room, morning, noon, and night, admired and praised, strutting and staggering about, shewing himself to all, and shaking hands with all. The leaders of the party to which he had attached himself, paid him no attention." He had brought to America with him a woman, named Madame Bonneville, whom he had seduced away from her husband, with her two sons; and whom he seems to have treated with the utmost meanness and tyranny. Mr. Cheetham's first introduction to him is thus related in his preface.

"After his return to the United States from France, I became acquainted with him on his arrival in New York,

* As to the compensations which Paine received in America for his revolutionary writings, they appear to be the following: In 1785, Congress granted him three thousand dollars, after having rejected with indignation a motion for appointing him historiographer to the United States, with a salary. Two States only made him actual gratuities. Pennsylvania by an act of the legislature, voted him five hundred pounds currency, and New York conferred on him the estate of Frederick Davoe, a royalist, situated at New Rochelle; in the county of Westchester, consisting of more than three hundred acres of land, in high cultivation.

in the year 1802. He introduced himself to me by letter from Washington city, requesting me to take lodgings for him in New York. I accordingly engaged a room in Lovett's hotel, supposing him to be a gentleman, and apprised him of the number. On his arrival, about ten at night, he wrote me a note, desiring to see me immediately. I waited on him at Lovett's, in company with Mr. George Clinton, Jun. We rapped at the door: a small figure opened it within, meanly dressed, having an old top coat, without an under one; a dirty silk handkerchief loosely thrown round his neck; a long beard of more than a week's growth; a face well carbuncled, fiery as the setting sun,* and the whole figure staggering under a load of inebriation. I was on the point of enquiring for Mr. Paine, when I saw in his countenance something of the portraits I had seen of him. We were desired to be seated. He had before him a small round table, on which were a beef-stake, some beer, a pint of brandy, a pitcher of water, and a glass. He sat eating, drinking, and talking, with as much composure as if he had lived with us all his life. I soon perceived that he had a very retentive memory, and was full of anecdote. The Bishop of Landaff was almost the first word he uttered, and it was followed by informing us, that he had in his trunk a manuscript reply to the Bishop's Apology. He then, calmly mumbling his steak, and ever and anon drinking his brandy and beer, repeated the introduction to his reply, which occupied him near half an hour. This was done with deliberation, the utmost clearness, and a perfect apprehension, intoxicated as he was, of all that he repeated. Scarcely a word would he allow us to speak. He always, I afterwards found, in all companies, drunk or sober, would be listened to, in this regard, there were no *rights of men* with him, no

* The author remarks that Falstaff's description of Bardolph's nose would have suited Paine's.

equality, no reciprocal immunities and obligations, for he would listen to no one."

Mr. Cheetham gives the following account of his manner of living after this time.

"In the spring of 1804, he returned to his farm at New Rochelle, Purdy having left it, taking with him the two Bonneviles, and leaving their mother in the city. Not choosing to live upon the farm himself, he hired one Christopher Derick, an old man, to work it for him. While Derick was husbanding the farm, Paine and the two young Bonneviles boarded sometimes with Mr. Wilburn, in Gold-street, in the city, but principally with Mr. Andrew Dean, at New Rochelle. Mrs. Dean, with whom I have conversed, tells me that he was daily drunk at their house, and that in his few sober moments he was always quarrelling with her, and disturbing the peace of the family. She represents him as deliberately and disgustingly filthy; as chusing to perform the offices of nature in his bed! It is not surprising, therefore, that she importuned her husband to turn him out of the house; but owing to Mr. Dean's predilection for his political writings; her importunities were, for several weeks, unavailing. Constant domestic disquiet very naturally ensued, which was encreased by Paine's peevishness and violence. One day he ran after Miss Dean, a girl of fifteen, with a chair whip in his hand, to whip her, and would have done so, but for the interposition of her mother. The enraged Mrs. Dean, to use her own language, 'flew at him.' Paine retreated up stairs into his private room, and was swiftly pursued by his antagonist. The little drunken old man owed his safety to the bolts of his door. In the fall of the year, Mrs. Dean prevailed with her husband to keep him in the house no longer. The two Bonneviles were quite neglected.

"From Dean's, he went to live on his farm. Here one of his first acts was to discharge old Derick, with whom

he had wrangled, and to whom he had been a tyrant, from the moment of their engagement. Derick left him with revengeful thoughts.

“Being now alone, except in the company of the two Bonnevilles, of whom he took but little notice, he engaged an old black woman of the name of *Betty*, to do his house-work. *Betty* lived with him but three weeks. She seems to have been as intemperate as himself; like her master, she was every day intoxicated. Paine would accuse her of stealing his New-England rum, and *Betty* would retort by calling him an old drunkard. Often, Mrs. Dean informs me, would they both lie prostrate on the same floor, dead-drunk, sprawling and swearing and threatening to fight, but incapable of approaching each other to combat; nothing but inability prevented a battle.”

The following is a letter written by Dr. Manley, who attended this extraordinary person in his last illness in answer to enquiries from Mr. Cheetham :

“During the latter part of his life, (says Dr. Manley) though his conversation was equivocal, his conduct was singular. He would not be left alone night or day. He not only required to have some persons with him, but he must see that he or she was there, and would not allow his curtain to be closed at any time; and if, as it would sometimes unavoidably happen, he was left alone, he would scream and holla, until some person came to him. When relief from pain would admit, he seemed thoughtful and contemplative, his eyes being generally closed, and his hands folded upon his breast, although he never slept without the assistance of an anodyne. There was something remarkable in his conduct about this period, (which comprises about two weeks immediately preceding his death) particularly when we reflect, that Thomas Paine was author of the *Age of Reason*. He would call out during his paroxysms of distress, without intermission, ‘O Lord, help me, God help me, Jesus Christ help me,

O Lord help me, repeating the same expression without any the least variation, in a tone of voice that would alarm the house. It was this conduct which induced me to think he had abandoned his former opinions; and I was more inclined to that belief, when I understood from his nurse (who is a very serious, and, I believe, pious woman,) that he would occasionally enquire, when he saw her engaged with a book, what she was reading, and being answered, and at the same time asked whether she should read aloud,* he assented, and would appear to give particular attention.

“ I took occasion, during the nights of the 5th and 6th of June, to test the strength of his opinions respecting revelation. I purposely made him a very late visit; it was a time which seemed to suit exactly with my errand; it was midnight; he was in great distress, constantly exclaiming in the words above mentioned; when, after a considerable preface, I addressed him in the following manner, the nurse being present.

“ Mr. Paine, your opinions, by a large portion of the community, have been treated with deference; you have never been in the habit of mixing in your conversation words of course: you have never indulged in the practice of profane swearing: you must be sensible that we are acquainted with your religious opinions as they are given to the world. What must we think of your present conduct? Why do you call upon Jesus Christ to help you? Do you believe he can help you? Do you believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ? Come now, answer me honestly; I want an answer as from the lips of a dying man, for I verily believe that you will not live twenty-four hours. I waited some time at the end of every question; he did

* The book she usually read was Mr. Hobart's "Companion for the Altar."

not answer, but ceased to exclaim in the above manner. Again I addressed him, 'Mr. Paine, you have not answered my questions; will you answer them? Allow me to ask again—Do you believe? or let me qualify the question—do you wish to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?' After a pause of some minutes, he answered, 'I have no wish to believe on that subject. I then left him, and know not whether he afterwards spoke to any person on any subject, though he lived, as I before observed, till the morning of the 8th.*

"Such conduct, under usual circumstances, I conceive absolutely unaccountable, though with diffidence I would remark, not so much so in the present instance; for though the first necessary and general result of conviction be a sincere wish to atone for evil committed, yet it may be a question worthy of *able* consideration whether excessive pride of opinion, consummate vanity, and inordinate self-love, might not prevent or retard that otherwise natural consequence?"

Such was the exit of this uneducated agitator, who, whatever his talents were, obtained a degree of celebrity much above the point of his abilities, a celebrity which made him giddy, and at last contributed to the wretched disregard which awaited him at the close of his chequered life. His pitch of talent after all appears to have consisted in a penetrating, quick sagacity, capable to perceive the shrewd and pointed casuistry of the deists and sceptics of Great Britain and Europe on the Continent. The press teemed with their licentious works, when he set out in his abominable career, and the manner in which he vulgarized (if such a word be allowable) the *acumen* and force of their scepticism, made him an eminent champion in the

* Paine died on the 8th of June, 1809, aged seventy-two years and five months.

cause of anarchy and impiety. Such in short was Paine, and it is worth while to reflect how his departure from this world, somewhat assimilated to the dissolution of the arch-deist Voltaire, and others who denied the Christian doctrines. The Abbé Baruel relates how Voltaire, in spite of his unprincipled associates, whom in his dying agonies he cursed for their base assistance before, was attended by a father confessor to enable him to atone as much as possible for his apostacy. And we find, although Paine remained stubborn when death overtook him, yet that he but concealed his mental conflicts with his usual constitutional moroseness. This is almost proved by his desire that the nurse would pray for him from a manual of Christian devotion, and his own occasional involuntary supplications of that Divine Personage who became an oblation and ransom for our fallen and degenerated species. Such an unrighteous demise, however, is dreadful in the extreme, while it exposes fallacy, hypocrisy, and profaneness in a colouring painful to any mind impressed with sacred thoughts. How weak is man in all his boasted ability! Voltaire rejoiced in his strength of learning, intellect, and genius; and, lo! the king of terrors found him on a bed of languishing, a trembling human creature, willing to give worlds, if he owned them, for a few months, or even weeks of divine reconciliation, and contrite repentance. His vassal admirer and disciple Paine, notwithstanding his constant, filthy ebriety, could not drown reflection entirely, or put the worm of remorse to sleep by the grossest riot. If we were to make an estimate in result of unbelievers bred in the congregations of Christians, we would perhaps conclude, if not with certainty, at least with the greatest probability, that there is no such principle as a solid satisfactory unbelief of that celestial providence in which we live, and are enlightened with reasonable and religious ideas! It would seem of a truth that the vanity of idle and vicious philosophy deceives the

entertainers of it during the years of their youth and spirits, that they remain utter strangers to the recesses of their own breasts, and so recoil in sickness and old age from the phantoms of intoxicating pleasure and mental delusion to their early tenets of devotion, or the latent prejudices of piety they imbibed in the days of infancy. Here a passing observation presses itself, viz. inculcating the inestimable benefit of vital Christianity instilled in the nurture and education of the rising generation. If the word of life be divinely engrafted on the blooming growth of the Christian soul as it expands and opens, it will scarcely become unbelieving and reprobate in its future progress through a world of evil communication, in which the imposing advocates of sensuality for a season sow the hotbed seeds of gross wickedness and vice, so as to choak the goodly shoots of reason and principle. Such was the loose economy of human life in general among the gay people of France, when sensual indulgence and elegant oblivion insensibly unsluiced the torrent of revolution, until anarchy swept away the throne and the altar. May the British islands be warned by the awful example, and lay the vast lesson with fear and contrition to heart, by keeping alive the holy fire of gospel religion, and cultivating the good fruits of evangelical virtue! The republican tree of liberty, it is well known, could not flourish in the same region with true Christianity, our tree of life! To eradicate the latter and plant the former was the diabolical aim of the Voltaires and the Paines, of the high and the low deists; and these deistical names will be recorded as glaring instances of self degradation and nuisance in the annals of the faithful historian, who will have to record the rise and progress of the French revolution, and the order of things which at length it tended to establish in so many states and countries of the continent. The historian, no doubt, will develop the springs and engines which effected such a manifold change, and

in so doing will expose the malicious motives and dying desperation of the prime movers of sedition and strife in Europe. It is to the infidel's and sceptic's condition and reward, that the author would direct the reader's strict attention and religious care.

“ Behold from night the great Accuser rise,
 Retouching old, and coining modern lies ;
 No slander unessay'd, no path untrod,
 To blast the glories of Incarnate God !
 An open enemy to *Moses'* laws ;
 A secret patron of *Samaria's* cause ;
 Who purpos'd Sion's temple to o'erthrow,
 Traitor to *Cæsar*, and to God a foe.

So, as authentic old records declare,
 (If past with future judgment we compare)
 Possess with frantic and dæmoniac spleen,
 Apostate *Julian* scoff'd the *Nazarène* ;
 His keenest wit the imperial jester tries,
 But to his breast the vengeful arrow flies ;
 He, while his wound with vital crimson streams,
 Proud in despair, confesses and blasphemes ;
 Impious, but unbelieving now no more,
 He owns the *Galilean* conqueror.”

CHAP. VIII.

Surprizing loftiness and peculiar nature of Pines and Cedars of Canada. Canadian's neat and useful economy as a farmer, and householder. Account of some civil and religious usages. Canadian and French manners similar a good deal. Defeat and death of General Montgomery before Quebec. Dangers in carrying on the Fur Trade by the People of Montreal, &c. with the Indian Tribes. Description of Quebec, the St. Lawrence River and Falls of Niagara. Observations on the Bear and Rat of Canada, with General Remarks on the Country and Inhabitants.

AT our arrival in Canada, as it was in the last Chapter observed, new dispositions of the Colonial forces, and appointments of officers commanding, took place in the hope of overpowering the Royal troops, after the signal discomfiture which Mr. Montgomery's army met at Quebec. The importance and value of the district was thus acknowledged by the measures of Congress to recover it, and by the plans of the best generals and most capable individuals of America, for the purpose of attaining so valuable an object. Our army therefore on gaining the American shore, had the approaching prospect of hard fighting, and due preparations were accordingly made. Previous, however, to an account of actual hostilities it may better accord with the outline of this memoir to describe the local situation of the country.

An European, after disembarking upon this northern shore of the American main, is at first seized with astonishment at the exceeding loftiness of the pine, fir, and cedar trees, which here acquire an ascendancy sublime indeed. Of the pine tree Canada produces two kinds, the white and

red, which alike yield turpentine. On the upper extremities of the white pine a sort of excrescence, assimilating to a mushroom in its appearance and texture, usually grows, and this the Canadians administer as a medicine to patients afflicted with dysentery. From the red pine a greater quantity of turpentine is obtained than from the white. The red beside is heavier, but is neither so gross or large in its growth as the white. It is observable, that where the red pine flourishes, the soil is excellent for growing corn.

The farm houses here are beheld with sensations of pleasure by strangers. They are usually low buildings of stone, pleasingly whitened on the outside, and interspersed at agreeable distances. They mostly have but a ground floor, on which three or four convenient apartments are constructed. The humble structure of the dwellings has given rise to a pun, viz. That the Canadians can tell stories well, but seldom if ever *make stories*. In their habitations great neatness prevails. His farming economy is creditable to the Canadian. He is attentive in tending his cattle. The farm is not in general large, grazing thirty or forty sheep, and about a dozen of cows, along with five or six oxen for the plough. The kine are small but very good for the farmer's use. With such moderate means the husbandman of Canada supports his family in competence and comfort, and, even so far back as the American revolution, the people appeared more satisfactorily and better circumstanced than the lower classes of the English themselves.

Instead of keeping fires in chimnies the people of Canada use stoves in their apartments, which, although they may diffuse heat more equally, seem to convey a disadvantage injurious to the health of the inhabitants, in producing a sulphureous air in the rooms. This may be instrumental in giving the Canadians that sallow tinge of complexion so common among them.

In Canada the people do not in general cultivate orchards, although some individuals keep these accommodations so useful to the householder, but every farmer is provided with a valuable kitchen garden. Churches are built throughout the country, distant from each other about three leagues. The chapel or church is always erected in a village, and has a parsonage or glebe-house attached, as also a school for the children of both sexes, and some habitations to lodge the different artizans and mechanics, who are wanted by the villagers. These convenient usages, the intelligent reader need not be told, assimilate to the customs of the French nation, and, no doubt were adopted by the Colonists of Canada in pursuance of the establishments and observances in which they were brought up before they emigrated beyond the ocean.

There is, however, a striking religious custom, which probably is peculiar to Canada. In the intermediate spaces between the churches, large wooden crosses are raised on the road-side, parallel to the shores of the river, about from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and broad in proportion. Fronting the road-side square holes are perceivable in the crosses, in which images of wax representing the crucifixion, or the Virgin Mother with the infant Saviour in her arms, are kept to excite sacred emotions in the minds of passengers. These images are encased in glass to save them from the injury of the weather, and the crosses exhibit representations of the instruments which had been employed by the Jews in crucifying our Lord, viz. the hammer, pincers, nails, flask of vinegar, along with other matters expressive of the Redeemer's catastrophe. Even the figure of a cock is not omitted in order to convey an allusion of St. Peter's denial of his divine Master. This public fixed ceremonial (if such a phrase be allowable) never fails to make the intended impressions on people that pass by. Every body passing, whether on foot or otherwise, stops, devoutly kneels on the road

in all weathers, and repeats set prayers which all are taught for such occasions.

The Canadians have complexions and features which remind the observer of the French people from whom they are descended. They have pale swarthy faces, and, compared to the British, they are low of stature. They in general wear a short jacket, and in winter an additional coarse frize or blanket coat, which they tie about the body with a worsted sash. Instead of hats, in the milder season they use a woollen cap, but when the cold sets in a fur one. The Canadian has a constant fancy for that fashionable appendage of every Frenchman in the old monarchy, viz. an amazing long queue. He delights in smoking tobacco, and from the years of infancy, is seen during the day, with a pipe in his mouth. The people of Canada subsist on a simple diet, mostly consisting of milk and vegetables. This plain and humble fare has been thought by some to contribute in keeping them meagre in their looks, and of a slender habit of body. But such an opinion appears not founded in fact. The Irish in general live on vegetables and milk, and yet they look healthy and well complexioned, at least compared with Canadians. It is more probable that the stoves in their houses prove detrimental to the individual's colour and even constitution, as it is certain, that the heated and confined air thus generated in their dwellings, produces an unnatural and bad atmosphere, which always attaches to the house in that cold region. Even in Ireland the peasant's smoky cottage, it is well known, tinges the face to a sickly and somewhat tawny hue, while individuals in the same neighbourhood, who are better lodged, display a fair and ruddy appearance. It would indeed seem that there is something of difference in the human complexion in different countries, which cannot be sufficiently accounted for. On the coasts of Guinea and the banks of the Senegal and Gambia, the torrid power of the sun no doubt, greatly contributes to give

that shining jetty black which the African exhibits; yet the most capable inquirers into the laws of nature are led to think there are essential causes of complexional disparity operating on the inhabitants of far distant nations. In short that the burning beam of the sun is but partially instrumental in colouring the Ethiopian's skin.

If we thus make an estimate of the Canadian, we will perhaps be led to consider his ancestor in some of the various districts or departments of France, where although there is a variety of climate from Normandy to the confines of Italy, we perceive a similarity of complexion, which identity of colour we find a good deal existing in the Colonist Frenchman's face in the chill meridians of North America.

The temper and manners peculiar to the French attach to the Canadians, which is chiefly observable in the sex. The Canadian women are lively, easy, good natured and obliging; their persons are neat and pleasing, although they have but few pretensions to beauty. Yet it is amazing to think how their personal defects are happily set off by some charm of behaviour, which cannot be described, but which renders them always engaging and agreeable.

There is a degree of rank or quality, to which a respectful homage belongs among the Canadians, intitled Seigneur or lord of the village. These individuals, distinguished although humble, maintain somewhat of the old feudal authority, and actually presume more on their importance than a nobleman in England would among his tenantry. They are the direct descendants of the French officers, who obtained debentures and became settlers, when Canada was colonized at first. Being above the business of reclaiming and tilling their plantations, and cherishing the distinctions of the French noblesse in the vast woods of North America, they parcelled out their grounds, like the Generals of the feudal times in Europe, to the soldiers who followed their fortunes. The actual

cultivator or tenant, who classed in some sort as vassal to a superior officer, possessed the land by paying a small quit rent and pecuniary fine. Of such small consideration an idea may be taken from this, viz. That a lordship in Canada of two leagues in front, and unlimited in extent backwards (called the *droit du moulin or melarie*) produced the *seigneur* but a trifling revenue, so trifling in amount that at present the lord is often poor, and his tenant under him wealthy in comparison. Yet high and dutiful respect is exacted by and paid to the *seigneur* who reckons his lineage from the ancient nobility of France, and who claims as his right considerable influence and exclusive privileges, which had been granted to French officers in the colonization of the country.

These lords of the soil or *seigneurs* are said to be the posterity of a particular order of nobility, who were allowed by Louis XIV, to exercise trade and commerce by sea and land, without degradation or derogating from their honours and rights. Trading and commercial pursuits were considered in the old monarchy altogether beneath and inconsistent with the exalted rank and dignity of the noblesse in general; and of consequence the merchant nobleman in France, although legally possessed of his title, could not class in similar respect with the other branches of the peerage. However, the sons of mercantile peers, emigrating to Canada, might there presume on the rank of their fathers as they pleased, and avail themselves of any advantages in trade and business which the country afforded to industry and enterprize. They notwithstanding appeared listless to engage in affairs of commerce, as we do not find either spirit or capital embarked by merchants in Canada until the cession of it to England, and, in most cases since, the man of business there is a British adventurer or settler. But whatever disrelish of pursuing the mercantile line attaches to Canadians, they almost universally refuse the employment of handicrafts or working

artizans. The Canadian, however poor, claims some kindred with the family of the *seigneur*, and penetrated with a degree of pride in consequence, while he labours and tills his farm, he will not condescend to employ himself as a mechanical man.

The capital of Canada and all British America is Quebec, situate at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles. It has to boast of its inland situation in a degree that no other city in the known world can do. Although 120 leagues distant from the sea, it derives singular advantage from the navigation of the St. Laurence, which furnishes the city with a fresh water harbour commodious enough to admit from the ocean and keep at safe moorings 100 ships of the line. Quebec is builded on a foundation of rock consisting of marble and slate, and is divided into what is now called the Upper and Lower. Contiguous is an excellent mine of lead. The city was founded in 1608, when, we are told, the flow tide used to wash the foot of the rock. Since then the St. Laurence must have subsided, as a space now intervenes between the rock and river, on which has been erected a considerably large suburb entitled the lower town beneath a precipice of about forty-eight feet high. The houses of upper and lower Quebec are made of stone, strong and convenient buildings, mostly inhabited by merchants. The natural situation of the town renders its defence not difficult, as were it assailed by a fleet, the upper division of the city stands beyond the fire of an enemy's ships, which would be greatly exposed to the canon and bombs from the elevated ramparts. The lower part of Quebec is defended by a platform flanked with two bastions, which at high water and spring tides are almost level with the surface of the sea. At a short interval above these bastions is a half bastion, cut from out of the solid rock, and a little higher stands a large battery surmounted by a square fort, the most regular of all the fortifications, and in which the

governor resides. The fortifications though extensive are a good deal wanting in regularity, and the ways of communication between the works are rugged in the extreme. The rocky barrier, dividing the upper and lower towns, extends with a front steep and bold to a considerable way westward, in the direction of the St. Laurence. Lower Quebec is well supplied with water, which often becomes scarce in the upper town. Quebec was besieged by the British in 1711; but without success. They, however, succeeded in taking it in September 1759, when the admired and lamented General Wolfe, who commanded the besiegers, lost his valuable life. The town is convenienced by several quays, and a commodious place for heaving down vessels to be repaired, called *Cul de sac*, where the king's ships lay by during the winter, safe from the frosts and breakings of the ice, which prove very hazardous to the shipping. Unless ships are thus laid up, when the freezing season sets in, they suffer great risks of damage, if not wreck from the islands of floating ice in the St. Laurence.

The causeway, by which the American General Montgomery made his attack in 1775, does not exceed twenty-four feet in width. On one side rises a perpendicular bulwark of rock, and on the other extends a steep rocky precipice down to the river. This entrance was defended by two strong barriers, so strong and almost impregnable, that nothing except the necessity of a desperate effort could justify General Montgomery in making his assault. The event fatally proved the desperation of the attempt, although the former barrier which, the besieged abandoned of purpose, flushed the assailants with a confident expectation of storming the city. The General led his troops with intrepidity forward to the second barrier, where two pieces of cannon, which had been concealed, were opened upon them, and caused extraordinary havoc and confusion among the besiegers, many of whom in retreat were

precipitated from the rock. This signal defeat greatly contributed to make the Americans desist in despair of capturing Quebec, in consequence of the loss of a popular commanding officer, and the slaughter of such a number of their best soldiers, which was chiefly owing to the judicious manœuvre of letting the American General take the outer barrier. This stratagem had nearly been frustrated by the eager impetuosity of British sailors posted there with the guns, who were proceeding to fire forthwith, until stopped by the threats of the officers. Deceived in this manner, the enemy advancing abreast, and filling the causeway, was confounded and overwhelmed with a dreadful fire from the inner battery, which must have caused him extraordinary destruction. On nearly the same ground, where fell General Wolfe in the ardour of his honourable career, and the arms of victory and affection General Montgomery expired in discomfiture devoted to the cause of the Colonies, but yet pitied and even applauded for valour and generous dispositions by the officers whom that great and eventful cause had made his enemies. His decease seemed to make hostility in all its rage pause at the moment! Whatever of enmity he encountered was buried with his body in the grave, where contending heroes at length sleep in the dust, and leave the legacy of war and vexation of spirit to their angry and aspiring survivors. Thus at last the most terrible things which have been acted on the blood-stained theatre of the earth, lose the sting of strife, and are narrated and heard "like a tale that is told." General Montgomery's memory is deservedly dear to America, and if on no other account, his fall being locally associated with that of Wolfe, his name will, no doubt, be sent down by the historian to the latest posterity on both sides of the ocean. Had he survived and succeeded at Quebec, he probably would have held a situation in the American army inferior to Washington only,

and moreover his abilities and popularity in the States might have raised him to stations of political eminence.

About three leagues from Quebec a nation of Indians inhabit a village called Indian Lorette. They are a good deal civilized, and very ingenious at making bead ornaments. This people keep an uncommon breed of hunting dogs, equal to the hounds of Europe, having upright ears, a dark brindled colour, and snout long like the wolf. These dogs are as remarkable for fidelity as our house-dogs, although ill-fed and little attended to by their owners, who never trouble themselves with keeping other domestic animals. The chief business of this tribe is navigating the canoe, which they construct of the strong bark of the birch, sewed with tough strings of the inner rind of trees, and staunched from leaking with a bitumenous matter like tar or pitch. The boughs of the hickory they form into ribs for this simple boat, which they build of different dimensions, to contain from two to thirty persons. In managing this little vessel the Indian uses but a paddle, and makes way with amazing expedition. It was in one of these Indian canoes that General Sir Guy Carleton, accompanied with an *aid de camp*, passed undetected through the enemy's fleet from Montreal to Quebec, to put the city in a state of defence.*

The line of road from Quebec to Montreal is without interruption in view of the river, and mostly contiguous to its banks, which renders the way very pleasant to travellers, particularly in the season of summer, which is always attended by the blowing of a grateful breeze.

The St. Laurence, from Quebec to *Trois Rivières* is very broad, and there it forms a large lake called *St. Pierre*, which is too extensive for the eye to see across it. One perceives but a part of the sheet of water, interspersed with islands and vessels sailing on its surface, which alto-

* See Journal of the American War, page 80.

gether gives a romantic prospect. The tide does not flow farther than this lake, stopping a few leagues beyond *Trois Rivières*, where the St. Laurence is met again, and runs with extraordinary rapidity, at the rate of eight miles an hour. As the river makes its appearance you are led to think it a different one. It then runs about four miles an hour, and gradually becomes more rapid, until at Montreal it goes ten miles an hour, which renders sailing very difficult. Here nothing but strong favourable wind, with sails full set, can enable ships to stem the current. Vessels, from unfavourable winds and light breezes, have been delayed as long in passing from Montreal to Quebec, which is computed at about 170 miles, as they usually are on their voyage to Canada from England.

The St. Laurence is about three miles wide at Montreal, and the current's rapidity renders crossing it there not merely disagreeable but dangerous. Unless assisted by skilful pilots, those that want to gain the opposite side are sure to be carried below the points where they intend to go ashore. Yet it is wonderful how expert the Canadians are in working their canoes on such occasions, but yet in this business they are excelled by the Indians, whose canoes are of a lighter construction. The Canadians make theirs of the red elm, which they hollow from a single trunk of a tree sometimes large enough to hold twenty men.

There is an island in the middle of the river opposite to Montreal, in which a mill is erected with eight pair of grinding stones, kept in motion together by the action of a single wheel. It is said to cost in building it 11,000*l*. A sufficiency of water is procured for its constant working by a vast wall of stone extending out into the bed of the St. Laurence, and making a very acute angle with the bank. At the extremity of this curious dam, vessels pass before the stream, while at the same time the mill continues to work.

When Canada was ceded to Great Britain in 1760, Montreal was almost as large and considerable as Quebec, but since then it has suffered greatly by fire. Travellers are surprised to see the inhabitants here, when retiring to rest at night, kindle great fires in their stoves, which, not to take into the account the risk of conflagrations, must conduce to loss of health, chiefly to Europeans, as happened to the writer of this memoir, who, while he served there, was attacked with a bad head-ache, which still afflicts him at intervals. Such keeping of fires in the houses by night was peculiarly dangerous when the habitations were constructed of wood. But of late years their dwellings are of stone, and uncommonly well secured, so as to be proof against accidents of burning and burglary which in London, and large towns in general, prove sometimes ruinous to the fortunes of families.

The plan of building used in the towns of Canada at present is well calculated for domestic security from damage. The house consists of one lofty arch of stone beneath the roof, and apartments separated asunder by such strongly cemented walls, that fire cannot communicate from one room to the other. Beside, should the roof be seized and even consumed with fire, the arch under it is able to preclude the flame from making its way into the lower and interior parts of the habitation. Each apartment is fortified by means of a double door, the inner of wood, and the outer sheeted with iron. The shutters of the windows are alike strongly secured. The iron lining affixed to the doors and shutters is about half an inch in thickness, and painted green, which serves as an agreeable colour in contrast with the white appearance of the houses in Canada.

At November commences the season of bustle and business among the traders of Montreal in taking home those furs which they procure from the nations of Indians, previous to the setting in of the winter's rigours. A short

account of the manner in which the fur trade is carried on, in the vast wilderness of America, may afford the reader a new idea, if it conveys no interesting information.

The travelling merchants, who visit the Indian districts, have to encounter a variety of hardships and perils, which would make most Europeans shrink from such a mode of forwarding one's fortune, and which nothing but the spirit of gain (that great idol of the earth!) inspires even the merchant of America, who is used to it, to embark his safety and hopes in pursuing it as he annually does. The trader calculates to a certainty of amassing more than a comfortable competence by the pursuit of this dreary business in a very few years, and, therefore buoyed upon the wings of avarice and adventure, he braves the terrors of death, and visits the most savage recesses! So it is that the genius of trade has done more, to explore unknown and frightful regions, than Mars himself after all his astonishing expeditions and invasions about the world. Of this enterprising ardour which possesses the merchant, by which he travels in the seas and keeps company with the winds, we can form some idea, if we estimate what may be called a floating caravan going from Montreal into the upper *lakes*, having to carry cumbrous loads of marketable matters for the Indian traffic, through formidable rapids, and overland from river to river for many leagues among great mountains and deep forests.

The usage of individuals engaged in trading for furs is to proceed in spring in companies of from twenty to thirty, carrying the articles wanted for barter with the Indians in several large canoes. They take any direction of route in which they hope to meet an Indian tribe, and for this purpose they mostly keep in the upper lakes. If, as it sometimes happens, they miss their object of meeting with Indians, they return back by the lakes, and shape their course westward. The matters usually taken to give in exchange for skins are particularly spirituous liquors,

tobacco, blankets, powder and ball, kettles, hatchets, tomahawks, looking-glasses, colours or paints to tinge the face and skin. These articles the Indian looks for as necessaries and luxuries, which he will endeavour to obtain by all means.

The travelling traders often continue absent from their homes and families for three years, and at their departure, in consequence of the risks and dangers they must meet in their way, it is customary with them to settle their family affairs and make their wills. Of the perilous circumstances into which they are thrown, in their travels in American deserts, an idea may be conceived from this, viz. That sometimes a trading party are all of them sacrificed in revenge by the barbarians they have to deal with, should a firelock, as often might be the case, burst and kill or wound an Indian while he uses it, or for the sake of seizing and possessing the goods and stores of the traders on such occasions. The fault and failures of firelocks, made handsome and shewey, of purpose to please and even deceive the Indian buyer, is the general cause of resentment, to kindle the vengeful passions of this barbarous human creature who stops at nothing which treachery and fury can effect to satisfy his rage. While possessed by this terrible spirit he is known to retaliate on any individual or party of traders he first meets, visiting whites without distinction with vengeance for the fraudulent dealing of a few.

Along with the danger of falling victims to Indian outrage, the arduous nature of journeying in such remote and mountainous tracts, where winter reigns in all his rigours, the unfortunate trader is often involved in a world of distressful and sometimes desparate trials and fatigues. From November to April the longest rivers are frozen and bound up with ice. The snows from four to six feet deep, cover the earth, and the cold of course is in proportion intense. Yet the traveller is so well defended by a fit

dress, and the atmosphere is so pure and clear, that the weather is neither so injurious to health, or so uninviting as an European might imagine. If this local advantage of climate attends the trader in his wanderings in the back country, the Canadian in the neighbourhood of the sea, and residing in cultivated grounds must be favoured with a far better air, and possess various means of superior comfort and pleasure during the wintery months.

Thus winter itself contributes without doors to the diversions of Canadians; the ice furnishes a pleasure ground for their sports, and an easy road for enabling them to make journies with dispatch, if not delight. The people of Montreal are in the habits of postponing the time of going to Quebec on business until winter prepares the St. Laurence with a strong icy surface for their sledges or careoles. This vehicle is fashioned in a variety of ways, according to the taste or caprice of individuals, such as the representation of some beast or fowl, and painted on the outside with fantastic portraits and pictures descriptive of the season and scenery of the country. The horses of Canada draw it with ease at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, so that a Canadian will go forty or fifty miles to see a friend, and sometimes return the same day.

————— “ Eager on rapid sleds,
Their vigorous youth in bold contention wheel
The long resounding course.” —————

The common people and persons of condition usually make this winter-chariot differently, the former having it level with and sliding on the snow and ice, while the latter construct it on runners or low wheels, which raise it from the ground about two feet.

Notwithstanding the severity of cold in Canada, which renders the St. Laurence a sheet of ice, there are hot springs which remain uncongealed, proof against the intensest frosts. To save the unguarded traveller from fall-

ing into them the people of the country put large firs or pine trees erect in the ice-bound beds of their rivers. The pines thus fastened by the frosts continue green, and even seem to vegetate, the while, so much so that a stranger might sometimes fancy himself travelling by land upon a road lined with trees growing alongside.

Contiguous to the river's sides the ice supplies a flat and level ground to go on, but in the mid-current the passage is rugged and hilly. This is occasioned by the powerful force and rapidity of the water underneath, throwing up fragments of broken ice. Standing upon a rising ground of ice thus formed, you might perceive the most grotesque appearances and figures, sometimes of human beings, beasts, and birds, and of almost every object which the earth offers to the eye. In short the winter affords much gratification, and even some advantages to Canadians, which they never fail to avail themselves of. The waters then present a stable medium to take friends and neighbours to visit, and meet at home and abroad. The days are much devoted to exercises and playing on the ice, and the evenings are passed in amusing themselves within doors with hospitable entertainments and dances, which, after the fashion of their European ancestors, the Canadians indulge in with all the heart, and that light fascinating spirit which appears peculiar to the French people.

In April winter makes a quick departure, and spring comes suddenly with warmth and those genial suns, which advance and quicken the vegetable kingdom, in a manner almost incredible to persons that live in the tropical and temperate latitudes. It is surprising to witness the rapid growth of all sorts of fruits and vegetables in the spring time at Canada. The soil is generally very good, producing wheat, barley, rye, and indeed all sorts of grain well, and in great plenty. Tobacco is a good deal cultivated, and is found to thrive here.

If this account of Canada be right, the northerly regions of the earth are not the most uncomfortable. Probably, in comparison with the countries under and near the tropics, they would be found in many cases to contribute more to the health and comfort of mankind. However, the Canadian has not the local disadvantage attending some cold regions. He is not obliged like the Muscovite and Laplander to confine himself at home for days and weeks together; as must be the case when winter spreads abroad the clouds and darkness of a long lingering night, which lasts for months. But even in Tartary and Siberia the native is not cast out from consolations, as many may think he might be. The Almighty appears to be parental in his mercy and bounty to all; and thus the Siberian and American savage possess their share of that superintending goodness, which we find co-extensive with the universe. The Canadian is never kept by the weather within doors, except when it snows, which seldom happens but at the setting in of winter, when the fall of snow is abundant, and even then constant snowing continues only a few days. As soon as winter thus makes his entrance (clothing the land with a snowy mantle) the weather settles, the air becomes pure, and the sky serene. The air of Canada is considered very salubrious, although the inhabitants are subject to consumptions, which carry off many of them before they arrive at maturity. Individuals who pass that stage of human life usually survive to a good old age.

Canada, it will be easy to conceive, affords the traveller several stupendous, as well as picturesque views and curiosities. Of these the falls of Niagara deserve to be particularly mentioned. Niagara river connects the northern extremity of Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, and is about thirty miles in length, from Fort Erie to Fort Niagara, forming a part of the line of limits which separates the United States from Upper Canada. The falls are opposite to Fort Slusher, about seven or eight miles south-

ward of Lake Ontario. They are owing to the elevation of the ground which contains Lake Erie above the bed of the Ontario. This elevation is computed at three hundred feet in a very steep slope, or inclined plain nearly perpendicular in some parts. In this way the cataract is caused, above which, about three miles distant, is Fort Chippeway; to this fort batteaux can sail with safety, but were a boat to proceed farther towards the falls, it would be in danger of a rapid absorption among the rocks, by which the raging, boisterous waves are broken, and tossed with terrific violence. Yet this vast agitation is mostly confined to the sides of the river, as the mid-current, although wonderfully impetuous, rolls unbroken and equable in its course, so much so that some boats are known to make good their way to an islet in the neighbourhood of the falls, where the river divides itself. The attempt to do so is always rash in the extreme, for unless the boat can keep the mid-current without deviating in the least to either side, destruction is inevitable. Such being the hazard of gaining and leaving the islet, one might conclude that none would be found fool-hardy enough to make such a risk. Yet some few individuals venture, it is possible, for the sake of beholding to great advantage the amazing body of falling water, as it pitches from the projecting precipice, or probably, in most cases, from a motive of vanity, in order to have to boast that they once visited this point of peril.

The pitch, which the prodigious volume of water acquires, appears sublime as a sight, and surprising beyond any previous idea which could be entertained of it. Astonishment, or rather stupefaction seizes the spectator, while he beholds an entire furious river, 742 yards wide, precipitating itself into a dreadful chasm. The huge, hollow roar or sound of descending waters is said to be heard generally at the distance of twenty miles on all sides, and should the sky be clear, more than forty miles in the

current of a favouring wind. From the shock occasioned by it a tremulous motion is communicated to the earth for several roods around, and a constant fog or mist beclouds the horizon, in which, if the sun shines, rainbows are always seen. Small showers of the dashed up spray also besprinkle the foliage of neighbouring trees, and, in winter being congealed by the cold, depend upon the branches in thousands of little icicles, or chrystalized dews. The watery volume is reckoned to send down 672,000 tons a minute, and the descent is calculated at 150 feet. If then we take the proportions of the weight of water, and elevation or height of the fall, the increments, or accumulating encrease of its velocity and force in descending, cannot but make us wonder how the stony foundations upon which it dashes down can remain unbroken beneath such unceasing shocks. The philosophic mind, and even mathematical precision itself in this case, must make a religious estimate, and borrow a sacred sentiment, viz. That the divine Architect, (*who created the heavens and the earth in the beginning!*) made the round world so fast, that its mechanism cannot be moved or broke asunder, except by his own omnipotent means. His presiding providence or his actual powerful agency is universally evidenced in his works. The majestic ocean and the large tributary rivers, as they roll, declare it to the continents and islands. And the loud cataract, with the voice of many waters, proclaims to savage tribes the Creator and Preserver of the great globe they inhabit!

Below this terrible cataract are always to be found the bruised and lacerated bodies of fishes, and even land animals which had been arrested by the suction of the voracious waves, as also shattered beams and timbers absorbed in the same manner. Many accounts are mentioned relative to fatal accidents happening to individuals at the falls, particularly the melancholy fate of a poor intoxicated Indian, who lay asleep in his canoe, after he had tied it to

the river's bank some miles distant above the falls. His squaw or wife sat ashore watching him, and having been seen by a sailor belonging to a ship of war in the Lakes, he endeavoured to prevail with her to gratify his lustful desires. The woman reluctant, ran to awaken her husband, but before she could do so, the unprincipled, inhuman fellow, who pursued her, cut the rope which tied the canoe to the shore. Thus disengaged it drifted down near the falls, ere the unfortunate man perceived his desperate situation. He then with his paddle resolutely attempted to rescue himself from the absorbing fury of the current, and made astonishing exertions, but finding his labour entirely hopeless, he at length calmly wrapped himself in his blanket, and met precipitate destruction with silent composure.

In the animals and quadrupeds of Canada several peculiarities are perceivable. The Canadian bear seems somewhat different from that of other countries. He is rather shy than fierce, flying in most cases from men and dogs, and dangerous only if wounded, and after leaving his hollow tree, the residence of his torpid state in winter, or in the rutting season in July, when it is hazardous to meet him. In the rutting time he is lean, and his flesh is found so rancid in flavour, that the Indians, who feast on it at other times, refuse it then. He, however, soon recovers and fattens on the abundant fruits of the woods, where he climbs the loftiest trees for subsistence, which renders bears' flesh not only good, but, according to the general taste of Canadians, delicious.

The bear in all the latitudes far north is known to pass the winter months in almost a continued lethargy or torpor, and it is usually thought that during this slumbering circumstance of the bear's life, he takes no sustenance. In Lapland bears choose some covered and close situation beneath the snow, where during the long night of that region, they sleep together in numbers. This gregarious

sleeping acquires great additional warmth, and from the state of the country, buried under mountains of snow, and embraced with thick clouds, this animal cannot, at all events for many weeks, go out in quest of food; and travellers agree in their accounts of the bear's never laying up any winter-store of provisions.

“ There through the piny forest half-absorpt,
Rough tenant of these shades, the shapeless bear
With dangling ice all horrid, stalks forlorn ;
Slow-pac'd, and sourer as the storms increase,
He makes his bed beneath th' inclement drift,
And with stern patience, scorning weak complaint,
Hardens his heart against assailing want.”

It is mentioned by some that the bear is a good deal subsisted by licking his own greasy paws. The natural philosopher and physician give us to understand, that the almost total absence of perspiration in the bear at this season, saves him from those actual losses of the constitution, which in other animals, that perspire profusely, require continued regular repairs by eating and drinking. Probably in the more northern countries this may be a good deal the case. In Canada, it would seem from the information of the inhabitants, that the bear is sometimes obliged to leave his retreat for feeding; but with the exception of such occasional excursions, which we have reason to presume are seldom taken, he continues his slumbers, until winter makes its exit. Bears, it is observable, do not crowd together during the sleeping months, owing, no doubt, to Canada's being more temperate than portions of the earth nearer the poles. They tell in Canada of a bear which had been kept chained an entire winter, without any thing to subsist on, and yet it not only survived, but did not look unusually lean at the expiration of the season.

In winter is the time for hunting and taking the bear. He is awakened from his comfortable bed, (where he covers himself in the hollowed part of some tree,) and turned out by setting fire to the trunk near the ground, which burning and filling the cavity with smoke, he is obliged to come forth to the hunters, who seldom fail to kill him on such occasions.

The rat of North America is in general valued for its skin, but the species or sorts of this small animal which the trader particularly looks for are the opossum, and musk. The female opossum is said by many to receive its young ones into its belly at will, after bringing them forth. The real case however is, that nature provides the animal with a membrane-bag which covers its belly for the purpose of keeping its offspring safe from injury, until they arrive at strength and age to make the necessary provisions for their own safety and subsistence. The integument or bag alluded to is furnished with an aperture or hole to admit or let out the young opossums, and the dam can expand or contract it at pleasure. In this little phenomenon of the animal kingdom we have an instance of the wise and merciful economy of Providence, which fits creatures in general with means of preservation, suitable with their condition, and the climates of which they are natives. In this secure confinement, carrying her little ones from pursuit and harm, the opossum often climbs high trees. Another singularity attaching to the opossum is this, viz. It escapes from the mountain-cat, and other climbing animals of prey, to the extremest points of the branches, from which it suspends itself by means of its tail, in such a manner that its pursuer cannot arrest it. The musk rat is greatly sought after for a precious perfume of that name which it supplies, nearly in the same manner as does the beaver. It is contended by some that this rat is a diminutive species of the beaver genus.

It was mentioned that Canadians appear somewhat peculiar in religious observance, particularly in their erecting large crosses and representations of saints upon the highway. The procession of Holy Thursday, which they entitle *La fete Dieu*, cannot but engage the attention of travellers. The people of Montreal prepare for the celebration of this public ceremonial, by procuring large pines and firs from the woods, with which they line the streets on both sides, making the boughs connect at top, so that the religious spectacle proceeds under an immediate umbrageous shelter, as if the trees were growing in the place. About eleven in the forenoon the procession occupying nearly the ground of half a mile in length, and consisting of the Clergy in general, and the friars of all the monasteries, attended with a band of music, begins to move from the great church. In the centre of the procession, under a canopy of crimson velvet supported by six priests, one of the religious carries the host upon a large book, probably the Holy Bible, covered with a white cloth. Before the host are borne baskets of flowers, which boys in white vestments scatter along the way. Four boys similarly habited bear silver chalices with burning incense, which they constantly waft toward the host, and a multitude of persons attend singing hymns and anthems. Every person passing in the way kneels, and the people in the houses do the like prostrations at the windows as the procession goes by.

On the day previous to one of these processions we were noticed of it, and his Majesty (in consequence of indecorous behaviour, and bad accidents happening on the like religious occasions) having made some time before a proclamation, that proper respect should be observed by the military on such celebrations, General Philips issued orders in pursuance of it. The General's order required that, "non-commissioned officers be particular in informing the men that, when the host should go by they were to front

it, and behave in a decent and respectable manner, to pull off their hats and remain in that situation until the host should pass." The order added, that any complaint made to the General of misbehaviour, if proved, should be punished with the utmost severity. This is a case in point to shew that our gracious Sovereign always provided for the religious toleration and civil liberty of his subjects, and that officers commanding were strictly attentive to give his Majesty's paternal desires their due effect.

It is indeed surprising to witness the effect of such religious *fetes* and public observances in the communities of the Romish church. The church of Rome has carried forward as much as possible the superb solemnity of the Jewish temple, and her splendor of worship, no doubt has contributed to attach the mind of the multitude to her devotion and discipline. Whether or not the founders of the Reformation were too anxious to divest the churches which they established of such sanctimonious ornament is beside the author's purpose to observe. But this, with due respect to every party he may fairly remark, viz. That the Reformed Christians ought always to be divinely supported with the intrinsical principle of gospel piety, and the diffusion of religious knowledge and moral righteousness, in its life and power, in order to supply the operation and interest of magnificent rituals. However, we can trace the ceremony of processions to the remotest antiquity among Jews and Gentiles. The taking forth of the ark of the covenant by the tribes always produced an extraordinary devout impulse in the minds of Israelites, and the impulse itself sometimes proved effectual to strengthen the dispensation and kingdom of the Jews. The Canadian *fete* which gave occasion to these remarks was representative of our Lord's entrance into Jerusalem, when he was welcomed with hosannas, and those who rejoiced to receive him scattered branches of palm in the highway. On

this subject it is observable, that there is a similiarity of ritual noticeable in the religious ceremonies of most nations; which would lead us to think that the most enlightened and distinguished states borrowed their hallowed emblems and ceremonials from the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. At this day it is striking to consider how the procession of Brama on the banks of the Ganges assimilates to the one alluded to. As the car with the image is rolled along the Hindoo worshippers carry boughs of the date-bearing palm, the valued tree of India. Among the Greeks who immediately took their worship from Egypt, and probably in some measure from the observances of Israel, we find processions greatly indulged in. The description of the shield of Achilles furnishes a pleasing picture of a vintage procession, as translated by Mr. Pope:

“ To this, one pathway gently winding leads,
 Where march a train with baskets on their heads,
 (Fair-maids, and blooming youths) that smiling bear
 The purple product of the autumnal year.
 To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
 Whose tender lay the fate of Lirus sings;
 In measur'd dance behind him move the train,
 Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain.”

In concluding this chapter an observation offers itself, viz. That the Canadian looks somewhat singular in both civil and religious usages, and that his peculiarity appears to arise from the scenes around him. This is always in some sort the case, but much more so in Canada. The ocean, the rivers, cataracts, mountains and woods in this northern country of America are all astonishing, and therefore the ideas of the people cannot fail to correspond with the scenery of the district more or less. The northern latitudes have invariably a great deal of the stupendous, and although Canada is not the coldest region of winter yet it is situate within winter's peculiar meridians. It

has many of the local peculiarities of countries far north, while it is happily furnished with the comforts of civilized life, those comforts and blessings of society from which the Siberian and Muscovite are greatly debarred in their back settlements on the globe.

“ But what is this? Our infant winter sinks,
 Divested of his grandeur, should our eyes
 Astonish'd, shoot into the frigid zone;
 Where, for relentless months, continual night
 Holds o'er the glittering waste her starry reign.
 There, through the prison of unbounded wilds,
 Barr'd by the hand of nature from escape,
 Wide-roads the Russian exile. Nought around
 Strikes his sad eye, but deserts lost in snow;
 And heavy-loaded groves; and solid floods,
 That stretch, athwart the solitary vast,
 Their icy horrors to the frozen main;
 And cheerless towns far distant, never bless'd,
 Save when its annual course the caravan
 Bends to the golden coast of rich Cathay,
 With news of human kind.”

CHAP. IX.

A Soldier expires in quarters by excess of rage. Army embarks at St. John's to cross Lake Champlain. Cat-fish. Migrating Pigeons. Musquitoes. A Tribe of Indians join the Army. The Indian's manner of living and warfare. Scalping. Tomahawk. Lake George. American Snake. Farmer Hector St. John's description of it. Account of Battles and Skirmishes previous to the Surrender at Saratoga. General Observations, &c.

DURING our stay in Canada the army had sufficient time for providing to meet the enemy, and although in thus preparing the troops were much occupied in acquiring whatever efficiency training and exercise could produce, yet comparatively with actual engagements such a season was a time of inactivity. In cantonments the greatest care of the commander is wanted to keep regiments well regulated and in order, as numbers of the soldiery will take occasion to indulge in disorderly habits, and so become worse in all respects. Means should be used therefore to keep the men regularly and usefully employed, so as to inspire them, as much as can be, with good impressions of duty and even moral propriety. It may be thought, that to attempt mental reformation among an army would be vain, but something in this way might be effected, and even salutary amendments produced which might excite surprise. At all events strict precautionary measures should never be remitted, as from the remissness of command and lax discipline, accidents of misbehaviour, riot, and outrage cannot fail to happen. A case in some

way illustrative of this argument occurred while we were cantoned in Canada. A soldier notorious for wickedness and boisterous temper, quarrelling with one of the men, and, no doubt, knowing he could not with impunity gratify his rage, expired in excess of anger. He was remarkable for blasphemous swearing and the worst conduct, and his awful manner of dying made a solemn impression on the minds of the soldiers, when they considered his profane life and sudden decease.*

* A case similar with the above mentioned is told of J. S. private in the 15th light dragoons, who had contracted such a habit of odious cursing, that he was generally called *Mortal Jack*. In this respect his conduct became proverbial, "You are as bad as *Mortal Jack*," was a common remark. On April the 24th, 1794, at Cambray, while asleep in his tent, he disturbed his fellow soldiers by making an unusual and dismal noise. On being with difficulty awaked, he said, "I have been dreaming I was reaping corn with my father, in a field where I once beat him, because he would not supply me with money; and I thought that a number of venomous creatures fixed upon me, and that a large one flying over the corn, took me by the throat. My father seeing the danger I was in, strove to drive them away. I imagined that the earth shook, trembled and opened; and that the venomous creature which seized me, dragged me into an opening chasm, or pit, when the earth immediately closed upon me; and *this* day, I believe I shall be in hell!" He just related this strange dream, with which his companions were diverting themselves, saying, "the devil is coming for *mortal Jack*," when the trumpet sounded for action. Instantly they rose, saddled, mounted, and were ordered to form two deep, advance and charge the enemy's infantry; which fired upon them as they advanced. This was about four in the morning. S. had been in various engagements, and it seems, had always behaved in a courageous and soldier-like manner: but now apparently, his courage, for the first time, forsook him.

Having wintered and remained in Canada until June, our army proceeded toward the enemy for the purpose of hostile operations. We embarked at St. John's in order to cross Lake Champlain, which is so extensive in width that one cannot with the naked eye discern the opposite shore. It is pleasantly interspersed with wooded islands, and abounds with various kinds of fish, of which the catfish is one of the most singular in shape, being about eighteen inches long, and of a dark brown colour. It is unfurnished with scales, but provided on its head, which resembles that of a cat, with protuberances of about two inches each, like the horns of a snail. These it can lift or

His soul being appalled by his dream, he had scarce strength to draw his sword; which when drawn, visibly shook in his hand. His serjeant observing his perturbation, and either not knowing, or not adverting to the cause, thought him afraid of danger; and threatened to accuse, and have him tried for cowardice. While he was advancing, covered by his front man, a ball struck him in the body, and he fell from his horse. Those of his companions who were acquainted with his late awful dream, supposed that his fall was occasioned by fear; but, at the close of the engagement, he was found dead from a musket-ball. There being a previous agreement between himself and his comrade, that if either of them should fall, the survivor should inform the friends of the deceased; therefore his comrade wrote to his father, informing him of his son's death. On the return of the 15th to England, S.'s father sent a message, requesting that the comrade would call upon him, and give him farther particulars respecting his unhappy son. Accordingly he went, and found him confined, by age, to his bed. "Are you (said he) the young man who informed me of my son's death?" "I am," replied the comrade. "Ah," rejoined the old man, with tears, "he caused the death of his mother because she would not supply his extravagance, he threw her down stairs, when she received a hurt from which she never

fall at pleasure, and in handling the fish, should a person be touched with one of the horns or protuberances alluded to, a severe sensation, which may be called a shock, is communicated so powerfully, that a painful stinging is felt for several hours. Some persons assert that it will often continue to affect one for two or three days after. This singularity attaching to the cat-fish of North America seems similar a good deal to what is related of the electric eel of South America, and proves to us that the electric fluid is found to prevail in the animate as well as inanimate creation. The horns of the cat-fish are the electric conductors, and from the power of the shock received from them, it is plain they must be greatly charged with the electric fire or principle. The flesh of this fish is fat and luscious, very like that of our common eel. Its fins are bony and strong like those of a perch.

While we passed Lake Champlain, it happened to be the season when wild pigeons migrate in flocks over the lakes to Canada, and our meeting with these airy voyagers afforded us much amusement. The most of them were decorated with beautiful plumage, and their flight must

recovered. He was a wild lad, I gave a premium with him to a shoe-maker. His misconduct to his master got him into prison. I interfered and procured his release. He then wished to change his business. I found him a new master and another trade, and gave a second premium with him. About six weeks after, he had a child laid upon him. I settled the business by finding security; and on the following Sunday, while I was at Church, he got into my room, broke open my box, and took out of it ten pounds, which I had provided for my rent. Through these misfortunes I was in arrears with my landlord, who took my effects; this obliged me to apply to the parish which allows me three shillings a week, and I now live with my daughter."

be from far, as several of them were much wearied, with difficulty gaining the trees to rest on, and dropping even in the water. On these occasions the soldiers, as the vessels sailed along the islands, struck them down, and picked them up as they fell. During this migration of the pigeons the Canadians take much pleasure in shooting them, which they do after a singular manner. They erect ladders from the ground to the tops of the pines, on which the pigeons roost by night in quantities. Coming softly to the trees they fire up in the direction of the ladder so fixed, and succeed in taking down the pigeons in numbers, when striking a light they collect the killed and wounded birds around the place. This time of flight lasts about three weeks, and affords the poorer Canadians the means of subsistence upon wild pigeons until the season is over.

In passing the lakes we frequently encamped, and at each encampment were obliged to clear off the under-wood, and cut away the small trees from about us. On such occasions we were constantly assailed by venomous swarms of musquitoes, that could not be kept from attacking us but by the smoke and flame of large fires, which we always were obliged to kindle for banishing this noxious vermin. The musquitoe is the swarming pest of summer in the woods and most districts of North America, and the constant assailant of the air in the tropical and warm climates of the world, where the tiny insect acquires such vexing annoyance that the fine perfumes and blooming abundance of luxuriant regions are lost from enjoyment by man, who cannot be compensated for that peace and comfort which the absence of angry and odious vermin causes to the people of colder and less delightful countries. It would seem that local advantage is accompanied by attendant disadvantage, and likewise local defect by supplies of satisfaction and safety, in all the earth.

One of our encampments happened at a river upon the Lake Champlain, which has been rendered remarkable

by Indian conferences at different times. It is called the river Bouquet, from Colonel Bouquet a French officer, who commanded an expedition against some of the Indian nations, and here held a parley with them in the way of *pacification*, when Canada was a French colony. General Burgoyne also treated with the Indians on the same ground. This accomplished Commander has suffered from obloquy at home, in consequence of the use he made of the Indians, and, it may be better for the writer of this memoir to refer the reader to the General's speech, and the answer of the Indians at the meeting, than to attempt any vindication of his character, by explaining his conduct here. The recorded report of his conference at this river affords a document calculated to do him justice, in illustrating the honour and humanity of his motives. (See Journal of the American War, page 135.)

The Conference being concluded, General Burgoyne ordered that the Indians should be regaled by liquors and other refreshments. After they were so entertained they proceeded to perform a war dance, which may be called a representation consisting of Melodrame and Pantomine in the Indian fashion. The recreations and divertisments of the Indian are confined to the exhibition of his warlike exercises, and the excitement of his hostile spirit. In war he concentrates every thing excellent, and, with the exception of hunting, he pursues it exclusively. It is his profession of glory, and also the pursuit of it provides his path of safety. In this idea he is always sedulous to make preparations for it, as the means of keeping his nation and himself secure from the invasions and outrage of his barbarous neighbours in the deep forests. Whenever, therefore, the Indians indulge in amusements, their diversions become spectacles and shows of war and violence. In the war-dance noticed their appearance was terrific and wild in the extreme. Some were covered with the buffalo's hide, having the horns extended, to give them a

more hideous aspect. Others wore dresses of feathers in a variety of strange savage devices, and a few were entirely naked, having the body and face painted in the most grotesque colouring, so as to convey an idea of horror among the beholders. In dressing or decorating for this barbarian masquerade, the Indian seemed sedulous to trick himself in fashionable parade, as much as European beaux endeavour to shine at a ball. He had his bear's grease, vermillion, and black and green colours, which he laid on with much pains, adjusting the due proportions, and making the ferocity of his face more ghastly and glaring, by the help of a small looking-glass, which he held in his hand on the interesting occasion. To look the warrior is the Indian's aim; as that of the beau in civilized society, is to step out a fine gentleman, and to astonish the crowd, and please his company is no doubt, the *acme* of decorum and distinction with the fashionables of Christendom and of the Catabaws and Creeks and Cherokees!

The Indian's mode of carrying on hostilities consists for the most part in dexterous ambuscades, and arduous stratagems, in which, when they are overtaken, astonishing courage and fortitude are displayed by the combatants, so much so, that the soldiers of civilized states have no conception of such hazardous enterprises, and actual defiance of death in the most desperate and shocking shapes. In an intricate country like North America they became a desirable ally to the Royal cause, being peculiarly skilled, in suppressing and intercepting an enemy in his most disguised movements and operations. In trying to surprise their enemies they fail to kindle fires, subsisting on raw and the most scanty provisions, in order to escape notice. They lie on the ground, halting by day and marching by night, and always send scouts on every side to reconnoitre the country. It is wonderful to think how expert they are in discovering the enemy in his securest retreat, which they find by investigating his track in the most pathless

places, and by smelling, as they do at a great distance, the smoke of his fires. The Indian in tracing his enemies will estimate their number from the almost viewless vestiges of their march, and even the time which elapsed since they passed. This was witnessed by a British officer who went out with a party of Indians. They told the officer they observed the footsteps of seven or eight men that passed about two days before, and, after proceeding forward a little way, having espied a plantation and house, they surprised in it a party of seven Americans, that came there as they had calculated by the traces in the way. In travelling through the wooded country they mark the tall trees which are stripped of foliage on the north side by the wind, and in this way take the direction of their journey. As they proceed they etch the trunks with their tomahawks, and cut down the underwood in order to ascertain the road as they return back.

General Burgoyne of necessity procured the assistance of Indians in America, not from any wish to reinforce himself with the atrocities of Indian fighting. He found it impracticable to march through, and secure himself in that country from the enemy he encountered without such guides and associates, who enabled him to cope with the Americans, and save himself from surprise in covert scenes, which were new to European armies, and where the best discipline and best generalship must become ineffectual, if such a precaution as he resorted to had not been used. General Braddock fell a victim himself, and sacrificed fine troops by his improvident plan of operation in exposing his army to the ambuscades of savage hostilities.

Persons who arraigned General Burgoyne therefore for availing himself of an alliance with the Indians, argued unfairly, and did him great injustice. He was aware of the arduous conflict he had to meet, and he provided proper materials for the local circumstance in which he was employed. For this purpose he engaged the assistance of

Indian warriors to accompany the army he commanded from Canada.

In crossing the lakes the Indians in their canoés, containing from twenty to thirty men each, headed our troops as they sailed in brigade. One brigade regularly followed the other, proceeding from about seventeen to twenty miles a day. The order of progress was so regulated that the next following brigade occupied at night the encampment which the immediately preceding one left in the morning. After the Indians, the advanced corps sailed in regular line with the Royal George and Inflexible war ships coming after, towing large booms, which were used to be thrown across two points of land. Then came the brigs and sloops, and after them the first brigade, having the pinnaces of Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Reidesel, in rear of them. Next followed the second brigade, and last the German brigade, whose rear was brought up by the *sutlers and followers* of the army.

Although the waters of the Champlain are frequently much agitated, our army in passing found it serene and tranquil. At one time it afforded a delightful appearance. Undisturbed by a breeze its clear, chrysal surface became like an indefinitely extended mirror, reflecting the heavens, and green umbrage of the trees which bordered the islands of the lake, while at the same time the entire army moved majestically along in perfect order. It looked like some stupendous fairy scene of a dream, which the waking fancy can scarcely conceive. Picture to yourself a sheet of fine water, where the horizon interposed between the farther shore, with an army of men embarked upon it, islands covered with tall trees, and the sky calm and smiling. One would be tempted to forget that the element on which he sailed was often subject to storms and shipwreck, and that while its aspect was so inviting it became a swift medium to carry him to fields of carnage and desolation. Yet such was in reality the case. Lake Champlain is

much exposed to gales which blow in squalls from the high mountainous lands on the north. One of these squalls took our army in sailing, but without any damage, except to a small brig which was laid on her side, and saved by cutting away her masts. During the gale of wind we encountered, it was feared the Indians must have perished, but, contrary to our apprehensions, their canoes rode the storm without injury.

On the 30th June, 1777, we assembled at Crown Point, within sight of the enemy, whose watch-boats were seen rowing about, but beyond the reach of our guns. In a few days we commenced operations against Ticonderoga.* An ample account of hostile operations here being given in the author's Journal of the American War, he shall confine himself to a few particulars at present.

After the enemy retreated we marched down to the works, and were obliged to halt at the bridge of communication which had been broken down. In passing the bridge and possessing ourselves of the works we found four men lying intoxicated with drinking, who had been left to fire the guns of a large battery on our approach. Had the men obeyed the commands they received, we must have suffered great injury, but they were allured by the opportunity of a cask of Madeira to forget their instructions, and drown their cares in wine. It appeared evident that they were left for the purpose alluded to, as matches were found lighted, the ground was strewed with powder, and the heads of some powder casks were knocked off in order, no doubt, to injure our men in their gaining the works. An Indian had like to do some mischief from his curiosity—holding a lighted match near one of the guns; it exploded, but being elevated, it discharged without harm.

* Ticonderoga was built by the French in the year 1756. It is now a heap of ruins, and forms an appendage to a farm.

A part of our troops pursued the retreating enemy, and overtook him at Hibbertown. The grenadiers were ordered to form and prevent him in the road to Castletown. Being turned in this direction, the enemy attempted to proceed to Pittsford, by a steep mountainous road. In this attempt they were thrown into much confusion by means of our grenadiers, who climbed a very steep ascent to stop their march. In climbing this high ground, which looked inaccessible, the men encountered great fatigue and danger, being obliged to sling their firelocks to their sides, and sometimes ascend by laying hold of the branches of trees. After gaining the summit of this elevated ground, the grenadiers had hard fighting before they prevailed against the Americans, who were greatly superior in numbers, and commanded by a brave officer, Colonel Francis, who fell in the fight.

The Americans were not completely routed until the Germans came and engaged them, by means of which seasonable assistance they suffered great loss.* They were about 2000 in number, while the British amounted but to 850, who maintained the conflict during two hours previous to the coming up of the Germans, whose accession of force fortunately decided a hard fought affair. The nature of hostilities on the American continent acquired a sort of implacable ardour and revenge, which happily are a good deal unknown in the prosecution of war in general. This remark is justified by the fate of Captain Shrimpton, of the 62d regiment, after the battle just mentioned. Some of our officers stood examining papers taken from the pocket of Colonel Francis on the field. As the Captain held

* It is not unworthy to observe that the German troops prepared for the conflict as they approached the field of battle by singing Psalms, and that the effect of their onset and charge, followed by an incessant fire on their part, gave a sudden and signal decision to the severe action of that day.

the papers he leaped and exclaimed that he was badly wounded. The officers heard the whizzing of the ball, and saw the smoke of the fire, but failed to find the man who aimed with such effect, and escaped without seizure, or even being seen.

In fighting in the woods the battalion manœuvring and excellency of exercise were found of little value. To prime, load, fire and charge with the bayonet expeditiously were the chief points worthy of attention. It was our custom after loading and priming, instead of ramming down cartridge, to strike the breech of the firelock to the ground, and bring it to the present and fire. In this usage much care was necessary, lest the cartridge might remain undischarged, as sometimes happened, when, from the confusion of the moment of action, the end of the cartridge being unbiten it might not catch fire from the burnt priming. In this way several cartridges have been discovered together in the piece unexploded, which, in the bursting of his firelock from an overcharge, could not fail to be very perilous and sometimes destructive to the soldier himself, and even some of those around him.

Some confusion and lack of presence of mind must attach to every young soldier, but habit and the usage of fighting will soon supply coolness and self-possession in action.

Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action, viz. personal bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the recruit and veteran soldier, but the last most obviously distinguishes one from the other. A coward taught to believe that, if he breaks his rank and abandons his colours, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy. Men who are familiarized to danger, approach it without thinking, whereas troops unused to service apprehend danger where no danger exists. No doubt, before the commencement

of a battle, a man, however he may class as a veteran, cannot fail to feel that his life hangs upon awful accident, and of course that natural instinct, if nothing else, which beats within us in anxiety for self-preservation, will cause a quick pulsation and agitate the breast. But the battle once begun, this anxious apprehension, which originates from the love of existence when we reflect in silence, is confounded and lost in the ardour and conflict of the engagement, wherein reflection and thought suffer a temporary suspense, as much for the moment as if we were constituted without them. This privation, however, is merely commensurate with the actual overwhelming circumstance of things, when contending armies encounter to decide the fates of states and empires. After fighting, a thousand severe and painful feelings call back the mind and all the affections; and although mercy may be thought to be estranged from the soldier's bosom, perhaps nobody cherishes benevolence and pity more than he does. He looks around him, and sees with deep affliction his companions and friends, some dead, and some agonized with mortal wounds; and in short, that manifold scene of sudden slaughter which Mars leaves behind him. Such terrible scenes cannot but harrow the recesses of the heart, and should victory favour the forces among whom he ranks, even common humanity will make him suffer sorrowful pangs for the destruction and agony of the brave enemies overthrown.

It is indeed truly amazing to estimate the hair-breadth escapes which many are blessed with in battle, while some are terribly taken off in the first onset with the enemy. This is usually called the fortune of war, but surely a merciful and wise Providence holds the trembling scales of hostility, and hides numbers under the celestial wing, while thousands fall beside one. This idea may not, it is true, find a consenting echo in every breast, but a reflecting mind in the day of battle cannot fail to entertain it in some

degree. And after all, in consulting the records of holy writ, we will be fortified in the thought by a variety of consoling sentences, and promises expressive of the divine protection to some of us, while the same scriptural documents inspire us with sacred confidence and hope, that every thing, at all events on such great trials and occasions, operate in eternal wisdom and universal good. Death itself, in all its dreaded terrors, may thus come with a good purpose from the pavilion of Omnipotence, even to the individual who falls before us. However, the way in which the arm of the Almighty acts in hostile conflicts, is enough to penetrate us with gratitude and awe. In the fight of Ticonderoga, Lord Balcarrés, who commanded the light infantry, had his coat and trowsers pierced with about thirty balls, and escaped with a slight wound, while in the same battle, Lieut. Haggit, in the opening attack, received a mortal wound in both eyes by a ball, and Lieut. Douglass of the 29th, while some of the men were taking him wounded from the field; was killed with a ball, which took him in the heart.

After the capture of Ticonderoga, the main body of the army advanced to Skenesborough; and having stopped there three weeks, to receive supplies of provisions from Canada, proceeded to Fort Edward, where it was apprehended the enemy would make a stand, and give battle. However, as the royal army advanced, they precipitately abandoned the place, in which our troops made an encampment. Here another party of Indians joined us, some of whom a few days after skirmished with a scouting party of Americans, who betook themselves to flight and crossed the river in batteaux. But the Indians were before hand with them in gaining the shore, and took them prisoners. In this little affair the Indians gave an unusual instance of humanity. A brave American being badly wounded in the Indian skirmish, and disabled from walking, was carried by them nearly three miles, and treated with great

attention. It was suspected that the Indians, in order to ingratiate themselves with General Burgoyne, had recourse to such kind conduct.* On approaching our camp on this occasion, the Indians raised their usual savage yell, called the war whoop, and their treatment of the prisoners they brought, was peculiarly gratifying to the officers and men of our army. They took the wounded American before mentioned, to General Frazer, who interrogated him. But such was his intrepid spirit that he declined answering any questions which were put to obtain information of the designs and operations of the American forces. The courage of this individual was truly astonishing. Being obliged to undergo the amputation of a limb, in consequence of his wound, it was attempted to persuade him to discover some of the enemy's plans, and being told that unless he kept himself entirely quiet he would suffer a lock-jaw, with the greatest composure, he carelessly answered, that it mattered not, as he died in a good cause, asserting independence for the colonies!

It was at this time and place that the lamented Miss M'Crea met her untimely and unfortunate fate, by means of the Indians, who, from that time, took occasion to desert until our army was abandoned by them.†

The soldier's labour began at this period to become severe in an extraordinary measure. In marching through a difficult country, he was obliged to bear a burden which none except the old Roman veteran ever bore. He carried a knapsack, blanket, haversack containing four day's provisions, a canteen for water, and a proportion of his tent furniture, which, superadded to his accoutrements, arms and sixty rounds of ammunition, made a great load and

* General Burgoyne, in submitting his case before parliament, adverted to this behaviour of the Indians.

† See Journal of Occurrences of the American War, page 145.

large luggage, weighing about sixty pounds. The German grenadiers, from their cumbrous armour, long clothing and big canteen, holding about a gallon, were much worse circumstanced than our men for the wearisome marches we made.

From the encampment of Fort Edward, the expedition to Bennington (detailed in the Author's American Journal) was undertaken, and maintained chiefly by the Germans; although the British thought that they themselves ought to have been employed chiefly in it. The issue of this operation in its failure was differently accounted for; but the principal cause seemed to be owing to the delay of marching to the place. The expedition set out at eight o'clock in the forenoon, and did not arrive there, although but twenty-two miles, until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day! At this post the Mohawk nation, called Sir William Johnston's Indians, came to join our forces, in consequence of being driven from their habitations by the Americans. They agreed to reinforce and fight in company with us, provided their women and children were sent to Canada, and subsisted with necessaries. These conditions General Burgoyne complied with.

Their stay in camp enabled us to observe their manner of living. They are peculiarly expert in swimming, and take care to accustom their children to it. It would seem that they are in some degree amphibious, as much as human beings can be. In order to educate their young ones in the watery element they float them on planks, and leaving them to their own guidance, it is wonderful to witness the Indian infant's dexterity. If he lose his balance on the floated board, and drop in the current, he feels but little affright or difficulty in regaining his place upon it. He will dive in sport, and continue down for several minutes. The squaw confines her infant to a board with bandages, and the child being thus laid with its back to it, looks like a living mummy, if such language be allowed. Perhaps

this is one cause of the Mohawk man's symmetry of limbs. The female Mohawk is not alike well formed, owing perhaps to an awkward usage of the sex, which they consider fashionable, viz. turning the feet inward, so as to make the toes of each foot meet the other. When her infant sleeps, the Mohawk squaw lays the board on the ground, or hangs it on the bough of a tree, which she agitates to rock her little one to rest. In marching she binds the board that confines her infant on her back.

During their remaining with us they were sent out on scouting parties; a purpose for which they were exceedingly well fitted, from their own hostile habits, and their acquaintance with the country. On such excursions they frequently took prisoners, and in returning to camp always yelled or sounded the war-whoop as many times as they reckoned the heads of their prisoners. This vociferation of the savage is a wildly modulated call, or strenuous effort and echo of the voice. It is lifted to the highest pitch of utterance, and managed, as it were by note, to prolong its tones. The barbarian produces this power of intonation by means of his hand before his mouth. The word itself, (viz. whoop) is a sensible name, immediately taken from the sound excited.

The Indian's token of conquest and triumph, is the scalp or skin scared and scooped from the head of his fallen foe. His manner of taking this sanguinary trophy is this, viz. He twists one hand in the hair, and pulls forcibly from the crown, by which means the skin is somewhat lifted from the skull. He then excoriates as much as covers the top of the head with his scalping knife, which he has always by him. Should the hair of the human victim be short, it is said that the Indian is used to lift the skin from the bone with his teeth, preparatory to the excoriation of it. His scalps he preserves as memorials of heroism. In order to save them from wasting by putrefaction, he spreads and sews them upon a hoop with ligaments of bark or deer's

sinews, painting them red for the sake of shew. Numbers of these hoops were suspended on poles at the doors of their *wigwams* or huts, while they continued in our encampments. One of our officers being attracted by seeing a scalp with fine long hair, offered the Indian who owned it a bottle of rum in exchange for it. But although very desirous of being served with spirituous liquors, he could not think of parting with the reeking testimonial of his inhuman prowess. He appeared offended at the officer's asking it. It is shocking to see the deceased soldier scalped; but to behold one of the wounded so ferociously disfigured, is dreadful. After the battle of Ticonderoga we found two unfortunate men that lost their scalps, among the wounded, and were pronounced recoverable. Such cases sometimes occur; but the hair never grows again on the crown of the head.

The tomahawk is among the principal weapons used by Indians. It is merely a small hatchet, which the savage flings from his hand with such an unerring aim, that he seldom fails to take down with it the enemy flying before him. The barbarian is very curious in this instrument of war, having in most cases a cup or pipe for his tobacco affixed to it. When he buys it from the trader, he usually takes off the wooden handle; and puts instead thereof a hollowed cane, which serves for a double use, viz. to hold when he throws it, and smoke tobacco through it as a tube.

During our continuance at Fort Miller, the writer of this memoir was selected by his officers to return alone to Ticonderoga, for the purpose of taking back some of our baggage which had been left there. Going unaccompanied on such a solitary route was dreary and dangerous; but yet the selection of one from numbers, seemed to render the man chosen on the occasion, a depository of peculiar confidence. He therefore undertook the duty imposed, not only without repining, but with alacrity. A small detach-

ment if sent, could not pass unnoticed or safe by such a route through the woods, a distance of twenty miles; and a sufficient force could not be spared on the occasion. The sending of a single soldier appeared therefore the most advisable plan; and it was ordered by General Burgoyne, that he should, after arriving at Ticonderoga, follow the royal army with the baggage, escorted by the recruits, and as many of the convalescents remaining at that post as could march with it. Pursuant to this arrangement, he prepared himself, taking twenty rounds of ball cartridge, and some provisions. About noon he set out, and at four in the afternoon reached our former encampment, Fort Edward, where he stopped a while to refresh. From thence he proceeded with as much expedition as he could make to Fort Henry, on Lake George. About eleven o'clock at night, becoming very weary, he laid him down to sleep a little in a thick part of a wood. Although the day was hot, the night dews soon awakened him, shivering with cold; having rested but about two hours, and then resuming his march for four or five miles, he saw a light on his left, and directed his course toward it. Having gained the place, he was saluted by a man at the door of his house, who informed him that a soldier's wife had been just taken in from the woods, where she was found by one of his family, in the pains of child-birth. Being admitted into this hospitable dwelling, the owner of which was one of the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, he recognized the wife of a serjeant of his own company. The woman was delivered of a fine girl soon after; and having requested her friendly host to allow her to stop until his return from Ticonderoga, at which time he would be able to take her to the army in one of the waggons, he set out on his lonely route again. Previous to his leaving her, she informed him that she had determined to brave the dangers of the woods, in order to come up with her husband; that she crossed Lake George, and was seized with the

sickness of labour in the forest, where she must have perished, had she not been providentially discovered by the kind-hearted people under whose roof she then was. It is worthy of remark, that the author, not long since in this city, with great pleasure, saw the female, who was born as he before related, in the wilderness, near Lake George. She had been married to a man serving in the band of a militia regiment, and the meeting with her, revived in his mind lively emotions of distressful and difficult scenes, which although long passed, can never be forgotten by him. At Fort George he was provided with a boat to take him across the Lake to Ticonderoga.

Lake George is situate southwest of Lake Champlain, and its bed lies about 100 feet higher. Its waters are beautifully clear, composing a sheet thirty-six miles long, and from one to seven wide. It embosoms more than two hundred islands, affording nothing for the most part but a ground of barren rocks covered with heath, and a few cedar and spruce trees. On each side it is skirted by prodigious mountains. The lake abounds with fish, and some of the best kind, such as the black or oswego bas, also large speckled trouts. It was called Lake Sacrament by the Canadians, who in former times, were at the pains to procure its water for sacramental uses in their churches.

There are two islands nearly in the centre of it; in one of which, called Diamond Island, two companies of the 47th were stationed, commanded by Captain Aubrey, for the purpose of forwarding provisions over the lakes. These islands were anterior to this time, said to swarm with rattle-snakes; so much so, that people would not venture to land in them. A batteaux in sailing near Diamond island, having upset, the people in it gained the shore, but climbed trees for fear of the snakes, until they got an opportunity of a vessel passing to leave it. Some hogs however, which had been carried in the upset boat remaining on the island to which they swam, were sometime

afterward followed by the owners, who, to recover them, ventured ashore. They found the swine exceedingly fat, and, to their surprise, met but very few of the rattle-snakes which before had been so plenty. A hog being killed on the spot, made a good meal for the people. It was discovered by its stomach that the hog fed upon the rattle-snakes, and had nearly cleared the island of such noxious tenantry.

The wild hog in the woods, and the Indian himself are known to feed on snakes as a delicacy. The warmth of the southern states, however is more favourable to the breeding of the serpent tribes. There the American crocodile or allegator is found, and every sort of serpent from the scorpion to the *Pine Barren*, which is said to exceed all others in size. There are but two serpents whose bites or stings prove mortal, viz. the pilot or copper-head, and the rattle-snake. For the bite and venom of the former, it is said that no remedy or cure is yet discovered. It is called *pilot* from its being the first in coming from its state of torpidity in the spring, and its name of *copper-head* is taken from the copper-coloured spots of its head. The black snake is a good deal innocuous, and is remarkable only for its agility, beauty, and its art or instinct of enticing birds or insects to approach it. I have heard only of one person who was stung by a copper-head. He quickly swelled in a most dreadful manner; a multitude of spots of different hues on different parts of his body, alternately appeared and vanished; his eyes were filled with madness and rage; he fixed them on all present with the most vindictive looks; he thrust out his tongue as the snakes do; he hissed through his teeth with inconceivable strength, and became an object of terror to all bye-standers. To the lividness of a corpse, he united the desperate force of a maniac: they hardly were able to keep him fast, so as to guard themselves from his attacks; when in the space of two hours, death relieved the poor individual from his

struggles, and the spectators from their apprehensions. The venom of the rattle-snake does not operate so soon, and hence there is more time to procure medical relief. There are several antidotes with which almost every family is provided against the poison of it. It is very inactive, and unless pursued and vexed, perfectly inoffensive. Farmer Hector St. John gives the following curious account of snakes :—" I once saw, as I was travelling, a great cliff which was full of rattle-snakes ; I handled several, and they appeared to be dead ; they were all entwined together, and thus they remain until the return of genial suns. I found them out by following the track of some wild hogs which used to feed on them, and even the Indians often feast on them. When they find them asleep, they put a small forked stick over their necks, which they keep immoveably fixed on the ground ; giving the snake a piece of leather to bite, and this they pull back several times with great force, until they observe the two poisonous fangs torn out. Then they cut off the head, skin the body, and cook it as we do eels, and its flesh is extremely sweet and white. I once saw a *tamed one*, as gentle as you can possibly conceive a reptile to be. It took to the water and swam wherever it pleased ; and when the boys to whom it belonged called it back, their summons was readily obeyed. It had been deprived of its fangs by the preceding method, they often stroked it with a soft brush, and this friction seemed to cause the most pleasing sensations, for it would turn on its back to enjoy gentle rubbing, as a cat does before the fire. One of this species caused a most deplorable accident, which I shall relate to you, as I had it from the widow and mother of the victims. A Dutch farmer of the Minisink went to mowing, with his negroes, in his boots, a precaution used to prevent being stung. Inadvertently he trod on a snake, which immediately attacked his legs, and as it drew back in order to renew its blow, one of his negroes cut it in two with his scythe. They prosecuted their work, and returned home.

At night the farmer pulled off his boots and went to bed, and was soon after seized with a strange sickness at his stomach. He swelled; and before a physician could be procured he died. A few days after his decease his son put on the same boots, and went to the meadow to work. At night he pulled them off, went to bed, and experienced similar sufferings of sickness as took off his father, and deceased in the same manner. A little before he expired a doctor came, but not being able to assign what could be the cause of so singular a disorder; he pronounced both father and son to have died by witchcraft. Some weeks after, the widow sold all the moveables for the benefit of the younger children, and the farm was leased. One of the neighbours who bought the boots, presently put them on, and fell sick, as happened in the case of the other two. But this man's wife being alarmed by what befel the former family, dispatched one of her negroes for an eminent physician, who fortunately having heard of the dreadful affair, ascertained the cause, and applied medicines which recovered the man. The boots which had been so fatal, were then carefully examined, and he found that the two fangs of the snake had been left in the leather, after being wrenched out of their sockets by the strength with which the snake had drawn back his head. The bladders which contained the poison, and several of the small nerves were still fresh, and adhered to the boot. The unfortunate father and son had both been poisoned by wearing these boots, in which action they imperceptibly scratched their legs with the points of the fangs, through the hollow of which, some of the astonishing venom was conveyed. You have no doubt heard of their rattle, if you have not seen them; the only observation I wish to make is, that the rattling is loud and distinct when they are angry; and on the contrary, when pleased, it sounds like a distant confused rustling, in which nothing distinct is heard. In the populous settlements, they are now become very scarce; for wherever they are met with, open war is declared

against them; so that in a few years there will be none left but in our mountains. The black snake, on the contrary, always diverts me, because it excites no idea of danger. Their swiftness is astonishing, they will sometimes equal that of a horse; at other times they will climb up trees in search of our tree toads; or glide on the ground at full length. On some occasions they present themselves half in the reptile state, half erect; their eyes and their heads in the erect posture, appear to great advantage; the former display a fire which I have admired, and it is by these they are enabled to fascinate birds and squirrels. When they have fixed their eyes on an animal, they become immoveable; only turning their head sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left, but still with their sight invariably directed to the object. The distracted victim, instead of flying its enemy, seems to be arrested by some invincible power; it screams, approaches, and then recedes; and after skipping about with unaccountable agitation, finally rushes into the jaws of the snake, and is swallowed, as soon as it is covered with the snake's slaver to make it slide easily down the throat of its devourer.

“As I was one day sitting solitary and pensive, my attention was engaged by a strange sort of rustling noise at some distance. I looked all around, and to my astonishment beheld two snakes of considerable length, the one pursuing the other with great celerity through a hemp-stubble-field. The aggressor was of the black kind, six feet long, the fugitive was a water-snake, nearly of equal dimensions. They soon met, and in the fury of their first encounter, they appeared in an instant firmly twisted together, and whilst their united tails beat the ground, they mutually tried with open jaws to lacerate each other. What a fell aspect did they present! their heads were compressed to a very small size, their eyes flashed fire; and after this conflict had lasted about five minutes, the one found means to disengage itself from the other, and hurried

toward the ditch. Its antagonist instantly assumed a new posture, and half erect, with a majestic mien, overtook and attacked the other again, which placed itself in the like attitude, and prepared to resist. The scene was uncommon and beautiful, for thus opposed they fought with their jaws, biting each other with the utmost rage. But notwithstanding this appearance of mutual courage and fury, the water-snake still seemed desirous of retreating toward the ditch, its natural element. This was no sooner perceived by the keen-eyed black one, than twisting its tail twice round a stalk of hemp,* and seizing its adversary by the throat, not by means of its jaws, but by twisting its own neck twice round that of the water-snake, pulled it back from the ditch. To prevent a defeat the latter took hold likewise of a stalk on the bank, and by the acquisition of that point of resistance became a match for its fierce antagonist. Strange was this to behold, two great snakes strongly adhering to the ground, mutually fastened together by means of the writhings which lashed them to each other, and stretched at their full length, they pulled, but pulled in vain; and in the moments of greatest exertions that part of their bodies which was entwined, seemed extremely small, while the rest appeared inflated, and now and then convulsed with strong undulations, rapidly following each other. Their eyes seemed on fire, and ready to start out of their heads. At one time the conflict seemed decided, the water-snake bent itself into two great folds, and by that operation rendered the other, more than commonly outstretched; the next minute the

* Mr. Hector St. John informs us that in his luxuriant ground; merely for shelter, he sowed grains of hempseed, which grew up to the height of fifteen feet, and that he climbed four feet on one of the branching stalks without breaking it. An European must wonder at if not discredit the truth of such a fact from inexperience of the great and rapid growth of plants and vegetables of all kinds in America and the West Indies.

new struggles of the black one gained an unexpected superiority, it acquired two great folds likewise, which necessarily extended the body of its adversary in proportion as it had contracted its own. These efforts were alternate, victory seemed doubtful, inclining sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other, until at last the stalk to which the black snake fastened, suddenly gave way, and in consequence of this accident they both plunged into the ditch. The water did not extinguish their vindictive rage, for by their agitations I could trace, though not distinguish their mutual attacks. They soon re-appeared on the surface, twisted together, as in their first onset, but the black snake seemed to retain its wonted superiority, for its head was exactly fixed above that of the other, which it incessantly pressed down under the water, until it sunk exhausted. The victor no sooner perceived its enemy incapable of farther resistance, than abandoning it to the current, it returned on shore and disappeared."

The author having arrived and completed his business at Ticonderoga, he accompanied the baggage over Lake George, attended by a number of seamen sent to work the *batteaux* on the Hudson river. On his returning he called with the good Quaker who lodged the sick wife of his fellow soldier, but to his astonishment was told that, on the morrow after he left her there in child-birth, she set out to meet her husband against the wishes and repeated entreaties of the whole family, who were anxious to detain her until his return. She could not be persuaded to stop, but set out on foot with her new-born infant, and arrived safe with her husband, whom she followed with such fond solicitude. She thus gave an instance of the strength of female attachment and fortitude, which shews that the exertions of the sex are often calculated to call forth our cordial admiration. In a short time the author had the gratification of conducting the stores and baggage for which he was dispatched, in safety to the army, and to

receive the thanks of his officers, for the manner in which he executed the orders confided to him.

By this conveyance the forces obtained a month's provisions, and a bridge of boats being constructed upon the Hudson, on the 13th and 14th September, 1777, the royal army crossed it, and encamped on Saratoga plain. Here the country looked like a desert—no inhabitant remained to be seen. On the 15th the forces moved forward to an encampment, in a place called Devaco. Halting till the 17th, our troops renewed their march, rebuilding several bridges which had been broken, and encamped on a ground of considerable advantage, distant about four miles from Still Water, where the enemy stood strongly posted. On the 18th he appeared in force to obstruct the men employed in repairing the bridges, who suffered some losses. It was suspected that he designed to draw our army to action, where the artillery could not engage. At this encampment several of our men having proceeded into a field of potatoes, were surprised by a party of the enemy that killed about thirty of them. They might without difficulty be surrounded and taken prisoners, but the Americans could not resist the opportunity of shedding blood. Such a spirit of revenge, however, had better, for the sake of humanity been controuled, because it only tended to excite destructive retaliation on the side of our army. But such ardent asperity sharpened a conflict which arose in the unfortunate falling out of friends, and made it more sanguinary than the hostilities of states that cherish no kindred relations.

On the 19th the army marched in three divisions to meet the enemy.* And in about an hour the advanced party, consisting of the picquets of the centre column, commanded by Major Forbes, fell in with a considerable body posted in houses and behind fences, which they attacked, and after much firing, nearly drove in the body of the Americans, but the woods were filled with men which annoyed

* See the order of battle, Journal of the American War, page 158.

our picquets, who must have greatly suffered had they not been fortunately supported by two companies of the 21th, and a piece of artillery, which obliged the enemy to retreat. In this affair of posts one of our soldiers rescued an American Captain, of Colonel Morgan's riflemen, from the Indians, who were proceeding to scalp him, after depriving him of his pocket-book, containing his commission, and some paper-money which he offered to bestow on the soldier, regretting at the same time that he had no specie to give him. He was taken before General Frazer, who interrogated him about the enemy, but he would discover nothing, saying merely, that the Americans were commanded by Generals Gates and Arnold. The General menaced him with immediate hanging unless he would give the desired information, but he was resolute and firm in refusing, at the same time observing, that General Frazer was at liberty to hang him if he pleased. On which the General rode away, leaving him in custody, to the charge of Lieut. Dunbar of the artillery.

Soon after this skirmish a tremendous fire commenced on the centre of the line, to which the 20th, 21st, and 62d regiments were chiefly exposed during four hours without any cessation. The grenadiers, and 24th, as also a part of the light infantry, were engaged betimes, until General Philips arrived at a critical conjuncture, to invigorate our troops, and restore the action in our favour.

“ Eager of glory, and profuse of life,
 They bore down fearless on the charging foes,
 And drove them backward.——
 Vast was the slaughter, and the flow'ry green
 Drank deep of flowing crimson.——”

A little before night set in, the enemy gave way on all sides, but the darkness saved him from our pursuit. During the night we rested on our arms, and next day took a position within cannon-shot of the enemy's lines.

In this fight our forces had to encounter a variety of great difficulties. The local situation favoured our adver-

saries, who trebled us in numbers. Although we repulsed them with loss, we ourselves were much weakened, so that we could not follow the advantages of the victory obtained. We kept the field, and the possession of it was the utmost point gained. The ground afforded on the day following a scene truly distressing—the bodies of the slain, thrown together into one receptacle, were scarcely covered with the clay, and the only tribute of respect to fallen officers was, to bury them by themselves, without throwing them in the common grave. In this battle an unusual number of officers fell, as our army abounded with young men of respectability at this time, who, after several years of general peace anterior to the American revolution, were attracted to take the profession of arms. Three subalterns of the 20th regiment on this occasion, the oldest of whom did not exceed the age of seventeen years, were buried together. This last office to the fallen in the field of battle is attended with afflicting reflections to the soldier capable of indulging sober thought, who beholds his dearest associates cut down, and probably his honourable patrons taken off.

“ These eyes beheld the battle's dreadful strife,
 When cloth'd with light'nings King of Terrors came,
 And with consuming fires battalions thin'd.
 In th' opening charge three blooming youths expire,
 And thus conclude their promising career,
 Whose martial bias had been form'd at home
 By family-distinctions, education's charm,
 And honour's sense inspir'd from sire to son.
 A gen'rous friendship join'd their dying hands,
 As earth's green verge and warring worlds they left,
 Their voyage taking to the shores of peace,——
 In better states where truth and worth rejoice !
 I drop'd a tear for soldiers fall'n too soon,
 A tribute sacred to the brave deceas'd !
 I wip'd the dews which wet their faded cheeks,
 And sadly view'd my country's sacrifice,
 Our empire's honour, and our island's loss !”

Private griefs like these are the ordinary results of a severe engagement, and whoever cherishes such kind remembrances cannot but suffer in soul for the general mortality of his fellow soldiers, a fate similar with whose decease may be his own lot in the next affair. He looks upon the high-born, who had been educated in the lap of elegance and affluence, expiring, and afterward committed to the ground, far from his native place of opulence and affection, where dear relatives would have soothed the sufferer's dying agonies, and funereal distinction and regard qualified the gloomy ceremony of going down to the tombs of his fathers. But war, terrible war in its destroying progress cannot stop for such consoling attentions to even the Captains of legions—the General himself must sometime commingle undistinguished and unknown in the multitude of military sacrifices.

Although the duty of interring the slain be thus a sad business to the party that does it, the picking up the badly wounded, who are found weltering in their blood, and agonized for many hours without the possibility of receiving surgical and medical aid, imposes a task of heartfelt trouble on the men that execute it. So it was on the next day after the fight described. Some of our soldiers were discovered alive, who had rather stay as they were, than be pained by a removal from the field. Some were insensible, benumbed with the night dews, and weakened with loss of blood, while others seemed to have arrived at the extreme point of suffering, when a desirable separation of partnership between the soul and the body was about to deliver them from a troublesome state. In short, the looking after, and administering assistance to the wounded men, is truly afflicting, in a degree which description cannot sufficiently shew, and over which the feeling individual, who witnesses it, would gladly fling a veil of humane forgetfulness, in consideration of the awful accidents which overwhelm and humble human

nature, however full of fortitude, power, and ability it may be at present. If such uncertainty attaches to the human condition in most cases, how much more terribly must it attach in times of hostility to soldiers. The man rejoicing in his strength, full of ardour and hope, even in the arms of victory, is often seized by the king of terrors, and handed away into the world of spirits! So destruction comes with rapid wings, and ruin rushes on like a whirlwind, to sweep the best officers, and sometimes, almost entire battalions from their strongest foundations, as much as if the field of battle opened wide its fiery jaws, or as if the earth in anger yawned to punish her foolish and profane people for their savage strifes and barbarous usages among themselves.

Taking all the results of this battle, if we had reason to boast of it, our advantages from it were few indeed. In fact, difficulty and danger appeared to grow out of it. The intricacy of the ground before us increased at every step. Our scouting, reconnoitring, and foraging parties encountered perils uncalculated and unseen before. Our enemy being at home, was well used to the places; and thus possessed of every local advantage that favours an army. To procure provisions and forage, without sending out large parties or bodies of soldiers, became impossible, and, therefore, the Indians themselves, who were attached to march with and reinforce us, began to desert. Plunder and free-booting was greatly their object, and to be debarred from that, as they found themselves, they turned away from privations and regular warfare, which they were disused to maintain. Of this we had evidence, for as a party of our troops posted near a wood were severely galled on the right of our line by the fire of the enemy, the Indians who accompanied us, seemed to hold a consultation among themselves, precipitately retreated, and abandoned the army altogether. In this circumstance of our military affairs, the Canadians and Colonists reinforcing us,

afforded no effectual assistance; they evidently betrayed their wishes of withdrawing from our forces, not being previously made up in mind for the severity and hardships of war, in the inveterate and wasting progress of its continuance, which, instead of favouring them with comfortable prospects of returning tranquillity, assumed day by day, a more ferocious and unpromising aspect. Such then being the gloomy face of affairs in the great cause at issue, and the Colonial armies becoming daily stronger and more formidable opponents to us, it was not surprising that the tribes of Indians, and the corps of loyal Colonists along with us should feel disheartened, and relax their efforts in his Majesty's service.

The dispirited temper, and desertion of the Provincials at this juncture, when their cordial co-operation was so much wanted, left us at a loss. In marching through America, which looked before us like a land unexplored, we needed such auxiliaries, not only as soldiers, but scouts and guides. Such levies, however, constitute always, perhaps a precarious assistant force. They are not regular troops, and of course their untrained condition will make them feel more in defeat and privation than veterans.— They will shrink from blows and scanty subsistence at all events.* This tremendous argument must prevail to

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* It has been publicly asserted, that the French Conscripts were often since the Revolution marched from the departments to the theatres of war in Italy, on the Rhine, and elsewhere; that in the progress of marching they were drilled and disciplined, and that thus prepared on the spur of terrible times, they have been opposed, in those great engagements which decided the fates of Continental Europe so much, to hardy Russians and Austrian veterans, soldiers trained for many years, and afterward tried and accustomed to fighting as their trade. All this may be well-founded in a considerable degree. No doubt, modern France, in her military career, exhibits prodigies of

overpower the mass of mankind, until they are bred and used to arms. The mere spirit of loyalty alone may inspire a man to do wonders at a moment, when he rises in the fulcra of it, but when he faints with hunger, and bleeds in the misfortune of a battle, he will not, for in fact he cannot support it. Thus it is that all new levies become unsteady, until the habit of fighting confers firmness of nerve and possession of mind; and above all things presence of mind must be possessed by soldiers, yes, by all the members which compose the multitude of an army. Until this coolness is acquired battalions will break in panic, although very brave, and the very fluctuations of high-mindedness, before soldiers are made by the circum-

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generalship and stupendous success to the nations of the earth. The manner, however, in which she took peculiar care in officering her armies, has afforded her abundant victories and laurels. Her levies were cautiously and ably used, and her becoming altogether a military kingdom, renders her a non-descript nation at the moment. Her conscripts, as soon as they arrived on the hostile ground, witnessed unprecedented battles, and soon engaged in desperate encounters, which gave a new martial character to the present age. All this torrent of triumph, and breaking down of ancient principalities, inspired French legions with a Spartan spirit in the field. The raw material of war was ripened and matured in two months, more perhaps, than other soldiers could be for several years.— There was a tide in all this which the ingenuity and great talents of individuals lifted into celebrated notice by the moving of the revolutionary wave took in its flood, and unfortunately the flood-gates and barriers to resist such a vicissitude were often broken on purpose by those who were employed to defend and keep them strong and secure. However, the manner in which British ability lately prepared and officered Portuguese and Spanish recruits, affords another proof, that soldiers can be soon made fit for battles.

stance of fighting will carry one forward unguardedly, to destroy himself, and the cause he rose to fight for.

Evidence was given of all this in the Colonial forces of North America; abundant proof of it has been recently offered by the Portuguese and Spanish, who plucked up a courage astonishing to Europe, and such an unsteadiness would in some measure take place at home among ourselves, should we ever have to encounter an invasion on our shores, unless it be prevented by excellent generalship, in disposing and using our yeomanry army, than which Spain itself, if it equals, cannot exhibit a more spirited and stronger body of forces. Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford have shewed themselves almost inimitable officers, by the manner in which they made up in one campaign, the new levies of Portugal, and the Peninsula. The former great officer did not take the Spaniards much into his fighting lines, but kept them to strengthen his wings in the arduous conflict of Talavera. In flank they witnessed the fighting of the British, and, had the battle been renewed next day, the Spanish troops would have been well prepared to imitate British firmness. At Busaco he used the Portuguese as fighting auxiliaries a good deal, but did not take them down in the plains to face the fury of the French cavalry and artillery. Thus it is, that at present we perceive the people of Portugal and the Peninsula, are able to stand against French legions, without fluctuating in the smallest from the station they obtain. Of this they gave the bravest testimony in the battle of Albuera, in which General Beresford could rely, from experience of their steady spirit, that they were not inferior to the oldest veterans of France, who fought, it may be said, in every sort of climate, on the saltry sands of Egypt, and the chill and marshy plains of Poland, in which they beat the Muscovite and Russ on the confines of his own cold kingdoms.

It is not insinuated that the Indian and Provincial were improperly managed by British officers in North America, but the case of regiments composed of recruits, was considered from a patriotic motive, for which the loyal reader will not ask any apology for the introducing of it here. It is notorious, that the Indian tribes could not, from their habits of inveterate wildness, be trained and disciplined like Europeans. Their entire natural bias (and ardent spirit of ferocity and freedom, in a latitude of thought and actual operation, of which an European can scarcely form an idea) precluded every attempt and expectation of training them like our soldiers. And though no such obstacles hindered our forming a Colonial force to assist us, the so doing acquired perhaps insuperable difficulties in America. When the Colonists perceived the turn of things which warfare was taking, when they began to consult their dormant feelings, and estimated the cause, the motives and partial successes of their countrymen—successes which daily and gradually gained, if not more advantage, at least more promise, as the war advanced—it was not surprising then that they became partly deserters from us, or, if they failed to desert our side, that their loyalty to Britain decreased, when their hopes were forlorn about the ultimate issue of the British interest in the States.

All this depression and loss of auxiliary spirit and force was peculiarly felt by General Burgoyne, who suffered from the great draw-back of aid and advantage it made. In the battle which occasioned the above-mentioned estimate of newly raised soldiers, the riflemen of the enemy were sedulous in marking the officers and men of the Colonial loyalists, who fought along with us. They took down such officers in a greater proportion than before; and this misfortune, attaching to the Colonial people among us, accelerated their estrangement from our cause and army. A prisoner informed us, that additional cou-

rage was gained in the fight, from an idea that General Burgoyne had been shot, which was owing to the falling of Captain Green, Aid-de-camp to General Philips, from his horse, by a wound. The Aid-de-camp rode with fine furniture, and was mistaken for the Chief Commander in the confusion of battle. The riflemen from trees effected the death of numbers, and the Royal Army had none to oppose as sharp-shooters but some of the German Chasseurs, who were very few in comparison of the enemy's rifle-corps.

Matters were drawing at this time to a crisis—Our picquets and advanced parties were almost continually firing and skirmishing, so much so that the officers and men refreshed and slept while exposed to the enemy's fire. All rested in their cloaths, and the Field-officers were always patrolling. We could distinctly hear the Americans felling and cutting trees; and they had a piece of ordnance which they used to fire as a morning gun, so near us, that the wadding from it sometimes struck against our works. General Burgoyne was now most unfavourably posted, and a retreat, if possible, was highly expedient. In this idea he sent out a detachment of 1500 men, with two twelve-pounders about noon, to perceive, if it were practicable, to force a passage, by dislodging the enemy, and covering the forage of the army, which became scarce. On this important affair he was accompanied by Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. Soon after the aforesaid detachment marched, the fire from both sides became general, and numbers of our soldiers fell by the grape-shot and musquetry of the enemy. At the close of evening the troops in action returned with precipitation into camp, pursued and galled. General Burgoyne rode up with evident anxiety to the Quarter Guards, directing Lord Bellcarras, the officer commanding, to defend his post to the last extremity. The Americans rushed forward, headed by General Arnold, with an intrepidity which

shewed their determined intent to storm the camp. But their General being wounded, they desisted from their object, when dark night appeared, putting her interposing mantle upon the bleeding armies.

While the British lines were so boldly attacked, Colonel Breyman, who commanded the Germans was killed, as he bravely defended his post, and the enemy gained an opening on our right and rear. It therefore was evident in such a posture of things, that our position was no longer safe or even tenable, and of consequence orders were given for quitting the ground we occupied, and posting ourselves during the night on the heights. This movement made it expedient for the enemy to take a new disposition, which rendered a good retreat impracticable. On the 8th of October, having removed our baggage, and made due preparations, General Burgoyne offered battle, hoping to draw out the Americans on the plain, where veteran and well appointed forces must always prevail over soldiers, such as the Colonial regiments were composed of. To such men wood-fighting and skirmishing among intersected and intricate grounds, is peculiarly favourable, as there experienced Generals and old soldiers are left at a loss, and obliged to encounter unforeseen obstacles and accidents which demand new movements, and momentary measures, in the execution whereof every officer ought to be an excellent General, and every company ably disposed for whatever the passing minute of time might bring about. It is therefore plain, that the best army, so circumstanced, cannot co-operate or concentrate itself with effect or advantage. Of this, however, the American Commanders (particularly General Washington) appeared to be aware, and to his wisely avoiding general engagements, the final success of the Colonists was greatly indebted. To such Fabian economy Spain at present owes the prevailing efficiency of her guerrillas or desultory militia, which fritter away

the battalions of Bonaparte, by whom he vanquished the hundreds of thousands opposed to him at Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram, on the Danube, where the vast exertions of Austria at length subsided, as if palsied, by his attacks.

Although General Burgoyne invited an engagement, and we expected from the enemy's movements that he would engage, no such favourable opportunity was afforded us. He however, drew up several brigades, and cannonaded us. An howitzer of our's firing short of his lines, the enemy shouted, but another shot, sending a shell in centre of a large column, and doing considerable damage, numbers fled into the woods, and he appeared disposed to attack, as it was thought he intended at first.

Our forces being refreshed and provided with batteaux for the river, began the retreat under the disadvantage of bad weather, and worse roads, until at night we arrived at Saratoga, so fatigued that the soldiers, although wet with the rain, were indisposed to cut wood for fires, and rather desirous to lie down to rest in their drenched cloaths. A little party of us housed in a hen house of General Schuyler, which by some means caught fire, and would have been consumed were it not that some officers who lodged at the General's, perceived the fire, and alarmed us of it. Driven from this temporary shelter, the party joined their companions, who were unhoused and exposed to the wet and night air. The bad weather obliged us to abandon our sick and wounded in the hospital tents, but kept back the enemy from galling us in our retreating, as the wetness of the day would stop firing, and confine fighting to the bayonet. This the Colonial army declined, though they were less exhausted than the British. British soldiers, it would appear, are unequalled at the charge-bayonet. Their bodily strength and constant ardour of mind conspire to give them a decided superiority in this way. This advantage was first found

out in the American war, and since then has effected much in different parts of the world against the French forces. Perhaps the inhabitants of Ireland are particularly fit for this sort of fighting. The Irishman, and probably we should say the Scotchman, has a spur of spirit, an excellency of lungs, and a constitutional activity which renders him peculiarly accomplished to beat down his opponent at charging with the bayonet. Charge-bayonet is more effectual than quick firing, and a display of courage at the same time. In these invaluable requisites for military success, the Frenchman at present is second to none in the world. But he is not constitutionally fitted to prevail with the bayonet alone. Some of our Generals have taken occasion to come at once to the charge in this way, while the French continued to fire, and they proved the value of it. If ever we should have to fight with invaders, the meeting them on the beach with the bayonet might be well for two reasons, viz. That the Militia, although well disciplined, are not yet sufficiently fought in actual warfare, and that our Yeomanry cannot acquire enough of discipline, detached as they are in corps—while both the Militia and Yeomanry armies possess whatever of mind and manhood the bayonet demands against our enemies.

General Gates now manifested his intention of taking advantage from the unfavourable circumstances of our army, by cutting off the means of our procuring provisions, and galling our advanced posts by the American marksmen, who did us great damage. General Burgoyne's dilemma was at this time calamitous, and even desperate. Forsaken by the Indian and Provincial auxiliaries, and reduced in force by continued disasters and losses, to about 3500 effective men, of whom but 2000 were British, he was disabled from retreating, and could entertain not even a forlorn hope of successfully fighting an enemy fourfold in number, and possessing every advantage over him. Yet in this distressing situation British courage suffered

no despondency. Some expectation of reinforcements and relief from New York was cherished, and it was generally wished by our troops, that the Americans would make their long menaced attack. In this suspense the army stood the entire day, on the 13th of October, when no prospect of aid arriving, or further hopes remaining to withstand the opposing army which almost surrounded us, an account of the provisions was taken, and it was found that we had no subsistence beyond short allowance for three days. On this emergency a council of war was held at which all the Staff and Officers commanding corps assisted, and it was unanimously resolved to treat for a capitulation.*

Overtures were accordingly made to General Gates, but that Commander appeared determined to avail himself of the difficulties that overwhelmed us, and rejected the conditions proposed for his acceptance. His rejection of the overtures aroused the ardour of the British army, which to a man was ready to meet death before disgrace. Accordingly, such being the unanimous decision of all, General Gates was advised, that, should he persist in refusing the proffered terms, the Royal forces would make a final trial, and rush upon his troops without giving quarter, or preserving the usages of civilized warfare. This spirited determination had the desired effect, as the enemy was well aware that the British would keep their word, and although, most probably, they would have failed of success, they would, at all events, have done great havoc, if driven to desperation in conflict with men, who man for man were beneath them in the spirit and discipline of soldiers. General Gates, after deliberating, retracted his harsh demands, and gave the asked for honourable terms. The terms, no doubt, involved disappointment to a bold and high-minded soldiery such as ours,

* See American War, page 170.

but still, even in adversity it was consoling, that the dignity of the British character was preserved, and extorted from a successful foe, vastly out-numbering us, and straining every nerve to tarnish British honour, and degrade the British empire. Even when victory crowned the enemy's efforts, he was obliged to acknowledge himself inferior in valour and military capacity to his adversary, whom the tide of unprosperous affairs (increased with an unforeseen torrent of events) had overtaken and carried off from his usual ground of conquest and glory.

On this distressful occasion the equanimity of General Burgoyne evinced the strength and resources of his mind. He did all that could be done for the honour of his king and country, so as to conciliate the affections of his brave companions in arms, whose interest as men and soldiers he consulted much more than personal convenience, or his own situation, severe and unpleasant as it was in the extreme. In this case, and indeed the progress of American hostilities it evidently appeared, that the balance of war is adjusted by a high hand above the compass of the human mind to consider it, that there is a power which denies the battle to the strong, and defeats the most probable prospects of success in the affairs of mortals! Perhaps the American struggle peculiarly confirms this awful idea, which tends to fling humiliation on the stupendous designs of nations, and the ablest counsels of individuals; and to teach a divine lesson, viz. That from an over-ruling Providence every ability and every victory is derived in this sublunar state! The reader may estimate otherwise, and blame the Administration and expeditions which Great Britain employed to controul and subdue the rising independence of North American Colonists. General Burgoyne may have argued in the same way, previous to his own appointment, and when he proceeded from the British shores, full of confidence of bringing the great business he engaged in to that issue,

which the rulers and legislators of Great Britain confidently looked forward to as the necessary effect of the war which they maintained with a subject people, who had not even the name of a nation. He raised and disappointed the expectations of his countrymen at home, in consequence of his known talents and highly probable arguments. His arguments and his army failed, and favoured the religious motives of reliance on that superior sceptre by which alone *kings rule*, and the mighty men of the earth keep their thrones.

As General Burgoyne's conduct has been differently considered by parties and people at home (applauded by those and condemned by these) the Writer of this Memoir cannot be blamed in telling what he knows, and giving his honest aid to illustrate what nobody has been able to decide. At least, it would appear, that the General's judges remained, many of them, undecided, while some cherished unfair prejudices against him. It has been well said, that time at length gives right judgment, and exposes the bad awards made by faction and partial affections. Time may at present do, or already have done so in favour of General Burgoyne.

British officers and soldiers, although with the loss of all the early hopes of the campaign, bore the reverse of fortune, or it may be more proper to say, the arm of Providence which arrested our troops at the surrender of Saratoga, with a great equanimity creditable to them. But it ought to be particularly observed, that the enemy did not preserve that command of mind which usually dignifies a veteran army when victorious in the field. The Colonial forces, from the commander to the lowest in the ranks betrayed an improper exultation, which loudly proclaimed that they had succeeded beyond whatever they could expect when they began the conflict. They evidently perceived that vast untoward events had overwhelmed their brave adversaries, and,

while they claimed the credit of overpowering them, they were well aware that they deserved none of the laurels which are earned and worn by victors after hard fought battles. Delays, disappointments in various ways, and unfortunate failures of co-operation had brought General Burgoyne's army into a desperate labyrinth, out of which no generalship could extricate him, thrown as he was on a wilderness, barren, and almost impassible. Thus entangled and unprovided with means of subsistence, the British were of necessity obliged to submit on honourable terms. The Americans perceived this issue of things in all its bearings, and their providential and even incalculable success intoxicated them with a paroxysm of joy at the moment.

A Thanksgiving Sermon was preached on the great occasion before the American army, and the text and sermon of the Chaplain fully set forth, that they had but little to attribute to their own gallantry and fighting. He preached from Joel ii. 20, "But I will remove far off from you the Northern army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the East-sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea; and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up, because he hath done great things."

Whatever provocation the Colonists did receive, it is certain they shewed themselves desirous to push their successes farther than prudence or even honourable hostility could justify them in doing.

Having succeeded, and rejoicing as they were on the approaching era of their independence, as a new nation in the Earth, they ought to have checked the spirit of inhuman resentment which they too much cherished during the war, to extinguish not only collectively, but individually, on all occasions their enemies who aimed merely to reduce them to their former rank of colonial attachment and friendship. They appeared to

rejoice at the privations and sufferings of our troops when prisoners. We were marched during the rigours of winter, in a cold climate, two hundred miles from Saratoga to Boston, and obliged to endure harsh and cruel usage which was not unknown to the American officers commanding, of all gradations. Yet surely when many of those were British, or had formerly lived in the interchange of amity and kind offices with British soldiers and British subjects, it cannot but detract from their military and moral character, to find them terrible and implacable at such a time. Misfortune in general, and chiefly military misfortune is mostly used to obtain generous treatment, and in such a case, ill-treatment conduces to no advantage, whilst it evidences the vile motives of individuals, stooping from the rank of manhood to heap inhumanity upon the vanquished, who give up, or put by the sword, and so, are at the mercy of a people with whom they bravely contended before.

The man of liberal and enlightened understanding at that period would, for many reasons, endeavour to repress the cruel operation of such a vulgar animosity and warring spirit, when warfare was soon to cease. Washington perhaps stood nobly alone in this great and good character, when there was a prospect of sheathing the sword, and the sun of American independence was rising upon the States. Washington exerted himself to let peace quench the vexations and violence which prevailed so long and so unhappily. But it was not so with many, or it might be said, any other of his fellow-soldiers. They forgot whatever the Colonies owed of consequence and commerce to the empire of Great Britain, under which they grew up from poor insignificance to independent power among the States of the earth. They almost seemed to lose the common feelings of our nature at that most interesting epoch, while policy itself, if they were capable to reflect, would teach better thoughts.

The independent American was like a froward child at variance with his parent—no doubt, in woefully differing as they did, each erred and acted amiss, but when the child gained the ends and objects he had in view, a calm consideration at least was due to the parent adversary, with whom in future he had to keep the usual relations of peace and amity—and a lapse of years has given the Americans to perceive that the ruin of the British empire would inevitably involve the States in commercial bankruptcy, and general embarrassment. Since North America established herself on a basis of independence, she has leaned a good deal upon the wide extended dominion of Britain. Under the British flag her people have been embarked often in the same bottoms, in partnerships of trade with the British. Even the vast rupture which the war made has not been able after all to detach Americans and Britons from preserving some of those kindred relations which cannot but subsist between people bred with the same habits and usages of life, and speaking the same language. In spite of the vexations of hostility itself, the American must be a good deal at home when he visits the British isles, and therefore it was melancholy to witness the vengeful economy which obtained to embitter the dreary and difficult condition of our prisoners. As a reflection in result arising from this argument, the Poet's Apostrophe to Great Britain is entirely in point:—

“ Countries indebted to thy power that shine
 With light derived from thee, would smother thine;
 Thy very children watch for thy disgrace—
 A lawless brood, and curse thee to thy face!”

CHAP. X.

Some Account of General Burgoyne's Life and Ancestors. Author is marched a prisoner from Saratoga on the route to Boston. Description of the Town of Hadley. Remarkable Adventures of Generals Whaley and Gosse, who sat on the Military Court which tried King Charles I. fled to New England, and continued several years concealed at Hadley. Hardships and harsh treatment endured by the British prisoners at Prospect-hill. Extract from Colonel Sir Archibald Campbell's Letter to General Sir W. Howe. Account of Generals Lee and Putnam, and remains of British Officers at Bunker's-hill. Author made to run the Gauntlet between lines of American Militia near Rutland. Execution of an American Lady and Soldier, together with a British Serjeant and Private, for the Murder of the Lady's Husband.

HAVING closed the last chapter with remarks on the military capacity and the misfortunes attending the campaign of General Burgoyne, which gave a decisive superiority to the cause of the colonists, and prepared a highway for opening the gates of American independence, it will not be unentertaining to the reader to peruse some particular account of that Commander, whose ability and generalship were evinced even in the most adverse scenes. As it usually happens in an unfavourable issue of affairs, the plans and operations of his battles were found fault with, and thus it is, that those who can argue only from results are peculiarly anxious to expose the faulty movements and failures of the most excellent Generals of the world. It has been contended for, General Burgoyne, with a great deal of justice, that he used the military means in his

hands, as ably and skilfully as possibly could be done, if we give him merely the credit he deserved, in opposing the vast and unforeseen difficulties he had to encounter. It would seem indeed that the great argument of blame to him, without due allowance on other accounts, originated from his previous miscalculation of the Colonial conflict. It ought to be considered in this matter, that a like ill estimate was made by ministers themselves, who had no adequate conception of the manner in which the American struggle should be undertaken and conducted by them. If they erred unfortunately in not ascertaining the evil and energy of Colonial resistance, and in not meeting it with powerful promptitude, at their doors lie the great blame of failure at last. Certain it is, that no officer, however great and accomplished, can have due credit unless success crowns his exertions.

General Burgoyne had previously obtained well-earned laurels in the army. At the capture of Bellisle he merited great applause—and also in the Spanish war of 1762, when the Spaniards could not detach the Portuguese from our alliance, he was eminently distinguished as a Brigadier-General on the confines of Portugal and Spain, the present theatre where the British name and British nation derive almost unequalled honour against the veteran soldiers of France, who achieved so much on the continent of Europe. In a signal affair of which he had the direction and command to the north of Badajoz, Field-Marshal Count De la Lippe, who commanded the Allies, speaks of him with a degree of rapture as follows:—
 “The Field-Marshal thinks it his duty to acquaint the army with the glorious conduct of Brigadier Burgoyne, who, after marching fifteen leagues without halting, took Valentia De Alcantara sword in hand, made the General who was to have invaded Alentego prisoner, destroyed the Spanish regiment of Seville, taking three standards, a Colonel, many Officers of distinction, and several soldiers

The Marshal makes no doubt that the army will rejoice at the event, and that every one will in proportion to his rank imitate so glorious an example."

His conduct in America has been sufficiently described already, and whatever has been objected against him, his talent, activity, and presence of mind were always conspicuous in the greatest trials. After his return home he resigned all his emoluments, amounting, it was said, to three thousand five hundred pounds a year, and continued in retirement until his decease, which took place in 1792, except when he used to attend occasionally in Parliament, as Member for Preston. On which occasions he gave many specimens of eloquence and talent as a statesman and elegant scholar.

The following article relating to his ancestors has been published in a periodical work, and received as authentic. He was son to Sir Roger Burgoyne, whose family is said to be of great antiquity, being descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Uncle of King Richard II. who in the year 1387, granted to the Burgoyne's the two extensive manors of Sutton and Potton, by the following extraordinary deed:

"I John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, King of Castile, and of Arragon, do give and do grant unto Roger Burgoyne, and the heirs of his loyne, All Sutton and Potton, Until the world's rotten."

General Burgoyne began his career in the army at an early age. On the 8th October, 1762, he had his commission as Colonel, and on the 18th March, 1768, obtained the Queen's light dragoons. On the 25th May, 1772, he was made Major-General, and in Sept. 1777, Lieutenant-General: when a Subaltern Officer he married Lady Charlotte Stanley, sister to the Earl of

Derby. Her Ladyship died without issue, while he was serving in America.

On the morning of the 17th of October we surrendered, and in the evening crossed the Hudson river from Saratoga on our march to Boston. From the outset of our marching we experienced much hardship, sleeping in bars, and having but bad clothing, and scanty provisions. The way before and about us presented an uncheering appearance, mountainous and barren, with little of pleasing scenery to amuse the traveller. In our progress we crossed the ridge of mountains called *Blue Hills*, which begin in New Hampshire, and extend through a long tract of country in New England. Hadley was the first place we arrived at, which had any local attractions to delight the eye. It is a pleasant town of Hampshire County Massachusetts, on the east of Connecticut river. It then consisted of one extensive and spacious street parallel to the river. Hadley was celebrated as the place of retreat chosen by generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the military judges or court-martial who tried and condemned King Charles I. and fled to America, fearing the resentment of King Charles II. at the restoration in 1660, which decided the fates or fortunes of individuals, who took an active part against the unfortunate monarch. The leading partizans of the Protector Cromwell could not fail to be capitally obnoxious to the restored Sovereign after the vast afflictions which overwhelmed his royal father, exiled himself from the inheritance of the British throne so long, and filled the cup of bitterness for his relatives and friends in general. Sixteen of those that sat in judgment on his father saved their lives by flight. Of whom Generals Whaley and Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell took refuge in North America. They all had commanded in Cromwell's army, and were noted for activity against the royal person and cause.

Whaley and Goffe landed at Boston on the 27th July

1660, having effected their departure from England, but a few days before King Charles II. was restored to the throne, intelligence of which high event they had received as they left the English Channel. Goffe is reported to have kept a journal of every thing remarkable which happened to them for the seven succeeding years, from their leaving Westminster. This journal is said to have fallen into the hands of Governor Hutchinson, who kept it safe until it was lost or destroyed in the tumults and outrages of the populace in Boston, on the passing of the famous stamp-act.* It was written in short notes or characters which were easily decyphered. The Governor, however, had made some extracts from it, which were saved, and detailed in some publications relating to American transactions.

Arriving at Boston, they did not endeavour to conceal themselves, but even waited on Mr. Endicot, the then Governor, who gave them a courteous reception. They were visited by the principal inhabitants, and countenanced by a staunch loyalist of that City, viz. Colonel Crown. They took their residence four miles distant from Boston at the village of Cambridge. They used to attend at public worship, and maintained a decent and devout demeanour in general, which gained the popular respect in their behalf. Being sometime insulted, the offender was called to account for the abuse he offered to them, and was bound before a Magistrate to keep the peace in future. It is right to observe, however, that on their arrival no news of the restoration had reached America, and, therefore from the powerful government of the Protectorate, it is not surprising they met a kind reception from the people of Boston, altho' it was known to many of the inhabitants that they sat on the trial of King Charles I. Soon after intelligence was brought by the way of Barbadoes that all the King's Judges would be pardoned, with the exception

* See Author's Journal of American Occurrences, Page 11.

of seven, among whom Whaley and Goffe were included. On this public information the Officers of Government at Boston, were alarmed in affording them an asylum, while compassion for the fugitives pervaded the public on their account. They received some assurance that the General Court would continue to protect them, but a few advised them of the expediency of seeking a safer retreat than Boston. On 22nd November, 1660, the Governor called a General Court of Assistants to consider the propriety of putting them under arrest, but the Court broke up without coming to any decision of the question. Finding it unsafe to stop at Boston, they speedily removed 150 miles distant to a place called Newhaven.

A discovery of their retreat being made in England on the 7th March following, a hue and cry, as Goffe terms it in his Journal, was sent forth. And even anterior to this, soon after their departing from the village of Cambridge, a warrant was issued to seize on them, but without effect. At Newhaven their reception was at first favourable, but when the King's proclamation was made known in America, they were again obliged to abscond with precipitation. On 27th March they removed to New-Milford, where they were known by some. They were therefore induced to return by night to Newhaven, and were concealed by a Gentleman there until the 30th April.

News arriving that ten of the King's Judges were executed, and the Governor receiving instructions to apprehend Whaley and Goffe, the country was agitated with alarm, and it became unsafe for any person to harbour them. They now betook themselves to the woods, favoured by a few secret friends, who after they had tried different places of concealment, prepared a cave on the side of a hill, in which they remained from May 15th to June 11th. They gave this forlorn

retreat the appellation of Providence-hill, having continued undiscovered in it, altho' the most diligent search was made to detect them about the country, contiguous to it. It being found that their friend in Newhaven had afforded them a hiding-place, it was feared that he would suffer for so doing. On which the unhappy fugitives determined to resign themselves as a sacrifice to the Royal resentment rather than be the means of involving their hospitable protector in ruin. They even noticed the Deputy-Governor of their intention, and the scene of their concealment, but that Gentleman paid no attention to their remonstrance; and they were secretly counseled not to think of surrendering themselves.

In their solitary residence they encountered various disasters and perils. As they once lay abed at night, a beast which looked like a tyger advanced into the cave's aperture, gazed on them with flaming eyes, roared and departed without doing them any damage. Having once ventured too far from their dreary abode, they were actually overtaken by a Mr. Kimberly, the Sheriff, who held the King's warrant, and knew and endeavoured to take them into custody; but they defended themselves against him with their walking sticks, and while he left them to procure assistance, they succeeded in regaining the woods. On another occasion they escaped by hiding under a bridge on the road, over which their pursuers passed, and at Newhaven several times hid themselves in houses, which were at the moment searched by the Officers of Government.

As soon as the search after them had ceased they ventured to the house of one Tomkins, near Milford, in which they remained two years, without daring to walk even in the adjoining orchard. Hearing that Commissioners from his Majesty arrived in Boston, they again thought it expedient to return to their former retreat at Providence-hill, but being found out by some

hunting Indians, they bid a final adieu to it. After a variety of wanderings in the woods they at length revisited Hadley, and were there concealed by a Mr. Russell, between fifteen and sixteen years, frequently receiving pecuniary remittances from England, and occasional relief from a few American friends. Their reverse of fortune was great indeed. For several years they were principal actors under Cromwell. Whaley defeated Prince Rupert, Goffe once turned the Members out of the House of Parliament, and was entrusted by the Protector with the custody of the King.

At Hadley they often complained that they were banished from society, and that their lives were miserable and burdensome. Goffe had married Whaley's daughter, with whom he corresponded by the name of Goldsmith, addressing her as Frances Goldsmith; and the correspondence was carried on as between a mother and son. The following extract of a letter from Goffe, describing Whaley's second childhood, in which he continued the last few years of his life, is interesting:—

“Your old friend Mr. R. (Whaley) is yet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I have formerly given you an account, and I have not much to add. He is scarce capable of any rational discourse; his understanding, memory, and speech doth so much fail him, that he seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either done or said, but patiently bears all things, and never complains of any thing, though I fear it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter for a long time from his cousin Rich; but he speaks not one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote in your last; only after I had read your letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing in your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts; and indeed he scarce speaks of any thing but in answer

to the questions that are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them. The common and very frequent question is, to know how he doth, and his answer, for the most part, is, very well. I praise God, which he utters in a very low and weak voice. But sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill; and then if it be further said, Do you feel pain any where? To that he always answereth, no. When he wants any thing he cannot speak well for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing when he means another, so that his eye or his finger is his tongue, but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signs for them. Some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able for a long time to dress or undress himself, nor to feed, nor ease nature either way, orderly, without help, and it is a very great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpful to him. I bless the Lord, that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a work; for though my help be poor and weak, yet that ancient servant of Christ could not well subsist without it; and I do believe, as you are pleased to say, very well, that I do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue. The Lord help us to profit by all, and to wait with patience on him, till we see what end he will make us.

Thus far I write for myself. I will now ask him what he would have me say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked, he saith, I am better than I was. And being asked, what I should say more to his cousin R. or any other friends; after a long pause, he again said, the Lord hath visited me in much mercy,

and he hath answered his visitation upon me." (I give you his own words.) Being desirous to draw more from him, I proposed several questions, and the sum of his answers was, that he earnestly desires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all friends for him."

During their abode at Hadley, the most memorable Indian war of New England took place. It was called King Philip's war. Philip was a powerful Sachem, and resided at Mount-Hope, in Rhode-Island; where he was soon after put to death, by colonel Church. All the frontier towns of New England were attacked, and Hadley of course was exposed to Indian incursions. The time the savages fixed upon, to make the assault was while the inhabitants were assembled in the meeting-house, to observe a fast-day; but providentially, it had been some time a custom with the men, to attend public worship, armed. Had the town been taken, the discovery of Whaley and Goffe, would have been inevitable. The men took up their arms, and attempted a defence, but were soon thrown into confusion, where (as it is told in Boston) a stranger appeared among them, of venerable aspect, and different in his apparel, from the inhabitants; who rallied, and disposing them in the best military manner, led them to the charge, routed the Indians, and saved the town. In the moment of victory their deliverer vanished. The inhabitants unable to account for the phenomenon; believed they had been commanded by an angel, sent from heaven for their protection.

The supposed angel was Goffe, who never before, ventured from his concealment. Whaley was then in a state of second childhood. Such was their caution to prevent a discovery of their retreat, that the inhabitants neither knew them, or who it was that so ably led them against the savages, until the exiles left this troublesome world.

Another anecdote respecting Goffe, is still current among the old inhabitants of Boston, which proves him to be very expert at the sword exercise. It is thus related in a publication which was perused by the author.

“ While they continued in Boston, there appeared a bravo there, some say, a fencing-master, who on a stage erected for that purpose, walked several days, challenging and defying any person to fight him with the sword. At length Goffe disguised in rustic dress, holding in one hand a cheese wrapped up in a napkin, and in the other a broomstick, the end of which he had besmeared in dirty water, ascended the stage. The fencing master swaggered and bid him begone. A rencounter ensued, and Goffe received the sword of his antagonist in the cheese, while he drew the dirty end of his stick across the fellows mouth. Another pass was made, and again received in the cheese; and the fencer's eyes were marked with the staff. A third lounge, was again received as before, and the stick rubbed over the other parts of his face. The enraged master of arms then threw aside his weapon, and took up a broad sword, upon which Goffe told him to stop, and added that he had hitherto but played with him, without attempting to do him harm; if however he would come on with the broad sword, his life should pay the forfeit. The fencer struck with Goffe's manner and fearing the event, asked him who he was, adding, that he must be either Whaley, Goffe, or the Devil, as no others could conquer him. The disguised conqueror retired, leaving the boasting champion to the derision of the spectators. Hence it became proverbial in New England, in speaking of a champion, to say that no one could beat him, but Whaley, Goffe or the Devil.”

Whaley died at Hadley, in the year 1688. After about a year from the time of his decease, all tradition of Goffe is lost. The only conjecture that can be formed

is that he did not long survive his friend, and was privately buried near him at Hadley.

Such was the wretched exile, and death of educated and respectable men who, from at first launching on the waters of strife at home, shaped their own course as outcasts to meet misfortune in the wilds of North America. In considering their condition we are obliged to pause, in deep anxiety at the fickle fashion, and fluctuating state of human affairs in general. Whaley and Goffe embarked in the tide of Cromwell's usurpation, but when it ebbed at his decease they were left desperate. Had that dominating order of things continued in England they would, no doubt, keep station and respect among their countrymen. The uncertainty and evil attending innovations on government have thus been often evidenced in the world, and perhaps no where more than in the British islands, in which individuals of great talent and consideration have frequently risked their lives and estates in trying to effectuate reforms and changes in the commonwealths and kingdoms of these countries. History teems with instances to confirm this argument, an argument which still appears to come home to our political feelings and vital concerns. Political agitation has ever and anon injured the isles where we live, sometimes as much as if the barriers of the ocean, in which their foundations are laid by the divine architect, were broken asunder to overwhelm us with an influx of the sea. Political agitation is still at work and demands some excellent ruling energy to quell it, in order to allow our people the blessings of civil and religious tranquillity. This is the "consummation devoutly to be wished" among us, because without public peace in the land there cannot be popular welfare or much moral virtue to enable us to withstand the torrent of vicissitude which made such vast mischief in Europe of late. An imperial usurpation is now probably established which embraces upon its broad basis a groupe of

principalities from the Mediterranean to the distant North, and strains all its stupendous efforts to ruin the British empire. Our own differences aid its great attempts in this way. It has already put down the mighty and elevated the humble on the thrones of the old kings of the Continent. Some of those who at the era of the French Revolution were not superior in rank and ability to Whaley and Goffe, class among the princes of the Rhenish confederacy, a confederacy which rose out of the ashes of the German Empire. Whaley's and Goffe's cause proved disastrous, while the fortunes of a Murat, a Massena, and others succeeded in gaining princely power and place. So the glory of this world passes away, and proceeds with trembling unsteadiness, enough to tell us that popular harmony supplies national happiness, and that private ambition usually becomes baneful to persons that indulge it to excess. The new princes and Dukes of France afford no argument to the contrary. They look like the generals of the Goths at the decline of the western empire, their appearance is *prodigy*, and they themselves are *non-descript*! If we consider the case of Italy, Switzerland, Holland and Spain, and estimate the fortunes of those who assisted to originate strife and change in their native countries, we will perceive the most of them shipwrecked or swept off in the very floods they laboured to introduce upon their own states in favour of Gallic domination of late, nay more, if we contemplate the exiled wretchedness of several of our countrymen at this day, not to mention those of them who died in abetting rebellion and invasion, not many years ago in Ireland, we will see abundant evidence of that political phrenzy which goads individuals to injure the commonwealth and destroy themselves. Some educated and capable men of Ireland, who might have lived respectably at home by the exertion of their talents as they ought, fell sacrifices to it, while several of them are at present squandering their time

and talents as useless exiles in the towns or plantations of North America, and so represent to the life the melancholy *tragi-comedy* of Whaley and Goffe, at Hadley, known in a strange land as men of ability, but feared and disliked, lest their abilities should harm the very asylums which shelter them from the storms of Europe."

From Hadley our rout lay to Prospect-hill, which is about 90 miles distant from it, where we stoped during the winter months, and endured harsh usage in different ways. The people of New England appeared to indulge a deadly hatred against the British prisoners, and rejoiced at any occasion to gratify it. Several of our men were stabbed by the colonial centinels, and one of our officers was shot as he rode in his chaise. There are personages of distinction at present residing in this city, who then were prisoners with me, that can bear testimony to the truth of what is here asserted, on this unpleasant subject. The following extracts from a letter to general Sir William Howe, by lieutenant colonel Sir Archibald Campbell, are further corroborative of it. The colonel, having the command of 700 men, proceeded into Boston harbour, which had been unknown to him, evacuated by the royal troops, and of course brought himself and his soldiery into the enemy's hands. He was sent to suffer close confinement in Concord, a small town 18 miles from Boston, from whence he addressed the letter in question to the commander in chief.

"I am lodged in a dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square, whose sides are black with the grease and litter of successive criminals; two doors with double locks and bolts, shut me up from the yard, with an express prohibition to enter it, either for my health or the necessary calls of nature: two small windows, strongly grated with iron, introduce a gloomy light to the apartment, and these are at this time without a single pane of glass, although the season of the frost and snow is actually in

the extreme. In the corner of the cell, boxed up with the partition, stands a necessary house, which does not seem to have been emptied since its first appropriation to this convenience of malefactors. A loathsome black-hob, decorated with a pair of fixed chains, is granted me for my inner apartment, from whence a felon was but the moment before removed, to make way for your humble servant, and in which his litter &c. remain to this moment. The attendance of a single servant is also denied me, and every visit from a friend is positively refused: In short, sir, was a fire to happen in any chamber of the goal, which is all of wood, the chimney-stacks excepted, I might perish in the flames before the goaler could go through the ceremony of unbolting the doors; although to do him justice in his station, I truly think him a man of humanity; his house is so remote, that any call from within, especially if the wind is high, might be long of reaching him effectually.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

Concord Goal,

24th February. 1777.

The severe treatment however which colonel sir Archibald Campbell suffered was chiefly owing to the capture, and confinement of general Lee, whom general Howe, kept as a state prisoner. The character of general Lee, is well known and at that period of the colonial war his military talents and his exertions were of the first importance to the American cause, and, no doubt his seizure on the spur of interesting affairs, was appreciated as a great advantage gained by the royal army. America was at first incompetent in the great requisites of military efficiency. Her troops were not of course ably organized, and there was a general want of experience and skill among the officers. The loss of general Lee, who saw

much service, who was capable, and enterprising in his profession, could not fail to be estimated by the colonists as unfortunate, or by the British as encouraging at the moment. Congress evinced much anxiety on his account. His ardour and unremitting endeavours for their interests made them politically and affectionately his friends. It was tried to effectuate his liberation by a cartel of exchange, but no individual of his high rank being a prisoner at that time, general Washington, by particular desire of congress, proposed to give six field officers for him. This overture was refused, general Howe, urging that he must be considered as a deserter not a regular prisoner. From this view of his situation he was guarded with all that strict precaution which attaches to individuals charged with treasonable overt acts.

Congress from respect to general Lee and a desire of retaliation treated the British prisoners with much severity. Officers were deprived of their parole liberty, and it was publicly declared that the manner of their future treatment should in all cases be regulated by that which general Lee experienced. And thus it was that colonel Campbell was so rigorously used while imprisoned at Concord.

Having introduced the mention of general Lee, a sketch of his life and conduct may prove somewhat amusing to the reader. The author in his American Journal gave a general account of him, but at present he shall state some particulars concerning a man that made so eminent an appearance on the American theatre.

Charles Lee was the third and youngest son of Thomas Lee, of Dernhall in the county of Chester, and of Isabella Bunbury, daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, of Stanney, in the same county. His father had been a colonel in the army, and his family was ancient and respectable. Mr. Charles Lee began his military life so early as the age of eleven years, and pursued his professional studies

with ability and attention. He knew the Latin and Greek well, as also the Italian, Spanish, German and French languages, which he spoke with fluency. A ball passed through his body at the battle of Ticonderoga, at which he commanded a company of the 44th regiment.

On returning to England a general peace was contemplated, and it was rumoured that Canada would be ceded. The intended cession of Canada was loudly deprecated by the American Colonists, and on this occasion he published a pamphlet, which evinced his political talent, and ably explained the importance of our retaining Canada as a dependency of the British empire. The success of his pamphlet, made him known, and he was complimented for it by Doctor Franklin, who observed that his work on that subject "could not fail of making a salutary impression." In the year 1762 he bore a colonel's commission, and served under general Burgoyne in Portugal, where he distinguished himself a good deal, for which he received the thanks of his Portuguese majesty, and was warmly recommended to his own court, by the Count La Lippe, the commander of the allies. This era might have been auspicious to Colonel Lee, if he had been possessed of private prudence to advance his professional interests. Here however, as if by fatality, America interfered, and he always appeared, greatly interested for the colonies. The Indian, or what was called pondiack's war broke out, and was deemed a matter of little moment by the ministerial parties. The friends of America thought differently, and Colonel Lee, produced another pamphlet by which he lost the favour of ministers. Despairing of preferment at home, he now left his native shores, and entered into the Polish service. In his absence he never lost sight of the colonial cause, as his letters during that time, evinced that he exerted himself with his majesty's ministers on the Continent, and with

parliamentary friends in England, to "promote it by all means.

At the breaking out of hostilities with the colonies he did not continue an idle spectator. He still held his rank as Colonel in the British service, and received half pay. This he resigned, stating his reasons at large in a letter addressed to lord Barington, the secretary at war, in which he declared that whenever his majesty might call him on any honourable service against his foreign and natural enemies, he would obey with alacrity and zeal; but that he acted from patriotic motives in embracing the colonial interests on the theatre of America: as he considered the measures of the British government in that great matter subversive of civil liberty, destructive to British prosperity and ultimately injurious to his majesty's power and security on the English throne. His subsequent conduct shewed that he behaved on the great occasion in compliance with his feelings, which however must be considered indiscreet, if not excited by his disappointments. In character he always seemed impetuous and rash. His attachment to America, in competition as it was with the mother country, cannot be justified; and his behaviour on the Continent of Europe, exhibits his eccentricity and restlessness with a prominent feature. It is reported that he disgusted his patron the king of Poland himself, who became tired of such a man. His rapidity of travelling from state to state, and his frequent quarreling with individuals proves that his mind was not well at ease, and to him the American revolution was desirable, as it afforded him a scene of activity, to dissipate his habitual perturbation of spirit, and to gather laurels which, he must be aware, he could not expect to acquire in any other portion of the earth. In the colonial contest he embarked all his hopes; he risked his fortunes in it, which, if they were not opulent, were

competent enough.* They could not be made much better in the success of the colonists, and in their subjugation or reduction he would become exigent, if not altogether destitute, and a victim of rashness at the altar of reconciliation.

He arrived in America in November 1773, when the causes of hostility were agitated with great animosity, and his writings and speeches were instrumental in arousing the colonists to a persevering resistance. In this attempt he visited most of the states, and was generally well received and admired for his abilities and friendly wishes to their cause. He obtained the rank of Major General from Congress, and on the resignation of General Ward was appointed in his place second in command. On the death of General Montgomery before Quebec he was ordered to take command in Canada, but this order was countermanded, and he was sent to a southern



1, The general had £480, per annum, on a mortgage in Jamaica, paid punctually.

2, An estate of £200, per annum in Middlesex, for another gentleman's life; but whose life he had insured against his own.

3, A thousand pounds on a turnpike in England, at four per cent interest.

4, One thousand five hundred pounds, at five per cent.

5, His half pay, one hundred and thirty six pounds per annum; in all nine hundred and thirty one pounds per annum, clear income: besides this about twelve hundred pounds in his agent's hands, and different debts. He had likewise, ten thousand acres of land in the island of St. John, which had been located and settled at the expense of seven hundred pounds; and a mandamus for twenty thousand acres in East Florida.

department, where he was applauded for his capacity and vigilance. The affair at Sullivan's island, exalted him in public estimation, and made America his debtor in a great degree. Having there succeeded in repulsing Sir Peter Parker, and general Clinton, he rapidly proceeded and gave effectual assistance in Georgia. Congress paid high respect to his counsels, and consulted him in particular about the situation of affairs in New Jersey, in which quarter he was desired to inspect the posts. At this juncture his arriving with the main army proved peculiarly oportune, when, contrary to General Washington's wishes, his council of officers were for waiting an attack in their lines on York island. The opinion of general Lee determined them to change their plan, and retreat as they did from eminent danger, if not destruction. This appears the zenith of his American career, from which period his success and celebrity suffered a rapid decline. On the 13th December, 1776, as he was marching with whatever men he could collect to join general Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania militia, to secure the banks of the Delaware, he was led to think himself perfectly secure, and was actually surprized by colonel Harcourt at the head of a small detachment. Colonel Harcourt behaved with such address that General Lee was carried off, though several guarded posts and patrols lay in his way.

He continued confined until the surrender of Saratoga, when he was allowed his parole at New York, treated with a respect suited to his rank, and shortly afterward exchanged. His first action after being liberated decided his military fortunes. Anterior to his capture he most certainly communicated spirit to the soldiery, and was an example to the colonial officers; and so much was he esteemed that it is said a party in Congress and among the officers endeavoured to lift

him to the first command. His absence as a prisoner was disadvantageous to all his expectations. The colonial forces were greatly improved by fighting during that interval, and General Washington had ample occasion to exhibit his excellent talents and services, so that general Lee had no longer any chance of successful competition with him. At the battle of Monmouth in Jersey, General Lee resumed his rank and command in the army as before. He was ordered to attack the rear of the royal troops, but his men were beaten back with disgrace. Had such want of success been owing as at the outset of hostilities to panic and confusion he might claim credit for not rallying the men, but now it was urged that the Americans by discipline and steadiness were become able to withstand regular and veteran armies, and that the General had acted culpably. In consequence he was tried by a court-martial, first "for disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th June. Secondly for misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, in making an unnecessary and shameful retreat. And thirdly for disrespect to the commander-in-chief, in two letters dated 28th June and first of July." It was a considerable time before his trial took place, and in the interval of this suspense he was addressed in a letter by Colonel Laurens, one of General Washington's aid-de-camps, requiring satisfaction for the manner in which he insulted the Commander-in-chief. He accepted the challenge, chose to fight with pistols as his weapons, was slightly wounded in the side, and as he was always used to do, displayed great fortitude on the occasion. The award of the court-martial sentenced him to suspension for one year from his command, and the proceedings of the military trial were confirmed by Congress after a debate which lasted several days. It will be easily conceived that such a decision dissatisfied and embittered the irritable temper of General Lee against Congress and

Americans in general. He was particularly enraged at the part one of the members, Mr. William H. Drayton took against him, in opposing the consideration in Congress of the several charges separately, instead of debating them collectively, as was done to the General's discomfiture. He was so chagrined that he never returned to the army, but retired, to his plantation in Berkeley county Virginia, where he often gave vent to his resentments in poignant letters, and brooded over his misfortunes in a rusticated manner of life. His house had nothing of elegance, and little of comfortable commodiousness. His chief mental resource was derived from a little select collection of books, with which he combated the weariness of solitude. At length his wonted restlessness began to operate, and he resolved to become a resident of some maritime town. In this idea he disposed of his farm at Berkeley, and visited Baltimore, where stopping a week he removed to Philadelphia and lodged at an inn. In three or four days he was taken with shivering, the precursor of a fever, which put a period to his restless and chequered life, October the second, 1782.

At his arrival in Baltimore and Philadelphia, he was not visited or hospitably entertained by the gentry, but after his decease some respect appeared to be paid to his memory, and his funeral was attended by the most distinguished personages. His dying was not dissimilar to the tenor of his life. He was not perceived to meet death with any apprehension of the king of terrors, and it is probable, that if he was not deprived of understanding, he certainly was ignorant of his immediate summons to another world. In the agony of dissolution his last words are said to be "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

It is not amazing that a man of General Lee's temper should displease, and be displeased and disappointed in America, although, it must be allowed, that he was

among the prime promoters of American independence. His pride, caprice, and impetuosity were ill-fitted to enable him to supplant the American Fabius, a man peculiarly, it may be said, made to become lord of the ascendant pending hostilities in the States. That he had warm hopes of displacing General Washington is probable, and in this view it is likely he behaved as he did at the battle of Monmouth, which drew back a great deal from his military fame. It is not likely that he felt any lack of spirit or courage on that occasion, but the high probability is that he favoured the retreat and disorder of the troops he had under him, and his so doing cannot be attributed to any cause save the endeavour to cover his rival with blame. The effect of his behaviour in the affair exposed and distressed him in an extraordinary degree. So much so that it appears almost certain he sorely repented of his rash economy in espousing the interests of America. In a letter to his sister in England, he complains that the Colonists, for whom he sacrificed every thing, proved basely ungrateful to him. He writes, that were it not for a "fortunate purchase he made, more by luck than cunning, he might have begged in the streets, but without much chance of being relieved!"

On the whole, General Lee's great feature was boisterous ambition, ambition of pre-eminence in his profession, which his impetuous impatience was ever a prompt means to prevent him from attaining in his native country or in foreign States. If he could controul his unruly temper, he had eminent qualifications, which, it is probable, would have elevated him in the army. Probably his studious brass contributed to shape his fortunes in a perverse course. The part he took for the Colonies may be thought enough to evince his warm attachment to civil freedom, but this estimate of him looks like a mistake, if we analyse his general conduct. He had political penetration to foresee that America would become a

theatre of strife and war, and he regarded it as a country in which he might be called forth as a pre-eminent actor. The circumstance of the Colonies fed this fond hope of pre-eminence, for he could not anticipate that any individual born and brought up in America, would be thought of as preferable to himself to command the Colonial forces. General Lee may have been somewhat tinged with the loose ethicks which obtained in France and Germany in his day, and yet it does not appear that he was completely a Revolutionist or Deist, according to the French school of Voltaire and his disciples. He was a non-descript character, too capricious to belong to any party, and too haughty to regulate his life by system or rule of any sort. If he was not deistical we are well assured he was not entirely, if at all, a christian. This idea is fortified from considering his fluctuating principles, and particularly his last will and testament. He expressly desired that he should not "be buried in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any presbyterian, or anabaptist meeting-house." Urging as a reason that since he resided in America "he kept so much bad company when living that he did not chose to continue it when dead!" "He recommended his soul to the creator of all worlds and of all creatures, who must (he argued) from his visible attributes be indifferent to their modes of worship or creeds, whether Christians, Mahomedans, or Jews."

Such was the life and decease of Charles Lee who classed among the most singular and eccentric men of his age, and whose strong singularities greatly aided the erection of Colonial America, into a new independent nation in the world.

While we stopped at Prospect-hill, we often took opportunities to view Bunker's-hill, contiguous to it, on which a desperate action was fought two years before our arrival at the place. On the summit of Bunker's-hill,

stands a monumental stone erected to the memory of doctor Warren, who held the rank of general in the American army. It stood near the spot on which he fell. There were vestiges of fighting which could not fail to excite the sympathies of British soldiers, circumstanced as we were.

In the vault of a church at Boston, are now preserved the mouldering bodies of British officers, who lost their gallant lives in the before mentioned engagement. They must have been interred without coffins, as the skeletons were seen by a gentleman some years ago lying uncovered and bare. On one skeleton hung rags of torn regimentals, and breeches of leather in a good state of preservation. It looked as if recently cleaned with pipe clay, which most probably was done to prepare for the occasion which proved fatal to the wearer of it. The flesh was entirely wasted from the bones, which presented a painful spectacle of mortality. The soldier of reflection might exclaim in affectionate truth "brave but unfortunate men! no kind relative was at hand to perform the last fond offices for you, or shed a parting tear at your untimely fate! The world of Atlantic waters rolled between yourselves and the objects of your friendship and love at the hour of dissolution!"

In a tomb were deposited the remains of the valiant Major Pitcairn of the marines, than whom no officer departed more lamented by his friends. He was even regretted by many of those whom the war alone had made his enemies, as before the revolution he had been commandant at Boston, and deservedly endeared to the inhabitants. Some years after his interment Doctor Pitcairn of London, the Major's brother, was permitted to remove his bones across the ocean to lie with the ashes of his fathers in his native land.

In the Summer of 1778, we were marched by order of Congress from Prospect-hill to Rutland county, which is distant about 50 Miles from Boston.

Seeing that Congress had no intention of allowing the British troops to return to England, according to the articles of convention, and considering myself under no tie of honour, as I gave no parole (though at that time I was employed as temporary surgeon to the 9th regiment) I resolved to proceed privately to New York. This resolution was confirmed by my meeting at some distance from Prospect-hill, a native of America, for whom I did a kind office, after the battle of Fort-Anne, and from whom I then received an invitation to take refreshment in an adjacent tavern together with a promise of a pasport, which might prevent my being apprehended by the way. Unfortunately there were at that time in the tavern, a few British soldiers who did some damage in the house, and got off without paying for it. The landlord raised the hue and cry against me, although I was in another apartment when the damage was done. He demanded a recompense of 40 dollars to repair his losses, though a small matter, was sufficient to compensate his loss, which consisted but in the breaking of a few drinking glasses,

Having had no part whatever in the affair I naturally refused to comply, and was in consequence taken before a magistrate. However they took the law first into their own hands, as it was agreed that I should run the gauntlet to the magistrate's house, which was about 100 yards from the tavern. Providentially for me the tavern was on a rising ground, and the way I had to run was down a hill which accelerated my motion, so that I received but few blows, although there were a number of persons aiming to strike me as I passed. When I arrived before the magistrate, he in the most unfeeling manner,

without hearing my defence, declared if I did not forthwith pay down 40 dollars, he would order me to the prison-ship in Boston, where I should be fed on bread and water. I persisted in declaring I had no part in the outrage, and challenged any person to come forward and prove it against me. My plea was rejected, and to the prison ship I was told I must go, unless I paid the mulct immediately. This I still objected to do. After some consultation among themselves, it was determined that I should run the gauntlet again, which punishment I underwent of course, a number of men taking sticks in their hands, to deal blows at me.

It was an unpleasant atonement on my part for the transgression of others, but I saw I could not avoid it. I was brought to the door and held till my enemies were each man prepared for striking me. The word was given that all was ready, and I was let go from the grasp of the men that held me. I therefore darted along the line with rapidity, and being young and active, I do think, I did not receive in all more than a dozen strokes by reason of their confusion and eagerness to deal blows upon my unprotected head, which by agility and good heels I succeeded in saving. They did not pursue me, and by my rapid marching I was enabled to join my companions. However I felt my body and head sore for many days afterwards.

We arrived in the progress of our march at a township called Rutland, and were confined in a large pen, which has been described in the author's American Journal. We erected small sheds to shelter us, and continued to occupy them from June until the ensuing November. Distant about ten miles from Rutland in the township of Worcester, a town has been built since the expiration of the war, called Barre, in honour of Colonel Barre, a member of the British Parliament, who

warmly advocated the cause of Colonial America, in the house of Commons. Contiguous to the town of Barre, Benfret is Situate, which obtained much notice for having a cave in its vicinity, wherein General * Putnam slew a Wolf that became a terror to the country.

On the occasion of combating the formidable Wolf, General Putnam displayed a degree of fortitude, which amounted in fact to what is frequently called fool-hardiness; but rashness was not unusual with him, as it became his ordinary economy, when the exertion of his courage was required. He went into the cave to the encounter, creeping through a dark aperture, scarcely large enough to admit his body, as he had to press himself through it, and afterward to meet the wild beast, his enemy upon a subterraneous theatre of hostility, which was unexplored by him, but where the Wolf was at home in the darkness of his den. Notwithstanding the fearful odds against him, his extraordinary intrepidity acquired a novel conquest, very much to the satisfaction of the neighbouring people.*

General Putnam had borne an officer's commission in the British service before the revolutionary war for several years, and served in Canada, under General Wolfe. At the revolution he espoused the Colonial cause, and was promoted to the rank of Major General, as he was previously well known to possess undaunted courage and uncommon enterprize. He exhibited such great specimens of martial hardihood on a perilous command which had been confided to him by the British Commander, in the war alluded to, that he acquired very justly more celebrity than a laurel-leaf as a Soldier, and his adventures on that and another occasion, were so singular that they cannot fail to contribute to the reader's gratification, in perusing them.

* See Journal of the American war, page 52.

When the French army was encamped near Ticonderoga, Mr. Putnam then a Captain, (accompanied by a Lieutenant Durkie) was selected to reconnoitrè the enemy. At the very onset of this solitary enterprize, which was more than a forlorn hope to those who undertook it, Captain Putnam narrowly escaped from being made prisoner, and in the hurry of his retreating, mistaking Lieutenant Durkie for a French soldier, he was on the point of killing him.

On approaching the enemy they crept on their hands and knees in order to discover his position, but to their utter astonishment they found themselves in the thickest of their foes. Being discovered they were fired on, and Lieutenant Durkie was slightly wounded in the thigh. They fled, and Putnam, who took the lead soon found himself plunged into a deep pit, where Durkie, immediately tumbled in after him. Conceiving himself to be pursued by the enemy, he had already uplifted his weapon to deal a dreadful blow, when Durkie spoke, and he recognized his voice. They now scrambled out, and effected their escape through a shower of random shot. They passed the remainder of the night in the woods, out of the reach of the enemy. Putnam had provided a little rum, which he carried in a canteen slung over his shoulders, and on lying down, wishing to refresh with it, he found the vessel empty, it being repeatedly pierced with musket-balls. Being soon after appointed Major, he accompanied Major Rogers on a party of observation for the purpose of watching the motion of the enemy, who lay near Ticonderoga. Their detachment was divided, and the commanding officers took different positions, but being discovered by the foe, they again began their march in files through the woods, the right led on by Major Rogers; the left by Major Putnam, and the centre by Captain D'Ell. The first day they reached Clear-River, on the banks of which

was Fort-Anne. Next morning previous to quitting the ground Major Rogers imprudently made a bet with one of the officers, to be decided by firing at a mark. Major Putnam remonstrated in a very pointed manner against this imprudent conduct, in the very neighbourhood of the enemy, but as Major Rogers commanded, he could not prevent their proceedings. After this they continued their march in columns, Putnam in the front, D'Ell in the centre, and Rogers in the rear, circumstances and the nature of the ground rendering this disposition adviseable.

The French having received information of the expedition, sent Colonel Molong, an active and enterprising officer, with 500 chosen men to intercept it. He was so near that he heard the firing at the mark; and immediately placed himself in ambush. Putnam at the head of his column, had just cleared his way through some thick brushwood into the open part of the forest, when the enemy sprung upon him with horrid yells and war-whoops from the Indians, who formed a part of Molong's detachment. Putnam in one instant recovered from his surprize, calmly drew up his men, and returned the fire; sending off at the same time for the other divisions to come up with speed. D'Ell came up, and the action became general and desperate. The contending parties adopted the Indian mode of warfare, which is irregular and ferocious; for their situation precluded the possibility of observing tactics. During this dreadful contest Major Rogers did not join, alledging that he formed his men in a circular file between the other columns and Wood Creek, to prevent their being taken in the rear, or infiladed.

Major Putnam was not disheartened. He found he could not cross the creek, and therefore determined to keep his ground; and his officers inspired by his bravery and his personal exertions, encouraged their soldiers, who defended themselves against superior numbers with the most determined resolution. Sometimes they fought

in small bodies; then man to man, and often each soldier had to combat three or four. Major Putnam had been from the first in the heat of the battle; and used his fuzee so often, that it missed fire while presented to the breast of an athletic savage chief, who, taking instant advantage of the failure of fire, leaped upon him, and with a war-whoop and uplifted tomahawk compelled the gallant Major to surrender. He was forthwith disarmed and bound to a tree.

The command now devolved on D'Ell, who was bravely seconded by a Captain Harman, but they were soon compelled to give way, which the savages considering as a total defeat, rushed on with impetuosity and dreadful cries. The British troops, rallied at the orders of their officers, and gave their pursuers such a reception as caused them in their turn to retreat beyond the ground on which the battle began, where they made a stand. This movement placed the tree to which Putnam was tied, between the fires of the contending parties; the balls from either side struck the tree, and passed through his clothes. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, or stir his limbs, he remained more than an hour, so equal and desperate was the fight. When the battle inclined in favour of the enemy, a young savage chose a very odd way of indulging his humour. He discovered Putnam bound and might consequently have killed him, but to shew his dexterity at throwing the tomahawk, he struck the tree several times within the smallest distance possible of Major Putnam's head. When the savage finished his fierce amusement, a French serjeant more ferocious came up, and levelled his musket within a foot of the Major's breast, but happily missed fire. In vain did he claim the treatment due to a prisoner of war. The cowardly Frenchman refused the argument of humanity and honour, repeatedly pushed the muzzle of his firelock against the ribs of his tied up enemy, and at

length inflicted a severe wound on the Major's face. The intripidity of D'Ell and Harman,* seconded by the valour of their followers, at length prevailed. They drove the enemy from the scene of action, leaving behind the number of 90 killed. As the conquered fled, the Indian, who made Major Putnam Prisoner, came up, untied and took him off. Having been conducted to some distance, he was stripped of his regimentals, stockings and shoes, burdened with a heavy load, and strongly pinioned, his wrists being drawn tight together with a cord. After being taken many miles over the roughest ways, the party, greatly fatigued, halted to rest. The miserable prisoner was now in a dreadful state of torture. His hands from the tightness of the ligature were immoderately swelled; and his pain became intolerable. His feet were torn, bruised, and streaming with blood. The burden he bore was too much for his strength; and, frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated them to kill him, and take his scalp, or to untie his hands. A French officer instantly interposed, ordering his hands to be unbound, and some of the load to be taken from his back. The Indian, who claimed the prisoner, had been absent with the wounded, but now coming up, gave him a pair of *Macasons*, (i. e. Indian Boots) and shewed great resentment against his tormenters.

The duty of this chief was to attend on the wounded, and march with the prisoners, among whom was Major Putnam, who now was agonized with pain from the wound in his face, whilst the savages determined to roast him alive; and, in pursuance of this horrid doom, they



* This brave officer was living in Marlborough in the state of Massachusetts when the Author was a prisoner at Prospect-hill.

actually led him into a dark part of the forest, stripped and bound him to a tree, piling dry brush-wood and other fuel about him. They began the ceremony of death with dances and yells, and put the pile on fire, but a sudden shower of rain damped the rising flame. They laboured to rekindle the pile, and at length it began to blaze. The victim soon felt the heat, and being able to move his body, instinctively shifted sides as the fire advanced. This sight, at which all but savages would shudder, afforded the highest diversion to the Indian warriors.

Major Putnam, thought his final hour arrived, summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as his shocking circumstances would admit, and bade a silent adieu to all he held dear. The bitterness of death was almost over, when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a passage by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was the honourable Molong, to whom one of the savages related the dreadful proceedings. The Commander severely reprimanded the barbarians; and fearing to trust the Major with them again, kept him in safety till he delivered him into the hands of the chief, who made him prisoner.

This Indian approached his prisoner with kindness, and seemed to treat him with affection. He offered him hard biscuits, but finding he could not chew them, on account of the wound in his cheek, he soaked some in water and bade him suck them. Determined, however not to lose his captive, he took the *Macasons* from his feet, and tied them to his wrists. Then directing him to lie on the ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a tree; the other arm was also extended and tied, and his legs were kept apart and fastened in like manner. He was surrounded by the savages, to prevent the possibility of an escape: and in this afflicting state he remained

until morning. In relating his sufferings, the Major said that during this night, apparently the longest of his life, he felt a sensation of cheerfulness, as now he entertained the hope of regaining his liberty and family. He even indulged his fancy in reflecting on the wretched group around him, in which he himself sustained the most pitiful part, and thought it a scene for a painter to make a drawing of.

The next day he was allowed a blanket and a pair of *macasons*, and was suffered to proceed with the party without carrying a load, or receiving insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's flesh was given him; he moistened and sucked it through his teeth. When the party arrived at Ticoaderoga, Major Putnam was placed under a French guard; and after having been examined by the commanding officer, *viz.* Marquis de Montcalm,* was ordered to be conducted to Montreal, and there liberated to return to the English army.

During the time of our remaining prisoners at Rutland, a melancholy incident happened, which I consider worthy to be recorded. A serjeant Buchanan received cash from his officer, to provide shoes for the company, but unfortunately squandered it. Apprehensive of punishment, he went away privately, to a place about forty miles from Boston, and worked at his trade to provide as much as he lavished, in order to make good his account. Having saved so much, he was returning to his regiment, and by accident, met with a soldier, who informed him that a serjeant was appointed in his place, it being concluded that he deserted. Being so advised, he resolved to escape to Montreal, (where he left behind him his wife and child) in the hope of obtaining pardon by means of General Sir Guy Carleton, then Governor of Canada. On his route

* See Author's Journal of the American War, page 72.

to Canada, he passed through Brookfield, and there, unhappily for the parties, was noticed by a Mrs. Spooner, daughter of General Ruggles, who held a command in the former provincial war. This lady was remarkable for attachment to the Royal cause, although Mr. Spooner was decidedly devoted to the opposite interests. Their difference of thinking produced domestic disagreement, and Mrs. Spooner wickedly meditated the murder of her husband. She actually bribed an American young man to poison him, as he made a journey from home, but fearing that he might escape the ruin so plotted, she disclosed her horrible design to Buchanan, promising him considerable property, and that she herself would accompany him from her abode, on the accomplishment of the murderous conspiracy. Her husband returned safe, and on entering his house discovered Buchanan sitting in the parlour, at which he expressed much displeasure. Although Mrs. Spooner was obliged to send Buchanan to seek another lodging, she secretly communicated with him, and although Buchanan afterward alledged, that he shrank from perpetrating the murder, he actually consented in the terrible plot, for the purpose of obtaining a share of the property which he expected would be the reward of its execution. At this unhappy juncture of inhuman contrivance, a soldier named Brooks (whom the Author mentioned in his American Journal to have jumped over board, on the voyage to America, through fear of being punished for stealing an article of wearing apparel) happened to travel through the town, and from his daring character, was taken by Buchanan into a partnership of the intended dreadful transaction. Mr. Spooner, having gone some distance from home in the day, it was determined to dispatch him on his return at night. Brooks was selected as the executioner, who waited in a convenient corner near the door, and actually fractured the skull of the ill-fated gentleman,

with a log of wood, as he made his entrance. The party then plundered the house of cash, and Buchanan, Brooks and the American, departed to divide and spend their booty in safety. The body however was discovered thrown down in a deep draw-well, and Mrs. Spooner, on examination, confessed the abominable deed which originated in her own wickedness. The party who fled were followed, secured, and, together with Mrs. Spooner, soon after brought to trial, and deservedly sentenced to suffer death. Buchanan was deeply impressed with the justice of the capital atonement they were doomed to make, and by his means chiefly, his guilty partners became truly penitent. Buchanan addressed letters to his officers, full of religious contrition, and the Author of this Memoir by desire of his officers visited them, and was present at the hour of their being executed. The awfulness of it was great indeed, and the truly contrite feelings of the culprits were calculated to turn vicious spectators to virtuous and pious ways. Mrs. Spooner, however, indulged hopes to the last of escaping condign punishment, pleaded pregnancy as an argument for being respited, and seemed impenitent a good deal. One thing respecting Brooks, was somewhat astonishing. Before the perpetration of the horrid plot for which he suffered, he was notoriously prophane, and almost illiterate. But during his confinement, and the interval of preparation for death allowed after trial, he attended so much to a devout perusal of the Holy Scriptures, that he could read the Sacred Volume with facility, explain it to his unhappy companions in an edifying manner, and even select the chapters most appropriate to their sad condition. The time of execution appeared marked with horror suited to the awful scene. The malefactors had to pass two miles to the gallows, and, although the former part of the day was serene and fine, of a sudden, as they approached the place, the sky was covered with

clouds, and a storm of thunder followed with copious rain, attached additional terrors to their ignominious catastrophe.

The case of these unhappy individuals, no doubt, looks extraordinary, in deep-laid blood-guiltiness. The shocking depravity of Mrs. Spooner, was truly surprising, and it must be estimated that her hostility to her husband was fostered in hatred greater than could be owing to mere political difference of opinion. Her odium of him must be truly desperate, and a reflection arises of the mischief frequently produced by jealousies, and jarring strifes between the parties in the wedded state. The blessing of connubial unanimity is great indeed, but the misfortune of discord in the married condition, cannot be described. As in the case of the Spooners, it generates vengeful distractions, and death itself in all his terrors! This discord by degrees begets deadly feuds, and our great Poet has depicted it as one of the immediate prominent effects of the fall of our first Parents from angel-like innocence, when the arch-enemy having succeeded in perverting Eve's mind——

—————Back to the thicket slunk
 The guilty serpent, and well might, for Eve
 Intent now, wholly on her taste, nought else
 Regarded! —————

The rupture of brotherly-affection, which ought to make mankind in general kindly-affectioned each to the other, pursuant to the obligations of the bond of peace, was the next mark of human degeneracy noted by the sublime bard before-mentioned, in the beautiful colouring of his pencil, whereby he sketches for Adam a melancholy prospect of the miserable and murderous animosities of his posterity, as the immediate consequences owing to his own ill-fated disobedience.

So violence
Proceeded, and opposition, and sword-law
Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
Lamenting turn'd full sad ; O what are these,
Death's Ministers, not men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thousand-fold the sin of him who slew
His brother : for of whom such massacre
Make they but of their brethren, men of men ?

CHAP. XI.

Author after escaping from Confinement, joins the British Army at New York. Account of New York. Hellgate. General Calvert. Sir Henry Clinton. Charlestown. South Carolina. Treatment of Negro Slaves in the States. General Gates. British Army arrives at Yorktown. Capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

HAVING in my American Journal, given a detailed account of my escape from Rutland into New York, and my entering to serve in the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusileers, I shall decline at present, to relate the particulars of it. It was, no doubt, truly pleasing to regain my liberty, and join my friends and fellow-soldiers in New York, after the hardships and sufferings we endured since our becoming prisoners at Saratoga.

New York city, at that time, although much inferior to its present advanced condition, was very respectable in point of commercial improvements. It is said at present to extend more than two miles on East River, but is short of that length on the banks of the Hudson, at the confluence of which rivers this capital town is built, on the South East part of York Island. New York probably then was by the half below its present magnitude and importance. The plan of the streets is not done altogether on the regular scale of the New N. American cities, *viz.* forming in the aggregate a square, and crossing each the other at right angles. There is a want of this regularity in the old streets, but those are made since the peace in 1782, on the then unoccupied grounds, are nearly parallel, and intersect though not at right angles, from river

to river. The pleasantest part of the town is Broadway, occupying the height between the aforesaid rivers, and having, where the fort formerly stood, an elegant brick edifice for the residence of the Governor of the State.

New York suffered much in demolition during hostilities, but since the war, the ruined parts have been rebuilt upon a better scale. The houses are mostly of brick with tiled roofs. Originally the architecture was done in the Dutch fashion, but for many years back the English stile of building has been adopted with good effect. The grandest edifice of New York is Federal Hall, if for nothing else, rendered famous for having a beautiful gallery 12 feet deep, guarded by an iron railing, in which General Washington, at the head of the Senate and Representative Body, took his oath of Office as President, at the commencement of the Federal Constitution, April 30th, 1789. The public buildings, are in general good, among which the College deserves particular notice. It was founded before the Revolution, with liberty to confer the usual degrees granted in the British Universities. Its Charter provides, that the President shall always be a Protestant, but the professors take no test in the matter of religious persuasion, and the advantages of the institution are opened to students of all religious descriptions. It was called at first King's College, but since N. America became independent Columbia College, and it consists of two faculties, one of Arts and the other of Physic. New York being surrounded by water, is pleasant and healthy, compared to other American towns, being refreshed with cooling sea breezes in Summer, and furnished with a comparatively better and more temperate air in winter. Its situation is favourable to trade in times of peace, but in war, it stands in need of a protecting marine force. One of the greatest inconveniences of the inhabitants is a want of good water, there being but few wells. The city is supplied for the most part from a curious spring almost a

mile distant, which is distributed to the people out of a large pump or reservoir formed for the purpose of receiving it at the head of Queen-street. The average quantity of water drawn daily is 110 hogsheads of 130 gallons each, and in some hot days of Summer 216 hogsheads have been drawn from it. It is singular that there never is more than three feet depth of water in the well, which is about 20 feet deep from the top and four in diameter.

I arrived at this city 25th Nov. 1778, during which year we went on several important expeditions, and had our camp in different parts of York Island, and once near Harlem, contiguous to which is the remarkable Straight of Hellgate, always attended with whirlpools and a roaring of the waters. The tremendous eddy is owing to the narrowness and crookedness of the passage, where the waves are tossed on a bed of rock extending across it, and not to the conflict of meeting tides as was heretofore thought, because the tides are now known to meet at Frog's Point some miles above. Skilful pilots have (notwithstanding the peril of the passage) conducted vessels of great burden at high water with the tide; and at low water, with a favouring wind through it. A tradition is reported to obtain among the Indian tribes, that in days of yore, their ancestors could step from rock to rock over the adjacent arm of the sea to Hellgate. The horrible appearance of the Straight, no doubt, suggested the appellation given to it. Within it the whirl of the current causes a vast boiling motion, which is called the Pot. On one side are sunken rocks designated *The Hog's Back*, and on the other a point of similar danger, denominated the *Frying Pan*.

The following Anecdote is related of a black Man, the pilot of the *Experiment* of 50 guns, who took her through the passage, to the great astonishment of Lord Howe. At the moment of the greatest danger, Sir James Wallace, the

Captain gave some orders on the quarter-deck which in mungo's opinion, interfered with the duties of his own office. Advancing therefore to Sir James, and gently tapping him on the shoulder, 'Massa, said he, you no speak here!' The Captain felt the full force of the brave fellow's remonstrance; and to the extreme surprise of all those acquainted with the difficulty of navigating a ship through Hell-gate, the Negro carried the Experiment safe to New York. The addition of this ship was a most seasonable reinforcement to the little fleet under Lord Howe. And so highly did his Lordship appreciate the skill and adventurous spirit of the Negro pilot, that he settled on him an annuity of £50 for life. Had the Experiment taken any other but this unusual rout, she would infallibly have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as she afterwards did in the course of the war.

A British frigate, less fortunate than the Experiment, which attempted this passage during the war, was totally lost.

Two French frigates blocked up in New York, by the Leander and another English ship of war, gave their antagonists the slip, by pushing through this dangerous channel. By which perilous dexterity in sailing, they avoided an encounter with British tars.

It was about this period of the war that Harry Calvert, Esq. now Lieutenant General and Adjutant General of the British forces, joined our Regiment. I remember that I was the serjeant appointed to the first guard which he mounted after joining us. At that early age he exhibited specimens of the ability and professional knowledge which raised him to the high rank he holds in the service, with the favour of his majesty, and the attachment of Field Marshal, his Highness the Duke of York.

The Author has derived peculiar advantage from his kind condescension, in recognising him after a lapse of years since he fought by his side, and had the gratification of being particularly noticed by him for soldierly conduct in action. General Calvert was from the outset of his military life, endeared to the men under his command, and it ought to be mentioned to his honour that he always appeared pleased on any occasion of benefiting an old soldier for his past services.

In the latter part of 1779 we sailed to South Carolina under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, took the City of Charlestown, and leaving the command to Lord Cornwallis, Sir H. returned to New York.

Sir Henry Clinton, had the best opportunities, which he duly improved of acquiring military science and experience. He served as Aid-De-Camp to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in several Campaigns, and that great General held him in much esteem, as a very promising officer. In the year 1762, we find him appointed Colonel, and in 1772 raised to the rank of Major General. Having such early advantages in his profession, and being a near relative of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, it is not surprising that he was chosen to so high a command in the American conflict, in which he evidenced the ardour of soldierly spirit and excellent generalship on different occasions. To General Clinton was particularly owing the confusion into which General Lee was thrown, at the battle of Monmouth, a confusion disgraceful to that able officer in America. And his retreat from Philadelphia has been applauded as a masterpiece of military skill, and manœuvre. To such rare qualifications as a Commander, his humane disposition and conciliating manners gave the best effect, and rendered him universally beloved by the army. Two of his sons are at present serving with distinguished

credit to themselves and advantage to their native country. One holds the respectable rank of Quartermaster General of Ireland, and the other, who ranks as Adjutant General of Ireland, is on actual service in Spain and Portugal.*

CHARLESTOWN is situated on the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which make a commodious harbour for ships, and meet the ocean below Sullivan's-island. The agitation of the swelling tides in these rivers is great, which, with pleasant sea breezes, renders the City peculiarly healthful compared with the low country in the southern districts. Charlestown is therefore much resorted to by people of distinction from the states, and invalids from the West India Islands. The inhabitants are characterised for hospitality, urbanity and enlightened minds, and it ought to be mentioned in their praise that, during hostilities, the importation of books and all the new improvements of the arts in the old world, were not only allowed but encouraged as before.

On the day of our arrival at John's Island, near Charlestown, I was sent on a command with the chief Engineer to explore whether or not the river was navigable for provision-boats. We proceeded in the interior to a plantation, on which I addressed a working-slave, who actually appeared so rude and debared from civilizing intercourse, that the unfortunate human creature could not make himself intelligible to us in English. He seemed to converse with his fellow negroes in a bar-

* A benevolent disposition appears to belong to the Clinton family, as his father, who had been Governor of New York, was not only admired but almost idolized by the people of that state.

barous giberish which evidently was never improved by learned men, to entitle it to the distinction of what ought to be called a language.

The condition of this inhumanly oppressed race of men was then in several, and still continues in some of the Southern States of North America distressful in the extreme. It is honourable to the British empire to have abolished this disgraceful tyranny in her own territorial dependencies, and to discourage it by all means among the nations with whom she cultivates the relations of amity and peace. In the meridians of Africa, where these wretched individuals used to be taken and bought like beasts of burden for the West India markets, abominable crimes against humanity have been for ages past committed with impunity in furtherance of this trade in blood. The exertions of the Sierra Leone company (at the head of which Mr. Wilberforce stood like a messenger of mercy from a better country, pleading the cause of human nature!) have regularly recorded a yearly catalogue of the alluded to unmerciful offences, and their report opened the eyes of Europe, and awakened the honest sympathies of the inhabitants of the British islands, to heal the African's wounds, and own the man of colour as a fellow being and a brother.

It is astonishing that a country like North America, which professes to cherish civil liberty and to assert the freedom and honour of human nature, would not, (if for nothing but a sense of shame) take the example of the abolition alluded to. Some of the Northern States have indeed abolished the slave trade, but the Southern States still keep the slavery of their Blacks as the right of their inheritance. Time no doubt, will open the gates of mercy in all the earth for the sons of Africa, but in the meantime the people of North America should not keep the doors of pity shut on this portion

of their fellow creatures. It would seem that the heat of the Climate around the Globe by some means proves instrumental to the tyrannical indolence of the great, and the inhuman ill-treatment of the humble in life. So it is even in the few latitudes which demark the States of America, by which it is designated North and South.

In South Carolina, as well as the West Indies, the Master Planter regards his slaves as the Grazier and Farmer here does his live stock. The male negroes are valued in proportion to their bodily strength, and health, and the females are estimated in price according to their fecundity. The infant negro is the Planter's property, and when born is worth a year's service of its mother, who is worked three fourths of the time of her pregnancy.

An infant slave averages in price at from 30 to 40 Dollars, and of course his value encreases as he grows in strength and years. A strong youthful negro is reckoned worth from 3 to 400 Dollars, and a working wench at a rate by one fourth less than the male. The first week of the year is used as a fair for the sale and purchase of negro slaves, some for life, others for a limited term, pursuant to the compacts of the proprietors and purchasers.

They are put up to auction or public sale like horses or kine, and the Sheriff of the district usually acts as the Auctioneer or Salesman in the Smithfield of human merchandize !

The poor negro must work in the wet rice lands and swamps during the day under a burning sun, which his master can hardly endure in the shade, and which would soon cause the mortality of white work-men so abused.

The punishments of negroes are done with ferocious inflictions, which frequently prove fatal to the slave, to

whom death himself becomes kind in freeing him from his inhuman task-master, and giving him a release to where the prisoner is at liberty, and the afflicted find repose. The murder of a slave is not debarred by what the law provides in other countries as a penalty. The murderer is mulcted in £50, and in the most aggravated cases he is fined in double the amount.

The following are advertisements of sargoes of slaves, as published in the Charlestown Newspapers.

✂ The Sale of the Ship Margaret's Cargo of 250 prime Congo Slaves will commence on board the said Ship, at Geyer's South Wharf this day, the 9th Instant, and will be continued every day (Sundays excepted) until the whole are Sold.

"GIBSON & BROADFOOT."

September, 2th, 1805.

CONGO SLAVES.

✂ The Sale of the Ship Ariel's Cargo of 260 very prime Congo Slaves, is continued on board said vessel at Vanderhost's Wharf.

'WILLIAM BOYD.'

August, 14th.

CONGO SLAVES.

✂ The Sale of the Ship Esther's Cargo of 370 very prime Congo Slaves, is continued on board said Ship at Vanderhost's Wharf.

'WILLIAM BOYD.'

These three cargoes make together 880 fellow creatures on sale like beasts in a fair, in the small city of Charlestown!!!

This slave market is open every day in the year, except Sundays, as Messrs. Gibson and Broadfoot *piously* observe, by public auction, private contract, or by way of barter. A horse for a man, or a man for a horse, is a common exchange, and thus these miserable objects are driven about from owner to owner, at the caprice of their fellow men. Nay they even become the stake of the gamester, who, with unconcern, attaches their fate to the cast of a die, or the turn of a card.

The degrading barter of human beings, advertised and set to sale in the markets of a country calling itself free and friendly to human liberty, looks barbarous perhaps to a Turk or Asiatic, who, one would estimate, ought to be familiarized to all the gradations of slavish abasement in the world. The matter of the advertisements brought to the Writer's remembrance, a few pathetic stanzas of appropriate Poetry, under the title of the NEGRO BOY.

An African Prince, after having arrived in England, being asked what he had given for his Watch? Answered, "what I will never give again; I gave a fine boy for it!"

When avarice enslaves the mind,
 And selfish views alone bear sway,
 Man turns a savage to his kind,
 And blood and rapine mark his way.
 Alas! for this poor simple toy,
 I sold a hapless *Negro Boy*.

His Father's hope, his Mother's pride,
 Tho' black, yet comely to the view,
 I tore him helpless from their side,
 And gave him to a ruffian crew,
 To fiends that Afric's coast annoy,
 I sold the hapless *Negro Boy*.

From Country, friends, and parents torn,
 His tender limbs in chains confin'd,
 I saw him o'er the billows borne,
 And mark'd his agony of mind :
 But still to gain this simple toy
 I gave the weeping *Negro Boy*.

In isles that deck the western wave,
 I doom'd the hapless youth to dwell :
 A poor, forlorn, insulted slave !
 A beast that *Christians* buy and sell !
 And in their cruel tasks employ
 The much enduring *Negro Boy*.

His wretched parents long shall mourn,
 Shall long explore the distant main,
 In hope to see the youth return ;
 But all their hopes and sighs are vain :
 They never shall the sight enjoy
 Of their lamented *Negro Boy*.

Beneath a tyrant's harsh command,
 He wears away his youthful prime,
 Far distant from his native land,
 A stranger in a foreign clime :
 No pleasing thoughts his mind employ
 A poor dejected *Negro Boy*.

But HE who walks upon the wind,
 Whose voice in thunder's heard on high,
 Who doth the raging tempest bind,
 And hurl the lightning thro' the sky,
 In his own time will sure destroy
 Th' oppressors of a *Negro Boy*.

In America, which, it may be said, exclusively arrogates to itself the honour of popular freedom and national independence, it is calculated there is one million of slaves, besides some thousands of European emigrants who are in the habits of bartering personal liberty for

a term of years in order to be taken across the Atlantic to the States. On this subject it is worthy of observation that it is pretended to represent this degraded portion of the North American population in Congress, which amounts to a tyrannical mockery, making the very name of freedom ridiculous;* for if a human being is deprived of personal liberty, assuredly he is denied or debared from the great original rights of human nature in all the earth. Slavery in Turkey, Egypt and the East is much better circumstanced, as there slaves are not so numerous, and are not worked so laboriously, their chief employment consisting in attending upon their owners.

Besides in Asia and Africa, the nature, nay more the name of liberty, is a good deal unknown.

Strangers to liberty 'tis true,
But that delight they never knew,
And, therefore, never miss'd!

Is it not extraordinary that the regeneration of political life, which America made, and makes such a loud boast of, should be worse than the old constitution of freedom, as it regards the commonwealth at large and individuals in particular in the British isles! Even anterior to the abolition of the West India trade in slaves, slavery was banished from, and could not stand a moment

* In Virginia the whites are rated 40,160 less than the same order of men in Massachusetts, and yet in consequence of the abundance of negro slaves, who are after all avaraged in the gross amount of the people, Virginia sends five Representatives to Congress, more than those sent by Massachusetts which abolished slavery.

on the shores or soil of great Britain, Ireland, or the other islands which class along with them, as the aggregate ground of our Empire at home.

Slaves cannot breathe in England, if their lungs
 Receive our air, that moment they are free;
 They touch our country and their shackles fall,
 That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud,
 And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,
 And let it circulate through every vein
 Of all your empire; that where Britain's power
 Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too!

Without detailing this cruel traffic farther I shall finish the consideration of it by an extract from the work of an American Clergyman, who cannot be suspected of fabricating or mistating facts to scandalize his native country.*

“Much has been written of late to shew the injustice and iniquity of enslaving the Africans, so much so as to render it unnecessary here to say any thing on that part of the subject. We cannot however forbear introducing a few observations respecting the influence of slavery upon policy, morals and manners. From repeated and accurate calculations, it has been found, that the expense of maintaining a slave, especially if we include the purchase money, is much greater than that of maintaining a Freeman, and the labour of the Freeman, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is at least twice as profitable to the employer as that of the slave. Besides slavery is the bane of industry. It renders labour among the whites not only unfashionable, but disreputable. Industry is the offspring of necessity; and indolence, which strikes at the root of all social and political happiness, is the unhappy consequence of slavery.

* Mr. Jedidiah Morse.

These observations, without adding any thing upon the injustice of the practice, shew that slavery is impolitic. Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious.

The negro wenches in many, perhaps I may say in most instances, are nurses to their mistress's children. The infant babe, as soon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurse, and perhaps seldom or never takes a drop of its mother's milk.

The children, by being brought up and constantly associating with the negroes, too often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals; and contract a negraish kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life. A mischief common, in a greater or less degree, in all the Southern States, at which humanity and decency blushes, is the criminal intercourse between the whites and blacks.

"The enjoyment of a negro, or mulatto woman," says a traveller of observation "is spoken of as quite a common thing." No reluctance, delicacy, or shame appears about the matter. It is far from being uncommon to see a gentleman at dinner, and his reputed son a slave, waiting at the table. "I myself," says the writer, "saw two instances of this kind, and the company would very facetiously trace the features of the father and mother in the child, and very accurately point out the characteristic resemblance. The fathers, neither of them blushed, or seemed disconcerted. They were called men of worth, politeness and humanity. Strange perversion of terms and language! The Africans are said to be inferior in point of sense, understanding, sentiment, and feeling, to white people; hence the one infers a right to enslave the other. The African labours night and day to collect a small pittance to purchase the freedom of his child: the white man begets his likeness, and with much indifference and dignity of soul, sees his offspring in bondage and misery, nor makes

one effort to redeem his own blood. Choice food for satire! Wide room for burlesque! Noble game for wit! Sad cause for pity to bleed, and for humanity to weep, unless the enkindled blood enflame resentment, and vent itself in execrations!"

After the departure of General Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis's taking the command of our army in South Carolina, and our marching to Camden, where we stopped some time, the whole of the adjacent country appeared to be pacified, but in fact there was no real tranquillity, as the vengeful spirit of disaffection and revolt frequently broke out. Numbers of the people who took arms and fought in furtherance of the Colonial cause, came in and obtained written protections, on their taking an obligation to preserve allegiance and good order in future. On this subject it may not be uninteresting to observe that three of the above mentioned description, who availed themselves of the amnesty published and granted by Lord Cornwallis, being found afterward fighting against some of the Royal troops in the neighbourhood of Camden, were taken prisoners, convicted and sentenced to suffer death for breaking the conditions of clemency which they themselves petitioned for, and solemnly promised to observe. Every preparation was made for their execution, and they were actually in progress to suffer on the gallows which had been erected to execute them, when Lord Cornwallis benevolently interposed and pardoned them. It is impossible to describe their excess of joy on their unexpected escape from death: they prayed for the prosperity of the king and Lord Cornwallis, and loudly declared, that so far from continuing enemies to the British, they would risk their lives and properties to promote his Majesty's empire in the States.

It was at this time, viz. 16th, August 1780, that the memorable battle of Camden was fought, which brought

General Gates into a degree of disgrace with the Congress, which whether or not he merited, sent him into privacy from the military profession during the residue of his life. His good fortune in the North, which enabled him to cover General Burgoyne with discomfiture, obtained for him a superior command in the South, a scene, where in his turn, he was signally discomfited by Lord Cornwallis. This defeat decided his military career, as it does not appear he ever after solicited or was called to a command during the war in America. He was it is true taking measures and making dispositions for renewing hostilities, until he was noticed officially to resign in General Green's favour. It is worthy of remark that Congress invariably betrayed suspicions of their General Officers, in the case of their being Englishmen by birth, as General Gates was. Were they not influenced by jealous apprehensions, one must think, they would not have displaced him for his want of success in the action at Camden, as his previous successes deserved for him the greatest confidence from the States.*

General Gates seemed to be aware of the motives of Congress, and no doubt (although he silently retired) turned away to his private affairs in disgust with political and party distractions. He had, indeed done his utmost for his adopted country, although in the instance of his being superseded, it refused to confide in him as it would in a less capable and honourable American.

General Gates was considered a scholar, a soldier and a gentleman. He must have received a valuable military education in his early youth, having acquired the rudiments and first knowledge of the profession of arms, in one of the then best schools of Europe, viz. under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He went to North America long before the revolution as a Captain in a marching regiment, and entertained such a fond par-

* See Author's Journal of the American War, page 302.

tiality for the Western hemisphere, that on returning to England he sold his commission, and proceeded back to the States to settle there for life. It was, no doubt, well for the Colonies to have the opportunity of such an individual to take command at the commencement of hostilities. His abilities and success evidenced the wisdom of Congress in appointing him a commander, but their capricious disapprobation of him afterwards published their low suspicions.

General Gates must have expected reward, at least gratitude for his successful efforts, and to be cashiered for one adverse engagement, could not fail to fill his bosom with chagrin. The excellency of his mind and disposition enabled him to exhibit no resentment, and thus his equanimity supplied more satisfaction at such a time than the magnanimity of some haughty chief could afford when indignant at ill-treatment. He early chose the States as his country, and he cannot be thought to take up arms in the Colonial war without true affection for America.

In the great conflict, and indeed in his general conduct he maintained the character of ingenuous integrity; and we have no reason to deny him the credit of being what he professed to be, in a letter to General Lee, viz. "ready to risque his life to preserve the liberty of the Western World." He concludes the letter alluded to with the following emphatic and Patriotic lines:

On this condition would I build my fame,
And emulate the Greek and Roman name;
Think freedom's rights bought cheaply with my blood,
And die with pleasure for my country's good.

Since the engagement at Camden, we traversed nearly 1500 miles, during which we fought the severe action of Guildford Court-house, which has been particularly

detailed in the Author's American Journal; and on the 22d of September, 1781, our army arrived at York-town in the state of Virginia. At this conjuncture, the Colonial force, aided by the French under Count Rochambeau, amounted to nineteen thousand effective men, who followed to make an attack on us in our lines. Notwithstanding the very great superiority, (the British army consisting of not more than Five thousand fighting men) they did not immediately attack, although Lord Cornwallis, as appears by the underwritten extract of a letter in cyphers to Sir Henry Clinton, was prepared to give battle :

“ I have ventured these last two days to look General Washington's whole force in the face, in the position on the outside of my works, and I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that there was but one wish throughout the whole army, which was that the enemy would advance.”

On the 30th of September the Siege commenced, and not until the 6th of October did the enemy finish his first paralel covering our whole left flank, distant about six hundred yards. On the 9th in the evening their batteries opened.

On the night of the 11th, the enemy began their second paralel, nearer to us by three hundred yards, and after making several severe attempts on the evening of the 14th, they assaulted and carried two redoubts, which had been advanced to retard their approaches and to cover our left. In this state of things, reduced in force and disabled to withstand his adversaries, Lord Cornwallis thought it would be a wanton sacrifice of his brave little army to continue the conflict, and therefore, with the advice of his officers, he resolved to capitulate. Previous to the taking of the redoubts our army by sickness and actual losses of men in the enemy's attacks, and in sorties, suffered so much that Lord Cornwallis's prospect of attaining any object by fighting, particularly when the redoubts were

taken, was hopeless in the extreme. The enemy made great sacrifices to aggravate the evils of the extremity in which they pressed on us, and for this purpose, an emulation was raised between the French and Americans by leading them to the attack seperately, to excite extraordinary exertions.

“The foe descends like torrents from the hills,
And all the neighbouring vale tumultuous fills,
Opposing cannon tell th' approaching storm,
And working armies take a dreadful form!”

The Royal Welch Fuzileers were greatly exposed to the fire of a battery of nine guns which neared us about the distance of 50, or 60 yards. At the commencement of the campaign this regiment was 500 strong, but then it was reduced to about 120, who had to maintain their post on this galling occasion, as they did with great gallantry, until we were entirely exhausted, and the Writer of this Memoir was so worn out that he could no longer stand, and was at length relieved by a non-commissioned officer, who, in a few minutes after, fell by a ball sent from a nine pounder. The Author of course considered his being taken away from his post by excess of fatigue as an interposition of that providence which shielded him from instant dissolution frequently before.

“God of my life whose gracious power,
Thro' scenes of death my Soul hath led,
Or turn'd aside the fatal hour,
Or lifted up my sinking head.

In all my ways thy hand I own,
Thy ruling Providence I see:
Assist me still my course to run,
And still direct my paths to thee.”

CHAP. XII.

Account of General Hamilton, and Aaron Burr. Author has an offer of Land to become a settler in Kentucky. Account of Daniel Boone. Kentucky, emigrations to it from the States. Emigrations from Europe to North America. Population and extent of the States. American Character. Army establishment. Rates of pay to the Soldiery. Salaries of State Officers. Conclusion.

At this advanced stage of hostilities the continuance of the war had improved the Colonial armies in discipline and steadiness, and afforded their officers sufficient opportunity to acquire skill and capacity. These military acquisitions were evidenced in taking the above mentioned redoubts in particular, which was done by parties commanded by a French and an American Colonel. The gallantry of the American officer on the occasion was great and conspicuous, and his conduct during the war, and future celebrity since America asserted her independence, was such that an account of him, it is presumed, will be deserving of perusal here. He was afterward raised to the rank of General in the army, and shewed excellent talents as a statesman and lawyer since the revolution.

The ability and character of Alexander Hamilton raised him to an estimation which no man, Washington excepted, has obtained in America since the revolution. He was descended from a respectable Scotch family, but was born in the West Indies, and came into the British Colony of New York at the age of 16.* Early in life

* His grand-father was Alexander Hamilton, of Grange in Ayrshire who married Elizabeth Pollock, by whom he had a numerous family. James Hamilton his father was the fourth son of Alexander, and went to the West Indies, where General Hamilton was born, in the Island of St. Vincent. His mother was an American Lady, and to her friends he was sent as related above.

he displayed a taste for literature, and, on his arrival, entered upon a course of studies with such assiduity, that at the age of 19 he was qualified to take the degree of bachelor of arts, in the College of New York, and to lay a foundation, by preparatory reading, for the profession of the law. About this time, the American revolution caused him to exchange the long robe for the sword, and his principles instructed him to join the American army, which he entered as a Captain of Artillery. His abilities soon attracted the notice of General Washington, who appointed him his aid-de-camp. In this situation Mr. Hamilton served until the peace. Though this appointment impeded his promotion, yet the gratification of possessing the confidence of the commander-in-chief was greater than his ambition for rank.

In the history of the war, we find Mr. Hamilton rising gradually till, at the siege of York town, we perceive him Colonel, commanding the attack of one of the redoubts. Mr. Hamilton's conduct on that occasion was such as marks the soldier. Previously to the attack being made, it has been said, that General La Fayette proposed to General Washington, to put the British officers in the redoubts to death, should the Colonial troops succeed in their effort, and in the issue accordingly that he ordered Colonel Hamilton to execute his intention: But that the Colonel peremptorily declined, alledging that the Americans, would always fight, but never commit murder. It is right to observe on the inhuman imputation against La Fayette that it has no good authority to gain it credit, and also that the character and life of the Marquis are sufficient to make the reader disbelieve it. The personage so charged may be deserving of blame for his revolutionary labours, but after all actual cruelty cannot be imputed to him. He was brave, and could not, one must think, be desirous of abandoning the usages of war observed by civilized nations.

Besides the dispassionate estimator of Washington's measures and virtues cannot but conclude that he would spurn such a proposal if not, the proposer himself, with merited reprobation.

On the peace, the legislature of the state of New York appointed Colonel Hamilton one of the representatives in Congress. He now settled in the City of New York, and commenced the practice of the Law with great ability and reputation, when he was again reluctantly drawn into public life. He became a member of the Convention which framed the present Constitution of the United States, and having taken part in that measure, he considered himself under an obligation to lend his utmost aid to set the machine in motion.

General Washington was unanimously called upon by his country to exert his talents in the cabinet, and accepted the troublesome office of President. Here as in the field of battle, he availed himself of the aid of Hamilton, whom he appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Though qualified for this situation by eminent abilities, neither he nor the President could escape the shafts of calumny. He met with those difficulties and obstacles, which Republican faction originates; but in defiance of base opposition he advanced the trade and commerce of America, by establishing public credit, and introducing order into the finances. Public offices need not be eagerly sought in the United States. The income of Mr. Hamilton at this time was scarcely £1000 sterling per annum, a sum inadequate to defray the expence attending an office of such importance. The love of his country superseded all other considerations: from this motive he relinquished his practice at the bar, which might have placed him in affluence. Having established a regular system of finance, the consideration of an encreasing family determined him, as soon as his plans were matured to withdraw from the office,

Accordingly, in the year 1795, Mr. Hamilton resigned his office of Secretary of the Treasury, with a reputation high in the estimation of every friend to his country; yet under the opprobrious slander of the French faction, which at that time was at the zenith of its influence. During his services in the army, he became acquainted with the family of General Schuyler, and married his second daughter, by whom he had several children.

The cause which led to the catastrophe that proved fatal to his life, was of a political nature.

General Hamilton is said to have dropped hints of Aaron Burr's ambitious and treasonable designs, which the latter being apprised of, demanded an explanation and a public denial of the objectionable expressions. This satisfaction being refused, Burr sent a message to fight, which was accepted with a proviso of delay until the rising of the Law-Courts, wherein Mr. Hamilton's professional services were retained for some important suits. Having thus acquitted himself in what he owed his clients and settled his family affairs, he gave the meeting which terminated his life. Before the duel, he mentioned to his second that he would not discharge his pistol, but stand his adversary's fire, and according fell without firing, lamented by the people of all the States.

Every honour which the public could pay to departed worth was offered at his decease. A British frigate lying at Sandyhook, fired minute guns, and the French frigates off the battery had their colours half mast high. The shops in New York city were shut, and in short a general unfeigned mourning prevailed among the inhabitants. The Coroner's inquest brought their verdict "Wilful murder against Aaron Burr Vice-president of the United States," and a Warrant was issued to apprehend him. Burr however was enabled to escape, as the parties fought in the state of New Jersey to evade the law, and, by means of this evasion of justice, he could

not be taken into custody in the state of New York pursuant to the statute.

Aaron Burr who subsequently aimed at power above his fellow citizens, and meditated the dissolution of the federal constitution, was a private or at most a non-commissioned officer under General Arnold in the Quebec expedition from Boston in New England. He afterward obtained the rank of Colonel, and he must have possessed much talent to raise himself to the situation of Vice-president in Congress. His attempt to erect himself in a degree of usurpation affords an instance perhaps of the ultimate instability of the federal union, and the jarring interests of the States, which the general Congress must find it peculiarly difficult, if at length not impracticable to adjust.

After the capitulation of York town the author became a prisoner again, which proved somewhat perilous to him, as he had made his escape from confinement before he joined Lord Cornwallis's army. He however was fortunate enough not to be detected in this matter by the enemy. His repeated imprisonments and escapes from confinement afforded him occasions of enterprize, and opportunity of acquaintance with the States, which he must otherwise remain ignorant of. His adventures in such way have been a good deal detailed in his American Journal. In this memoir he has confined himself to a few particulars he thought interesting or which he failed to relate before. He was often tempted by offers of advantage to settle in America, which he conceived would amount to a dereliction of loyal duty and his relationship with the old world, where he fondly hoped to cultivate the society of his early acquaintance. At one time he refused the acceptance of a debenture of land, amounting to 300 Acres, in Kentucky which then attracted a number of emigrants, in consequence of its being explored and settled

by Mr. Boone, who published inviting accounts of the soil and climate.

DANIEL BOONE, is said to have been born in Bridgnorth, Somersetshire, about the year 1730, and in early youth to have accompanied his parents over the Atlantic to North Carolina, where they settled on the Yadken River. He entered young into the British army in the States, and anterior to the revolution had obtained the rank of Colonel in the service. He informs us that he set out with a few associates on the 1 May 1769, "to wander through the wilderness of America in quest of Kentucke." Colonel Boone, as well as Mr. Imlay, who gave an exaggerated and romantic account of this Western region of North America, appears an enthusiastic admirer of the place. In relating his passage into "the beautiful level of Kentucke" he describes it thus: "Nature was here a series of wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with numberless animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view."

So charmed was Mr. Boone with the scenery around him, that although he and his companions were soon after made prisoners by the Indians, and he was at length left alone in the loss of his friends, who fell by the hands of the barbarians or deserted him from the perils which surrounded them, he was enabled to drive away melancholy reflections, and support the absence of a beloved wife and family by exploring and contemplating "the diversity and beauties of nature he met with." They were sufficient, he says, to expel "every gloomy thought." And although there is a degree of exaggeration, still much of reality and fact must belong to the description he affords, as follows. "Just at the close of day the gentle gales ceased, a profound calm ensued, not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of

a commanding ridge, and looking round with astonished delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity, and marking the Western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck which a few hours before I had killed. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as at first."

Mr. Boone, it is certain, was a man of hardihood and romantic turn or he could not brave, as he did, the solitary dangers of uninhabited tracts, and spend years in trying to explore and settle this Western department. He tells us he retired home in 1771, and in 1773 took his family with him to make a first settlement in his favourite although forlorn district. While the Royal and Colonial armies were fighting in the States, Mr. Boone was carrying on a dreadful war with the Indians, an account of which it shocks humanity to peruse, and the thinking mind is surprised to reflect how he could continue to withstand it for several years in conflicts often fatal to some of his companions and dearest relatives. It was not until nearly the close of the American war that his fighting with the Indians ceased by a treaty of peace. He finished his narrative of it with the following pathetic words "Two darling sons and a brother I have lost by savage hands. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, seperated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed; and peace crowns the sylvan shade."

The then wilderness of Kintuckey is at present a populous part of the Union with some respectable towns

and numerous cultivated plantations. It has a legislature of its own, and sends members to Congress. Its climate from the latitude in which it lies must be particularly pleasant, and it supplies a variety of the best productions of the most favoured countries. It is reported that good grapes grow in the lands without culture, and that the Kentuckean planter wants but the skill and experience of making wines. No doubt he is at present improved in that respect. Its local felicity, and singular advantage in having some of the noblest Rivers on the globe, the Ohio, and Mississippi which in particular enables it to communicate with South America, and open trading enterprize with every sea, will render it at length the American emporium, if not the fittest situation for the future Metropolis of the New World.

It is not surprising that people should emigrate from the American States to the Kentuckean vallies, although they do so at the certain loss of markets, such as the large seaport towns supply, for their surpluss produce. It will of necessity take an age at least to attract any sufficient trade inland, not to say, the smallest portion of foreign trade to Kentucky, which might operate as a compensation to settlers for going so far back. Yet after all, the speculation of the American with a family is not amiss, who sells his plantations in some of the States to an European emigrant, and thus acquires a pecuniary capital, which lays the foundation of a valuable estate Westward for his children's children. It is certain moreover that many educated and valuable members of society have retired into Kentucky, probably tired with the terrible effects of European hostility, which stirred ill blood and trouble in the States in a degree injurious to the permanent prosperity of the federal connection. And it is also true that the Kentuckean citizen is not so much an outcast from commercial intercourse as one might estimate, as the large Rivers, which are

attended by respectable tributary streams, afford rapid mediums to pass and repass, and communicate in the way of trade with the seaport cities.

However the emigration of Europeans so far Westward cannot fail to be attended with peculiar peril and disadvantage. In all the States the buyer of lands has to encounter land jobbing risks, but particularly in Kentucky, for which the landed proprietor has employed the fiction of the poets to shew it as a second Eden beyond the Atlantic. Emigration, however desirable to the needy individual, is hazardous at best to North America. Of late the number of disaffected men from Europe, who caused some political agitation in the States, made the best minded Americans desirous of shutting their gates against European emigrants in general, and thus although the British subject emigrating may calculate he is going to live among people speaking his own tongue and possessing his own habits, he must suffer from a miscalculation in some measure.

The European emigrant in purchasing lands (for land is the chief if not the only object which ought to make an European emigrate to America) will have to reclaim and till grounds with which he is totally unacquainted, and for the cultivation of which he ought to know the best chemical processes of farming, and yet he will but work at most for his children and posterity. The price of land contiguous to the large maritime towns is, it may be said in general, as high as in the like situations in the British islands. And the grounds adjacent to good Rivers and creeks rate at about from 20 to 50 Dollars an acre. To such a residence families will have to travel usually hundreds of miles from the sea in waggons, we will suppose the expence of a waggon drawn by five horses and carrying 30 cwt. to be at two shillings British a mile, which must average as a low estimate, but be thought an expence which few emigrating families could pay. We ought to include

in such probable risks and actual expences a variety of accidents and misfortunes which daily happen viz. the purchasing grounds which the unfair seller, had no just or legal title or claim to, and the necessary relinquishment of situations, by reason of the bad quality of lands or local inconvenience. Many are obliged to cast their lot of life in the woods, far from neighbours or a market, whose dealings in the way of business must be done by bartering provisions for articles of domestic use. Thus the surpluss produce of the farm, after subsisting the family, is usually disposed of at a long credit, not to say unavoidable loss.

Such are some of the hardships which individuals that emigrate have to meet before they can enjoy comfort in the New World; whose vales were painted to them unfairly by Doctor Franklin and others, as a lot of fine inheritance to persons who could pass over to inhabit them. A terrifying disadvantage to emigrating people is moreover owing to the sultry suns in the states in general. Besides what has been urged, we ought to take notice that the usual season of disembarking in North America is the time of the year when the yellow fever is rife. The emigrant farmer has therefore to hurry from the cities on the sea coasts into the interior, or sudden death may arrest him on his gaining the long wished for shores.

Tradesmen and artizans, many of whom flock to the American cities as to capitals where (to borrow a vulgar pleasantry) they were taught to believe that loaves of bread were laid in the streets, that pancakes covered the houses, and roasted fowls flew about inviting European eaters, cannot depart from the contagious scene, as the places of their employment are the cities and large towns. It is true they are well paid for their work, and at the same time it is also certain that the majority of them could earn as much money at home, without being exposed to that dreadful minister of death the yellow fever.

Add to all this that in going from the sea coasts of these countries many of them have been seized on by privateering ships, and after being robbed set ashore on some West India island. Nay more the extraordinary crowds of passengers chiefly from Ireland stowed together in the same ship has caused contagions, fatal to numbers of them. Much has been with justice urged respecting the crowded cargoes of the negro slaves from the coasts of Guinea, but no vessel engaged in the slave trade has been known to carry such a number as one small ship with passengers from Londonderry. This vessel but of 215 tons took 530 people, who paid for passage only a sum amounting to £5000 sterling, and carried nearly double the number of individuals ever taken in a Slave ship from Africa.

In 1801 it was computed that 14,000 individuals were taken over in the Philadelphia ships only, and in making a moderate gross estimate of the general arrivals in other towns, it is calculated that 28,000 emigrants left Ireland that year. It is reckoned they paid £294,000 for passage, and took away actual property from the country in money and value to the amount of £588,000 sterling. Such a drain of population, and property must be considered as a serious loss to the country and empire, while the individuals so passing away speculated at all events, many of them, badly, and not only risked but lost their means and lives.

If the statements thus made from experience and facts are to be relied on, emigration to America from the British isles is attended in most cases with perilous adventure.

I before observed that British prisoners were severely ill-treated by the American Soldiery and people. This was in general the case. In a guard-house in Fredricktown Maryland where I was confined during the rigours of winter without any bedding, or covering at night

except some straw, which the centinels used to take delight in setting fire to, as I endeavoured to sleep, I found my treatment so miserable that I memorialled the officer commanding to have me removed to the common jail. The prayer of my petition was granted, but I was alike ill-used, and probably would have been released by death anterior to my liberation, had not some poor prisoners divided with me their jail allowance of provisions. No doubt the manner of treating prisoners in general was better, although the jail economy of the States was not at that time as well ordered as at present. The States have improved the best plans and regulations of the British prisons, so much so that their management of their prisoners proves even a source of actual and moral amelioration in the matter of example and pecuniary saving to the public. This satisfactory advantage is derived from obliging the confined to work during the time of imprisonment, and thus the price of the prisoner's labour will at all events subsist himself, and in most cases become a surplus of money saved for the commonwealth. Add to this the great benefit owing to the valuable occupation of such unfortunate human beings, which precludes them from the opportunity of contracting the evil habits which render British jails unhappily *asylums*, if such language be right, to teach wickedness and vice as well as criminal idleness. The American in jail is favoured with a penitential pause, which he may render instrumental to lawful and right purposes in his future life. It not seldom fits him for recovering his forfeited reputation in society. Along with such jail improvements the punishments of culprits is better than with us proportioned to offences in the States, and at the same time this lenient apportionment in the awards of criminal justice, even operates more in terror to prevent the commission of crimes. It is certain that perpetual imprisonment at hard working, daily labour is more terrible

to most men than death itself, which terminates in a moment's time the terrestrial troubles and miseries of mortals. The following account of the penalties and punishments of prisoners provided by the Statutes and law of the States, it is hoped, will be deemed worthy of perusal, if not imitation in the British islands.

Death is dispensed with except for high treason and murder in the first degree. For very aggravated cases of crime, solitary confinement is inflicted in dark cells for life or a limited time. For the commission of less flagrant offences light is admitted. For inferior offences, theft, petty larceny, breaking of the peace, prowling as vagabonds, &c. the offending parties are obliged to work as trades-men or labourers.* It is a pleasing sight to behold all sorts of artizans in a jail working at their respective trades, and thus in the prisons of Pensylvania in particular, and indeed in the States in general, most kinds of manufactures are wrought, so much so that the idea of the imprisonment of the workmen is apt to be forgotten by strangers who visit the jails. Those

* An anecdote is told of a fashionable young man from Europe, who having committed some outrage in the streets of Philadelphia had been sentenced to confinement in the city jail. On his entrance into the prison, as is usual, he was asked what trade he was brought up to, or wish to work at. He indignantly observed that he was bred as a gentleman, and could not or would not condescend to be employed as an artizan or labourer. The officers however persisted in making him choose some laborious occupation, and on his continuing to refuse, it is reported, they forcibly put him into a deep reservoir, in which was a pump, and having turned a cock, water copiously flowed in. He was desired to work at the pump, or he must be overwhelmed and drowned. He at length began, but could not master the influx, and affrighted begged to be taken out, promising to undertake any employment which they might think proper to assign for him in future.

not brought up to trades are soon instructed to make large nails by machines erected for the purpose. The females work at the needle, and the more refractory of them beat hemp or pick Oakum. In order to expose the parties they are sometimes made to wear degrading badges, such as party coloured garments, or to have part of the head shaved. In Philadelphia the jail is regularly inspected by a jail committee, who gratuitously undertake the office of enforcing cleanliness in the chambers and among the prisoners, and care is taken that they be daily supplied with an wholesome diet, and that they do not obtain spirituous liquors. Goalers of probity and exemplary good conduct are selected, by whose means propriety of behaviour and morality and piety are inculcated, and thus the keepers of jails instead of being cruel and hard-hearted are respected and loved. No corporal punishment is allowed, and in short the entire treatment of prisoners is wisely designed to eradicate vice as much as possible, and to make them fit for and look forward to receive a reestablishment of their credit and situations in society.

It is not improper to particularize that the males and females, as also the untried and convicted prisoners are kept apart; and even the discoursing of the working parties is restricted to decent and edifying subjects. The Pastors of the different congregations attend at stated times to exhort and improve their minds, and the orderly and well conducted are sometimes favoured with a salutary remission of the penalties to which they were sentenced, which operates as a premium and encouragement to the practise of virtue. The ill-behaved are debarred from labour at times, and during the intervals are rendered debtors for their subsistence. Whence it happens that they wish to be employed for the sake of defraying their charges, and also saving their surplus profits, which sometimes are bestowed on them particularly when their penal sufferings and sentenced

confinements are remitted. In such cases they are returned to the commonwealth advantageously, and obtain certificates of character, which set off and even cover the stains of bad behaviour attaching to them in consequence of their former transgressions.

Might there not be made much saving of public expence, not to say a great moral reformation in the multitude of offenders and malefactors, if such excellent regulations were adopted in these countries?

It is well known that about a century back, the extent of country at present composing the United States contained but a few thousands of inhabitants, and that at present the same country contains upwards of five millions of people. It is thought that the great population of America, so increased and rapidly increasing, has chiefly advanced by means of emigration from Europe. Before and since the revolution, no doubt emigration has been great indeed from these countries. During the war many soldiers of Lord Cornwallis's and General Burgoyne's armies stopped for life in the States, and of course at a time of war, when North America was deprived of numbers of her inhabitants, such an accession was very opportune to encrease her population.

The following statement as specified, and totted underneath, affords a *schedule* or scale of the American population, particularising lists of each respective State and an aggregate account of the whole Union pursuant to a *census* taken in 1801. Even since that year we may be aware that there is a considerable augmentation, which the reader himself can by conjecture acquire some idea of, enough to satisfy him that the States are growing populous in an almost unexampled degree. The plenty of lands renders it easy to settle the American in a little family establishment, and thus early marriages are much encouraged and found convenient.

<i>Names of States classed in three grand divisions.</i>	<i>Length in Miles.</i>	<i>Breadth in Miles.</i>	<i>Population in 1801.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>	<i>Rivers.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>
<i>I. The New England States, viz.</i>						
Vermont,	156	96	160,000	Winson, Rutland,	Connecticut, Otter,	10
New Hampshire,	168	90	185,000	Portsmouth, Concord,	Connecticut, Merrimack,	
Massachusetts,	190	90	425,000	Boston, Salem,	Connecticut, Merrimack,	
District of Maine,	240	377	155,000	Portland, Hallowell,	Kennebeck, Penobscot,	
Rhode Island, and	47	37	70,000	Newport, Providence,	Wood, Pawtucket,	948
Connecticut.	100	72	250,000	New Haven, Hartford.	Connecticut, Thames.	1000
<i>II. The Middle States,</i>						
New York,	355	316	485,000	New York, Albany,	Hudson, Mohawk,	21,000
New Jersey,	160	52	215,000	Trenton, Brunswick,	Delaware, Rariton,	15,000
Pennsylvania,	261	161	600,000	Philadelphia, Lancaster,	Susquehannah, Ohio,	2000
Delaware, and	92	33	65,000	Wilmington, Dover,	Christiana, Nanticoke,	6500
North West Territory.	1190	800	50,000	Marietta, Greenville,	Mobile, Misissipi, Ohio.	150

Names of States classed in three grand divisions.	Length in Miles.	Breadth in Miles.	Population in 1801.	Chief Towns.	Rivers.	Slaves.
III, The Southern States.						
Maryland,	198	130	350,000	Annapolis, Baltimore,	Potomack, Patapsco,	130,000
Virginia,	373	291	880,000	Richmond, Norfolk,	Ohio, James',	380,000
Kentucky,	370	200	220,000	Lexington, Frankfort,	Kentucky, Green,	40,000
North Carolina,	450	180	480,000	Newberne, Edenton,	Yadkin, Nuse,	150,000
Tennessee,	442	104	110,000	Knoxville,	Tennessee,	162,000
South Carolina, and	270	250	350,000	Charlestown, Columbia,	Santee, Pedee,	162,000
Georgia.	660	260	165,000	Savannah, Augusta,	Savannah, Alatamaha,	60,550
Mississippi Territory,	384	97	10,000	Nashville, Natchez,	Cumberland, Mississippi,	4000
Louisiana.	1400	1000	50,000	New Orleans, New Madrid	Mississippi, Missouri,	12,500

The United States, according to an American geographer, are estimated to comprise upwards of a million of square miles, or

	640,000,000 acres.
Deduct for water	51,000,000

Acres of land in the United States 589,000,000

This estimate was made previous to the purchase of Louisiana, the extent of which has never been accurately defined. America is already a region too extensive to be subject to one general government, the people of the northern and southern States differing as much in manners as in climate. By the acquisition of Louisiana, there is added an extent of territory nearly equal in magnitude to the Federal States. Since the peace of 1782, the union has been extending its limits on the frontiers by purchase and treaties with the different tribes of Indians. The 13 States are already swelled into 16, and the territories of the Mississippi and Indiana, each sending a Delegate to Congress, will no doubt very soon be added to the number. The province of Maine, in the north, has also looked forward to become an independent State; and when Louisiana is incorporated, it is not improbable that we may find the union consisting of 25 States.

The present population of this extensive country, justifies the assertion, that many centuries must elapse before the whole is under cultivation. In the year 1791, a census was taken by order of government, when the inhabitants were found to be in number

	3,929,326
In 1801, by another census then taken, there were	5,305,638
Making an increase in ten years of	1,376,312

According to this average, exclusive of the great increase of population by emigrations from Europe since the year 1801, there must be, without including the people of Louisiana, about seven millions of souls under the Federal government. If the whole of this country were under improvement, it would accommodate, allowing 40 acres of

land to each family, sixteen millions of families; and estimating the families at five individuals each, it would support 80 millions of souls. In this way it has been calculated in America, that to people all the territories belonging to the United States, including Louisiana and the Floridas, it would require three hundred and twenty millions. It is likewise computed that were the population of this immensely extended Republic, proportioned only to that of Great Britain, instead of six or seven millions, it ought to contain two hundred and thirty-nine millions of inhabitants.

From the previous statement it will appear that north America contains an immense range of lands, chiefly in her western region, to accommodate the super-abundant population, which in time may crowd the first settled States. From Kentucky a beautiful and fertile wilderness, it may be said, indefinitely runs to the gulph of Mexico, without land-marks or owners except herds of buffaloes, deers, and roving Indian tribes. This vast tract, still a good deal unexplored, is very valuable to the States in favouring the adventurer who rejoices in fine scenery, and looks into future times for embryo States and Principalities, where his family may live and prosper as rich proprietors. Besides it is certain that its vastly extended *area* will operate well for America in precluding wars among the peopled States, and its geographical scite on the globe keeps it safe from European invasions, unless Americans themselves fall out and war each with the other. On their unanimity the Federal Union and happiness, as a people hinges. Their avarice for commercial prosperity at present menaces to originate disturbances among them, in their mingling too much in European perplexities. If they quarrel at home, they will be guilty of the impolicy of the Indians, which enabled them to appropriate north America. The wise and wary American himself appears to be impressed with this idea, and so, however loud and restless American party may seem, the majority of the people are

adverse to war. The trade of war indeed has got into disuse in America, and the prudent enterprize of the merchant alone spurs the North American into lucrative action. At the same time it is certain that the American is jealous of his liberties and rights, and through this jealousy, he is always reluctant to embody a standing regular army. In 1805, the States had but four regiments of the line. Some augmentation is since made, and at present a considerable increase is meditated, which should it take place, for the purposes of actual fighting with Britain, will but involve the States in incalculable difficulty, and expensively draw back their power and resources. With the understanding and ingenuity of Europe, America ranks in comparison of strength, but as an infant nation. She is too young and every way unequal to go to war with the great European kingdoms. A numerous military force kept as a standing war-establishment, cannot fail to injure America in an extraordinary manner. Her militia only would constitute a constitutional force, which every State of the Union is already provided with. The militia and regulars are raised, maintained, and paid according to the British usages in the like cases.

The following are the rates of pay to the different ranks pursuant to the American war establishment.

	DOLLARS PER MONTH.
A Major-General (the present highest rank)	166
— Brigadier-General	104
— Quarter-Master-General	100
— Adjutant-General and Inspector	75
— Lieut. Col. (they have no rank of Colonel)	75
— Captain	40
— Lieutenant	26
— Ensign	20
— Serjeant	6
— Corporal	5
— Private Soldier (besides rations)	3

The general and field staff of the militia include the following ranks and number of Officers. Seventy Major-Generals; 183 Brigadier-Generals; eight Quarter-Master-Generals; 15 Adjutant-Generals; 114 Aid-de-Camps; one State Engineer; one Commissary-General of *purchase*; one Commissary-General of *issues*; 160 Brigade Majors; one Pay-Master-General; one Physician-General; one Apothecary-General; one Deputy Quarter-Master-Gen.; one Waggon-Master-General; one Forage-Master-Gen.; 22 Brigade Quarter-Masters.

The second list of Field-Officers and regimental Staff, comprehends the following ranks and numbers of Officers, viz. 760 Lieutenant-Colonels-Commandants; 1509 Majors; 432 Pay-Masters; 587 Surgeons; 362 Surgeon's Mates; 618 Quarter-Masters; 732 Adjutants.

The return of the Artillery includes 14 Lieut.-Colonels; 45 Majors; 195 Captains; 251 First Lieutenants; 159 Second Lieutenants; 17 Adjutants; 16 Quarter-Masters; 733 Serjeants; 91 Corporals; 359 Musicians; 148 Gunners; 62 Alarm-Men; 6853 Matrosses.

The list of Cavalry embraces 37 Lieutenant-Colonels; 70 Majors; 431 Captains; 778 Lieutenants; 399 Cornets; 28 Adjutants; eight Pay-Masters; 25 Quarter-Masters; 1366 Serjeants; 433 Musicians; 27 Farriers; 30 Saddlers; 17675 Dragoons.

	<i>Artillery.</i>	<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Foot.</i>
New Hampshire	2	1629	19160
Massachusetts	2109	2126	53316
Rhode Island	36	57	4414
Connecticut	487	1290	13965
Vermont	324	1002	13708
New York	1143	1784	63744
New Jersey	186	993	21742
Pennsylvania	310	2382	83413
Delaware	-	-	-
	4597	11263	273462

	<i>Artillery.</i>	<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Foot.</i>
Brought over	4597	11263	273462
Maryland	-	-	-
Virginia	1050	3096	61962
North Carolina	-	238	37871
South Carolina	778	1743	29185
Georgia	71	590	16650
Kentucky	-	-	29886
Tennessee	-	636	14285
Ohio	43	50	8079
District of Columbia	81	43	1895
Mississippi Territory	-	-	1623
Indiana	-	16	1710
	6620	17675	476608
Cavalry	-	-	17675
Artillery	-	-	6620

Number of Militia, exclusive of Officers, in }
 those States and Territories, from which } 500,903
 returns were received at different times. }

The rates of pay to the Soldiery, are a good deal on a par with those of Great Britain, but in some cases less, although the expences of living in the American cities and towns, are at least as high as in the British Islands.

The author, for the reader's gratification, submits also an account of the salaries granted by Congress to the Ministry or official functionaries of the Federal Government, by which it is evident, that men capable of filling such arduous situations in the State, are not compensated in proportion to their trouble and talents. And yet there is no want of candidates, but as great competition as takes place in Great Britain for official eminence in America. In this, as well as every circumstance of civil life in the States, economy is the American *Argus*, an economy after all it is which looks like abject parsimoniousness in the Govern-

ment. The under-written is a Scale of the Salaries allowed to the Officers of State or Government, as rated in 1805.

	DOLLARS.
The President - - -	25,000
The Vice-President - - -	10,000
The Secretary of State - - -	5,000
The Secretary of the Treasurer - - -	5,000
The Secretary of War - - -	4,500
The Secretary of the Navy - - -	4,500
The Attorney-General - - -	3,000
The Comptroller of the Treasurer - - -	3,000
The Auditor of the Treasurer - - -	3,000
The Register of the Treasurer - - -	2,400
The Accountant of the War Department - - -	2,000
The Accountant of the Navy Department - - -	2,000
The Post-Master-General - - -	3,000
The Assistant Post-Master-General - - -	1,700

Payable quarterly to continue for three years from January 1, 1804.

CONCLUSION.

The author has now conducted the reader over fields of adventure and trouble, which, however trying and full of terrors they proved, he hopes will convey a degree of amusement, if not some improvement to persons that peruse this Memoir. The providential deliverances which he experienced in the course of his wandering, he looks back on with sensations of pleasure, which time will never be able to efface. The impressions made in his memory, the writer has had no small gratification in reviewing now before his more matured judgment.

His narrative of North American scenes and affairs, as also the conduct of the prominent Actors and Officers employed in the war, he trusts, will convey a degree of correct information, and a faithful local description which an eye-witness could only delineate, as it ought to be done from the life. He is aware that the awful blaze of war alone could lend a reflected light interesting enough to bring his

life into any notice, and therefore making his *exit* from military scenes, he hastens to close his unassuming work.

It might be thought the writer ought to offer some account of his subsequent life. He is sensible the humble path of laborious obscurity in which he has proceeded since he ceased to be a Soldier, carries forward little but unimportant features, and nothing to give it a due value for Public perusal. War, however dreadful, throws a degree of interest on this Memoir.—Peace, although truly amiable in appearance, is too silent and sedentary to attract the curiosity of inquisitive human beings.

The battles of York-Town, in Virginia, put a period to the Author's military labours. In 1783, he sailed from Sandy-hook, and after a safe passage arrived at Portsmouth. He obtained his discharge at Winchester, and revisited Ireland, where he was affectionately received by an aged mother and a few kind relatives. He then had to take counsel about a line of living to earn a subsistence; such is generally the result of a military life. He chose to become a School-Master; an arduous occupation, which has enabled him for upwards of twenty-six years, to provide for, and educate a growing family, the source of satisfaction and solicitude. He was discharged without the pension* usually given for past services, and being frequently advised by his friends to apply for it, in 1809, (twenty-five years after receiving his discharge) he memorialled His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and was graciously favoured by an immediate compliance with the Prayer of his Petition. He submits the Memorial and its Answer, in gratitude to the illustrious individual, who so promptly condescended to notice it as he did.

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\* See Author's Journal of the American War, page 435.

*Dublin, January 7, 1809.*

**“To His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s Forces; the Memorial of R. Lamb, late Serjeant in the Royal Welch Fuzileers,**

**HUMBLY SHEWETH,**

**“THAT Memorialist served in the Army twelve years, in the 9th and 23d Regiments of Foot, eight years of which was in America; under the command of Generals Burgoyne and Cornwallis; during which time he was in Six pitched Battles, Four Sieges, several important Expeditions, was twice taken prisoner, and as often made his escape to the British Army; viz. First, in 1778, when prisoner with General Burgoyne’s Army, he escaped, with two men, whom he brought with him to General Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York; Secondly, in 1782, when taken with Lord Cornwallis’s Army, he eluded the vigilance of the American guards, and conducted under his command, seven men to Sir Guy Carleton, the then Commander in Chief in said City, to both of whom he gave most important Intelligence respecting the enemy’s Army, for which Service he was appointed by General Birch, then commandant of the City, his first Clerk, and Adjutant to the Merchants’ Corps of Volunteers there.**

**“That in the battle of Camden, in South Carolina, he had the honour of carrying the Regimental Colours, and immediately after was appointed temporary Surgeon to the Regiment, having had some little knowledge of physic, and received the approbation of all his Officers for his care of the sick and wounded.**

**“That at the battle of Guilford Court-House, in North Carolina; he had the heartfelt pleasure of saving Lord Cornwallis from being taken prisoner, and begs leave with profound deference to state, that he was always chosen one of the first Serjeants to execute any enterprize that required intrepidity, decision, and judgment for its accomplishment.**

**“That Memorialist being now far advanced in life, humbly solicits your Royal Highness to recommend him for a military pension, which would smooth his declining years, and be most gratefully received as a remuneration for the many times he has risked his life and limbs in his Majesty’s service.**

**“That for the truth of these facts, he most humbly refers to General H. Calvert and Colonel Makenzie.”**

*To which Memorial the following Answer was received.*

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

“The Adjutant-General informs Serjeant Roger Lamb, that the usual Authority has been given by the Secretary at War, for placing him upon the Out Pension of Chelsea Hospital, dispensing with his personal appearance before the Board.”

*Horse-Guards, 25th Jan. 1809.*

IN putting a period to his memoir, the author would offer an appropriate reflection, which presses itself from the aspect of the times. The American struggle became a terrible prelude to the recent vicissitudes and existing troubles of Europe. France, our constant rival and enemy, contrary to the antient established faith of nations, added fuel to the flame of civil war beyond the Atlantic, and the issue of it brought the consuming blaze of revolution among the French at home. The revolutionary tide, like the *lava* of a volcano, rolled out over the neighbouring States. From the efforts of Great Britain to stop its destroying progress, the British islands are aimed at, as the chief objects upon which the able individual, who lifted himself up as Ruler of France, and controuler of the Continent, would pour his artillery and fury. But our insular fortifications, which may be intitled the embraces of HIM, who laid the foundations of the terraqueous globe, are about us to repel the aggression of invaders. In short, nothing save what is called *civil disturbance*, can open inroads for invasion in these countries. In various cases and views we appear peculiarly favoured of heaven, which should be appreciated duly by all our people. A new reign is about to commence, and it is hoped it will become conspicuous for wise and salutary counsels, and at the same time carry forward the glory, ability, and honourable prowess, which so evidently characterized our gracious Sovereign's sceptre, who will shortly rest from the cares of a terrestrial crown, we trust, to receive an incorruptible one in *a better country*. A characteristic of vital excellence belongs to these countries, which ought not to be passed in silence, viz. religious liberty and knowledge, of which the British isles are the favourite soil. From the British islands, the North American States derived their honour as a people, and, what is more excellent beyond comparison, their light as christians. From the British islands, at present the whole earth is in

the progress of being enlightened by "the sun of righteousness," which it is not improper to say is, under Providence, confided to the British, in order to shed its healing brightness to the extremest isles, and the *ends of the world!* British Missionaries are now travelling and preaching the everlasting gospel, it may be said, *in all lands*, and not only so, but translating Holy Writ in their own languages to men of all complexions and descriptions, however distant in local situation, and differenced by the usages of civil and savage life, or by meridians and manners. The British Missionary's *labour of love* embraces the Hindoo, Mahomedan, Ethiopian, African and Indian; in a word, the British Missionary's efforts are bounded merely by the limits of the earth! It is calculated with certainty, that the Holy Scriptures have been lately translated in more than fifty tongues, to *emancipate* from the bondage of gross darkness, tribes and nations of ignorant and degraded human beings! This work of real liberty and light is done by British subjects, and a people so divinely selected to accomplish the scheme of a merciful Providence, cannot be devoted as a prostrate province to that upstart domination, which after all, it would seem, has been permitted of God *to put down the mighty from their seats*, in order to facilitate the fall of antichrist, and the idolatry of the earth! To estimate the character of our country in this consoling manner, should inspire our people with pious confidence, and also argue with them to leave domestic discord and partial affections.

To such true prosperity, the Author often looked in making and publishing his Memoir, and if it should tend to awaken a sentiment of corresponding energy and integrity in the breasts of any of his readers, he shall not lose his labour as a writer. He shall have his reward "if he can be numbered among the writers who gave ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth."

FREE-SCHOOL, WHITEFRIAR-STREET,  
February, 1812.

FINIS.

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