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VOL. X.

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BOSTON:  
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.  
LONDON:  
RICHARD JAMES KENNETT.  
1839.

LIVES

OF

ROBERT FULTON,

JOSEPH WARREN,

HENRY HUDSON,

AND

FATHER MARQUETTE.

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1839.

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LIFE  
OF  
ROBERT FULTON,

BY  
JAMES RENWICK, LL. D.

VOL. X.

1

# ROBERT FULTON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *Introduction.*

THE gratitude of mankind has not failed to record with honor the names of those, who have been the inventors of useful improvements in the arts. However quiet and unassuming they may have been in their lives; however strong the influence of prejudice, or interested opposition, in robbing them of all direct benefit from their discoveries; posterity has never failed to reverse the judgment of their contemporaries, and award the deserved, although perhaps tardy, meed of praise.

In the early history of our race we find, that such acknowledgments for important discoveries did not stop short of the attribution of divine honors to the shades of the illustrious benefactors, who had advanced the progress of civilization, or increased the comforts and the conven-

iences of social life. Although veiled by the mist of unnumbered ages, and shrouded in the obscurities of fabulous narration, the records of authentic history disclose to us the time, when the inventors of letters and the plough were revered as divinities; and such honors did not cease to be rendered, until the influence of revealed religion put an end to all idolatrous worship among civilized nations. If there can ever be an excuse, in the absence of the divine light, by which alone the path of true piety can be directed, for ascribing to the creature honors due to the Creator alone, that idolatry is the least worthy of blame, which canonizes those who have proved themselves benefactors of our race.

In remote times, when the means of improving the faculties of the mind, which are now familiar to us, were wanting, to invent was the attribute of superior and lofty genius alone. As society made progress, and the means of education were extended, minds of a more ordinary character might be made to grasp some particular subject, to detect the deficiencies of existing processes, and study the means of improving them. Hence even inventions acknowledged to be original, and attended with the most happy consequences, no longer raise the author to such preëminence among his fellow men, or entitle him to so large a portion of posthumous renown.



At the present day, the stock of mechanical and practical knowledge, handed down by tradition, or preserved by means of the press, has become so enormous, that the most brilliant discovery in the useful arts bears but a small proportion to the whole extent of human knowledge. In remote times, the aids, which modern inventors derive from the records of the reasonings, the combinations, and even the abortive attempts of others, were wholly wanting; and, if no one of the inventions of antiquity, when taken by itself, can rank in apparent importance with some of modern date, the former were in many instances far more conspicuous as steps in the progress of human improvement. In many cases, too, they must have produced an almost magical effect upon the comforts, the happiness, and even on the means of sustaining the lives, of men at the time.

While the rights of property, even of a material character, were imperfectly understood, and those of an immaterial nature unknown, he, who by his inventions had made himself a benefactor of his species, sought no other reward than public consideration and popular applause. Thus it may, and no doubt did, often happen, that the early improvers of the arts derived not only present reputation, but power and influence from their discoveries, as surely as they became entitled to the gratitude of posterity. The wants

which grow upon man at each step towards high civilization, were not yet made manifest ; and it was neither necessary to keep processes in the arts secret, lest others should anticipate the due reward of their discovery, nor to seek the protection of laws for the security of an exclusive use to the inventor. Those who reaped the benefit of a new art, or enjoyed the advantages of an important discovery, were not called upon to pay in money for the use of them ; and thus reaped all these benefits and advantages, without being compelled to furnish an equivalent. Honor, praise, and posthumous fame are of no cost to those who award them, and are, therefore, willingly allowed ; while pecuniary compensation is often dispensed with a niggard hand, and the demand of it creates anger, or arouses opposition.

In the dawn of civilization, inventions were usually unexpected, and, although often calculated to supply the most pressing wants, excited surprise, because the wants themselves had not been perceived. At the present day, discoveries often appear as the almost inevitable result of previous improvements. Several projectors are oftentimes in pursuit of the same object, and this, one which the admitted wants of society point out as important to be attained ; and he, who finally achieves success, is exposed to the envy,

the competition, and the detraction of his less fortunate rivals. Inventions often derive their highest merit from their peculiar adaptation to the circumstances of the times; the very method, which comes at a given instant into immediate and successful operation, may have floated in the minds of earlier inquirers, or even have assumed the form of a working model; and yet, for the want of some collateral improvement, or through the absence of public demand, may have fallen into neglect, and been wholly forgotten. But, no sooner has the successful step in invention been taken, and at a fitting time, than all forgotten, neglected, or abortive attempts at the same great end, are raked from the oblivion to which they had been consigned, and blazoned to the world as the types or originals of the improvement.

In addition to the annoyance and opposition, which may thus arise from rivals and detractors, inventors are subjected to inconvenience from the policy of the legislative provisions by which it is attempted to secure their due reward. In most countries, this is made to assume the odious form of a monopoly; and the public feeling is thus speedily enlisted in opposition to the chartered or patented privileges. An expensive lawsuit, determined resistance, or cunning evasion, is often the sole reward, with which the most

important inventions are attended during the lifetime of their authors.

The highest degree of merit is to be awarded, in the present age, to those, who, aware of the wants of a community, or of the world at large, set to themselves as a task, the discovery of the means of supplying these wants. In such pursuits, great learning and research must be united to high mechanical skill. All the attempts which have been previously made to attain the same object must be carefully studied ; the causes of their failure inquired into ; and whatever may exist in them of good and applicable, separated and recombined. Such inquiries often demand the united exertion of high ingenuity and profound science ; yet those, who pursue them, taking for the foundation of their researches the discoveries and ineffectual attempts of others, often appear to be wholly wanting in ingenuity.

When, however, we examine to whom we are actually indebted for the practical benefits we enjoy, no possible comparison can exist between the merits of those who have thrown out the original, crude, and, in their hands, impracticable ideas, and those who, by a happy union of mechanical skill and scientific knowledge, have brought the plans to a successful application. Yet to this most valuable class of improvers of the arts it is difficult, if not impossible, to as-

sign, by legal enactment, any adequate remuneration. There are few instances in which they have not been deprived of their just meed of recompense, if they have attempted to secure it by patent. The shades, which separate the incomplete and abortive attempt from the finished and successful invention, are often almost insensible, and admit of no technical specification. A remedy has at last been found for this defect. The calling of the civil engineer has taken its just station, in point of honor and emolument, among the learned professions; and it has become almost disreputable for its members to attempt to appropriate their mental riches by patent rights. They in return reap no inadequate reward in the direct emoluments to which their advice and services are now considered as entitling them.

In the days of the subject of our memoir, this profession was hardly known by name among us; its value was not understood by the community; and the proper means of rewarding it unknown. It was, therefore, his misfortune, that he sought, although ineffectually, to secure by exclusive legislative grants, and the monopoly held out by the patent laws, that reward which in a more happy state of things would have been attained in a more efficient and less obnoxious manner.

If we consider Fulton as an inventor, it may

be difficult to say, in what exact particular his merits consist. As the blow of the mallet, by which the mighty mass of a ship of the line is caused to start upon its ways, in the act of launching, is undistinguishable among the numerous strokes by which that mass is gradually raised, so the minute particulars, in which his labors differ from former abortive attempts, may almost escape research. But, if we contemplate him in the light of a civil engineer, confidently building a finished and solid structure upon the incomplete foundation left by others, we must rank him among the first of his age, and place him, in the extent of his usefulness to mankind, as second to Watt alone.

## CHAPTER II.

*Birth of Fulton.—He chooses the Profession of a Painter.—His early Taste for Mechanics.—He settles in Philadelphia.—Embarks for England.—Resides in the Family of West.—Removes to Devonshire.*

ROBERT FULTON was born at Little Britain, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1765. His parents were respectable, although far from affluent; his father a native of Ireland, his mother descended from an Irish family. From his name it appears probable, that his more remote ancestors were of Scottish origin, which is in some degree confirmed by their profession of the Presbyterian faith. Fulton himself attached no importance to circumstances of birth, and took pride in being the maker of his own fortune, the probable founder of a family. Indeed, except so far as an elementary education is concerned, he was under little obligation to his progenitors; being left without patrimony at the death of his father, which occurred when he was but three years old.

Aware that he was to trust entirely to his own exertions, even for the means of subsist-

ence, he cultivated from an early age a taste for drawing, in the hope of qualifying himself for the profession of a painter. To these exertions he was probably stimulated by the reputation and honors acquired by West, who, with advantages of education and connexion little superior to his own, had raised himself to the first rank, not only among the painters of England, but of the civilized world.

From a familiar acquaintance with his performances as an artist, at a later date, when he applied to the easel merely as a relaxation, it may be stated, that there is little doubt, that, had he devoted himself to the profession of painting, he must have become highly distinguished as a professor of that art.

Painting, although chosen by him as a profession, had less charms for him than the pursuits of practical mechanics; and it is recorded of him, that, while yet a mere child, he spent hours, usually devoted at that age to play, in the workshops of the mechanics of Lancaster.

At the early age of seventeen he proceeded to Philadelphia, for the purpose of practising as a painter of portraits and landscapes, and was so successful, as not merely to support himself, but to lay up a small amount of money. His first savings were devoted to the comfort of his widowed mother; and, before he reached the age



of twenty-one, he had, by the joint aid of strict economy and persevering labor, acquired sufficient funds to purchase a small farm in Washington County, Pennsylvania.

The journey to that region, for the purpose of establishing his mother upon this purchase, opened new views to him for the occupation of his future life. His patrons in Philadelphia had been among the humbler classes; and, although he must have sighed for an opportunity of visiting those regions in which alone good models of taste, and specimens of excellence in painting, were then to be found, yet, friendless and alone, he could hardly have hoped that such aspirations would be realized.

On his return, however, from Washington County, in the unrestrained intercourse of a watering-place, he found acquaintances, who were both able to appreciate his promise as an artist, and to facilitate his plans of improving himself as a painter. By these he was advised to proceed immediately to England, and throw himself upon the protection of West; and the means of favorable introduction to that distinguished artist were tendered and supplied. It is to be recorded to the honor of West, that he was the zealous and efficient promoter of the interests of all his countrymen, who desired to study the art in which he himself excelled.

To Fulton even more than usual liberality was vouchsafed; he was at once invited to become an inmate of the house of the great artist, and remained his guest and pupil for several years.

The wealth and taste of the British nobility have gradually accumulated in that island many of the finest specimens of the pictorial art. Although many of these are now assembled in collections at their residences in the metropolis, a still greater number are distributed through the numerous and magnificent baronial residences, with which the agricultural regions of England abound. At the period of which we speak, the formation of collections in London had hardly been thought of; and he who wished to profit by the treasures which the superiority of British wealth had drawn from the continent, or which munificent patronage had commanded from the artists themselves, was compelled to perambulate the kingdom.

In order to avail himself of these scattered riches, Fulton, on leaving the family of West, procured introductions to the stewards and agents to whom the care of their estates and collections are committed by the nobility, and commenced a tour. We find him, in consequence, a short time after he left London, at Exeter, in the County of Devon. He was for a time domiciliated, as we have been informed, at Pow-

derham Castle, the chief seat of the Courtenays. This family draws its proud lineage from the Merovingian kings, the emperors of Constantinople, and the Plantagenets. In wedding an heiress of the family, a Capet assumed the name as more distinguished than his own; and the pretensions of the English branch to the throne of that kingdom, roused the vengeful jealousy of the Tudors. The fatal consequences of such lofty claims had confined the ambition of the succeeding possessors of Powderham to the cultivation of the arts, and the castle became filled with masterpieces.

Fulton seems to have entitled himself to the patronage of the possessor of the title. He at any rate was for a time an inmate of this magnificent baronial residence, and was occupied in copying the pictures it contains. Affecting on their own domains a state little less than that of royalty, the barons of Powderham left the entertainment of guests undistinguished by rank to their steward, himself a gentleman by connexion and education. It is, therefore, no derogation to Fulton, however repugnant it may be to our notions of equality, that, in enjoying the advantages which this rich collection afforded him as an artist, he was the associate, not of the lord of the mansion, but of one whom we may consider as his upper servant. Envy has not failed to point at this period of Ful-

ten's life as a matter of reproach, and to treat him as having been at this time the companion of menials, if not actually so himself.

Whatever may have been the nature of Fulton's obligations to this noble family, he did not hesitate to express his gratitude for them; and, in the height of his subsequent reputation, he had an opportunity of repaying them. The heir of the title and the fortunes of the Courtenays became a refugee in our land, under circumstances of disgrace and humiliation, even more terrible than those which led to the assumption of the mournful motto of his race.\* Suspected and accused of an infamous crime, his birth and title, which have in many other instances served as passports even for vice and frivolity to American hospitality, did not avail him, and every door was closed against him except that of Fulton. The feelings of Fulton were probably those, which lead the benevolent to minister to the comforts, and to soothe the mental anguish of the last hours of the condemned criminal; but, in the instance we allude to, it required not only the existence of such feelings, but a high degree of courage, to exercise them, in the face of a popular impression, which, whether well or ill founded, was universally entertained.

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\* Ubi lapsus, quid feci?

## CHAPTER III.

*His Acquaintance with the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. — His Removal from Devonshire, and Residence in Birmingham. — He abandons Painting for the Profession of an Engineer. — His first Idea of a Steamboat communicated to Stanhope. — He makes the Acquaintance of Watt.*

FULTON remained for two years in the neighborhood of Exeter, where his intelligence and ability obtained for him many useful and interesting acquaintances. Among these, the most important were the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. The first of these noblemen fills a large space in the history of the internal improvements of Great Britain; and he was in fact the father of the vast system of inland navigation, which has spread its ramifications over every accessible part of that island. Born to the inheritance of an extensive estate, abounding in mineral wealth, he was, notwithstanding, comparatively poor, because that estate was unimproved; and his mines were useless, because inaccessible.

At that moment, no better mode of supplying the growing town of Manchester with coal had

been introduced, than to convey it in sacks upon pack-horses. The Duke of Bridgewater was not slow to perceive the vast advantages which might be derived from the introduction of a better and cheaper mode of carriage. English writers have not hesitated to ascribe the plans of canal navigation, which he adopted and carried into successful operation, to the unassisted native genius of his engineer, Brindley. Yet it cannot be believed that the Duke was wholly ignorant of the celebrated canal of Languedoc, in which the structure of canals and all their accessory works had attained, in the hands of Riquet, the projector, and by the improvements of Vauban, a degree of perfection, which has hardly been surpassed even at the present day. It is not within the limits of our subject to inquire, whence the ideas, which directed the Duke's operations, were derived. Suffice it to say, that, after a series of appalling difficulties, after having been brought to the verge of ruin, and after having narrowly escaped being confined as a lunatic, he succeeded in his enterprise.

At the moment that Fulton made his acquaintance, the Duke was in the full enjoyment of the vast wealth, which his success had created, a wealth at that time unexampled in annual amount, even in Great Britain; and of the high reputation, which, so often denied to talent and genius,

while struggling with difficulties, is liberally ascribed to successful projectors. His canals became the models for similar enterprises, and himself, from his rapid accumulation of capital, the largest proprietor of many new navigation companies. It appears to have been at the instance of this distinguished man, that Fulton abandoned painting as a profession, and entered into that of a civil engineer. We at any rate next find him residing in Birmingham, and engaged in the construction of the canals then making in that vicinity, by which that great workshop was brought into communication with the ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol. Fulton's name does not, however, figure upon the list of the principal engineers engaged in these important works; and he, no doubt, filled no more than a subordinate station, as might, indeed, have been anticipated, from his inexperience and youth.

With Earl Stanhope, Fulton's intercourse was still more intimate, and probably of an earlier date. This nobleman was endowed by nature with high mechanical talent, which had been improved by an education very different from the mere classical routine to which the youth of the higher classes in Great Britain are usually confined. Had he been impelled by the stimulus of necessity, there is little doubt, that he

might have become distinguished as a successful inventor. As it was, he exhibited practical skill as a canal engineer; but here his reputation faded before the prior claims of the Duke of Bridgewater; while his inventions remained incomplete, and few of them have been carried into effect.

Among other projects, this peer entertained the hope of being able to apply the steam engine to navigation, by the aid of a peculiar apparatus, modelled after the foot of an aquatic fowl. On communicating this plan to Fulton, the latter saw reason to doubt its feasibility; and, in consequence, addressed a letter to his Lordship, in which the very views were suggested, that were afterwards successful upon the Hudson. This letter was written in 1793, immediately before the removal of Fulton from Devonshire to Birmingham. The justice of Fulton's objections to the plans of Earl Stanhope was afterwards demonstrated in an ineffectual experiment made by the latter in the London docks. It is to be regretted, that this experiment had not been made before he received the communication of Fulton. His Lordship might then have received it with the same feelings, which Chancellor Livingston afterwards exhibited, when marked failure had attended his own plans. In this event, the important invention of a successful steamboat might have been given to the world



ten years earlier than its actual introduction. Although prejudiced in favor of his own invention, Earl Stanhope did not fail to appreciate the ingenuity of Fulton, and became his warm friend on a subsequent occasion, when his influence with the British ministry enabled him to aid Fulton's views.

Fulton's residence in Birmingham brought him into communication with Watt, who had just succeeded in giving to his steam engine that perfect form, which fits it for universal application as a prime mover. That Fulton became intimately acquainted, not only with Watt himself, but with the structure of his engine, we learn from two facts in his subsequent life; for we find him entering into a confidential correspondence with that great improver of the application of steam, and actually superintending the construction of an engine, in a place where no aid was to be obtained.

To have become favorably known to such men as Bridgewater, Stanhope, and Watt, and to have received the patronage of the first of them, is no small proof of the talent and acquirements of Fulton at an early age. Those, who know the artificial structure of British society, understand the nice distinctions by which the several degrees of rank are separated from each other; and, although it is no doubt true, that those

who are possessed of the highest rank are not deterred from associating with any persons in whom they may take an interest, by the fear of losing caste, which has so powerful an influence upon those whose position in society is not firmly established, still the higher circles are fenced in by artificial barriers, which, in the case of an unfriended and humble foreigner, can be forced only by obvious merit. When, therefore, the detractors of Fulton's fame venture to characterize his productions as wanting in originality, "either of matter or manner," we may confidently appeal to this part of his early history for the refutation of their aspersions.

## CHAPTER IV.

*His Plan of an Inclined Plane. — Work on Inland Navigation. — His Torpedo. — His Removal to France, and Residence there.*

THE residence of Fulton in Birmingham is distinguished from the other parts of his early history by a number of patented inventions and several published works. The more level parts of Great Britain had now been rendered accessible by canals, and some projects were entertained for penetrating by the mode of artificial navigation into the mountainous regions.

In the primitive form of canals, of which a specimen still exists in the great canal of China, two methods of passing from one level to another had been practised,—the sluice and the inclined plane. An addition, probably growing out of an accidental circumstance, had converted the former into a lock; but the inclined plane had remained without improvement. It is, however, obvious, that, could it be rendered self-acting, as the lock is, it was susceptible of far more extended application. The lock is necessarily limited to small changes of level, while the inclined plane will adapt itself to every possible

variation in the surface of the ground. If, then, locks be taken as the basis of a plan of inland navigation, it will necessarily be confined to countries of little elevation; while one based upon the inclined plane may overcome considerable elevations.

Impressed with the advantages which would attend the introduction of the inclined plane in inland navigation, Fulton applied his fertile ingenuity to plan one. For this he took out a patent, in the year 1793, and in 1796 embodied it with other projects of a similar nature in a work on Inland Navigation. At the time when he wrote, the engineers of England were engaged in reducing their canals to the smallest practicable dimensions; for it had been ascertained, that the capacity for business of the large canals far exceeded any trade, which had yet made its appearance upon them. The object of Fulton's work appears to have been to show, that canals, of dimensions below the smallest which had yet been proposed, were capable of being successfully applied, and that such canals were not necessarily limited to countries of small differences of level. Considered in reference to this object, the work is a masterly one; but, if we test it by inquiring, whether canals of such small dimensions are adapted to general purposes, we shall find, that his argument rests upon an in-

sufficient foundation. This work is, therefore, to be quoted as exhibiting a high degree of originality, ingenuity, and talent, but as inapplicable to any useful purpose.

The war of the French revolution had broken out a short time before Fulton's removal to Birmingham. In him, as a native of a republican country, and deriving his earliest impressions from the events of the struggle between America and the mother country, there is little doubt that the cause of the French democracy must have excited a powerful sympathy. Such sympathy was felt not only by a majority of the American people, but by a large portion of the population of Great Britain. The crimes and excesses, with which that revolution was stained, speedily excited the indignation of Britons; and Pitt was enabled to apply that indignant feeling to the support of the war in which the two rival nations were speedily engaged.

It is probable that a similar revulsion of feeling took place in the breast of Fulton. But, in the year 1796, the excesses of the French revolution had ceased, while, at the same moment; a system of aggression and insolent exertion of her power upon the ocean, had been manifested by Great Britain. By this system, the United States were the greatest sufferers. Our flag afforded but little protection for prop-

erty, and none for personal liberty, against the license of British naval commanders. Fulton shared deeply in the resentment which this conduct excited in every American breast; a resentment which finally led to the war of 1812. The power of Great Britain resting to so great an extent upon her naval supremacy, the thoughts of Fulton were turned to the discovery of a method, by which the boasted skill of her seamen might be set at nought, and her numerous vessels rendered inefficient in maintaining her maritime superiority. Fulton was old enough to have heard of the abortive attempt of Bushnell upon the British fleet in the harbor of Philadelphia; and, although this had failed, from being planned upon erroneous principles, enough of alarm had been excited, and such a degree of confusion caused, as to encourage him to attempt to improve upon it. It was obvious, that no encouragement was to be hoped from the government of Great Britain towards experiments upon a mode of warfare whose success would destroy her principal arm; nor could Fulton with any propriety have asked aid from it. It was otherwise with France. The insolence, with which she also invaded the rights of neutrals, had not yet been clearly manifested; and Fulton, with many others, saw in her Directory the champions of the liberty of the seas. As such, he

felt justified in offering the fruits of his ingenuity to that government. Abandoning, therefore, his pursuits as a civil engineer, he proceeded to Paris, for the purpose of completing the detail of his plan, and of seeking assistance to bring it to the test of experiment.

To his instrument for destroying vessels of war, he gave the name of the *Torpedo*. It consisted of an oval copper case, charged with gunpowder. To this he proposed to attach a lock, regulated by clock-work, which, after any required time, might cause the lock to spring, and thus communicate fire to the charge.

It would be painful to follow Fulton through that period of life in which he appeared under the character of a projector, soliciting the patronage, first of the government of France, and subsequently, when he had been dismissed with contumely by Napoleon, from that of England. Without venturing to give an opinion on the influence that his *Torpedo* might have had upon warfare, it may be safely stated, that, in the hands of bold and determined men, it might be applied in a position where it would certainly act, and in acting insure the destruction of the stoutest vessel. As he himself well argues, "its use is attended with risks as great, but not exceeding those to which the crew of a fire-ship are exposed; and there are innumerable instances where

these dangers have been boldly confronted." His plan has the advantage over the fire-ship of being less expensive ; but, like that, is attended with such uncertainty, that it cannot be surely relied upon, and thus cannot be trusted to as the only means of offence.

His subsequent attempts to bring the Torpedo into use, during the war with Great Britain, and for the defence of his native country, although entertained with greater courtesy, were equally fruitless ; and, in the opposition of our own naval officers, he met with obstacles as great, as had stood in his way in the *bureaux* of France, and the public offices in England. It must, therefore, be admitted, that we cannot cite this invention as one which has been brought into successful action. Still, if the fears of an enemy may be received in proof of the value of the Torpedo, it would be easy to cite the sleepless nights and anxious days of many British commanders, who felt, that the vicinity of Fulton's operations was attended with dangers which could only be prevented by unremitting diligence and attention.



## CHAPTER V.

*His Inventions while residing in Birmingham. — His Letters to Washington, and the Governor of Pennsylvania. — His Submarine Vessel. — Experiment with it at the Mouth of the Seine. — He aids in introducing the Panorama into France.*

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the more important of the subjects, which attracted the attention of Fulton, and of which his residence in France was the epoch, we have to mention some other fruits of his ingenuity. While residing in Birmingham, he took out patents for a mill for sawing marble; a method of spinning flax and making ropes; and of excavators for digging canals. If none of these was introduced into extensive use at the time, and if the latter object still remains a desideratum in practical mechanics, the two former at least served as steps in the career of improvement, and have been guides and landmarks to subsequent inventors. These patents bear date in 1794.

Anxious that his views in respect to small canals might be productive of benefit to his native country, a copy of his work on Inland Navi-

gation was transmitted to General Washington, who still held the reins of the government of the United States. This was accompanied by a letter, explanatory of the advantages by which the introduction of his system into America might be attended. With the work itself was published a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which the same views were enforced, and a comparison drawn between the relative advantages of canals and turnpike roads.

Although the letter to Washington was honored with a reply, in which the merit of Fulton's inventions was admitted, no action followed; for the general government was at that time confined by the necessity of economy to a system of non-interference with local improvements; and it is useless to speculate upon what might have been done by so enlightened an administration, had it possessed the overflowing treasury, which the churlish policy of one of his successors locked up from public use. The letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania produced even less effect. That State adhered pertinaciously to its plan of turnpike roads; a plan, which, if it did create a better mode of communication than had before been enjoyed, was not less expensive than canals on Fulton's plan would have been, and far less beneficial.

Pennsylvania, after a lapse of more than forty

years, has at last seen the mistake which was then committed, and is now engaged in the creation of a system of internal improvement adapted to the great increase which has taken place in its wealth in the interim. But, by this very change, the whole of the capital invested in turnpike roads will be at once rendered unproductive; while, had small canals formed the original scheme, their gradual enlargement to meet the growing wants of the community might have been defrayed out of the income, and the whole capital preserved. It is not probable, indeed, that Fulton's own inventions, or canals of so small a size as he proposed, would have effected the desired object. They in fact could have been useful only in a few limited cases; but that the investment of the funds, which were expended upon turnpikes, in canal navigation, would have been more conducive to the prosperity of the country, is a fact, which will not now be questioned. Fulton, also, during his residence in Birmingham, wrote several tracts on subjects of a general political nature; but, as these do not appear to have been published, or, if published, to have attracted no more than an ephemeral notice, it is unnecessary that we should cite them by name.

In such occupations the time of Fulton was spent until he determined to proceed to France, for the purpose of laying his system of Torpedo

warfare before the government of that country. The investigations, into which he entered for the purpose of completing this system, led him to undertake the construction of a vessel, which might be capable of moving either at or beneath the surface of the water.. So far as the power of easily rising to the surface, and descending at pleasure to any required depth, is a valuable object, this attempt was attended with complete success. But the difficulty of governing a submarine vessel, and of giving to it such velocity as will enable it to move rapidly from place to place, or even to stem a rapid current, is insuperable by the aid of any prime mover which has hitherto been applied. This difficulty is of the same character as that which opposes the management of balloons; and, if any mode of directing the one should be discovered, the power, which will be efficient in the one case, will probably be applicable to the other.

In a boat of this construction, the passage over the wide and stormy estuary of the Seine was safely and easily accomplished, and Fulton with his assistants remained several hours under water. In this position they were supplied with a sufficient quantity of wholesome air, not only for their own respiration, but for lights also. But the actual passage may be said to have been performed wholly on the surface of the water;

for the progress, after the whole vessel was immersed, was so slow as to have no material effect upon the passage. This experiment, then, confirmed the truth of the received opinion, that a body wholly immersed in a single fluid cannot carry the machinery necessary for its own propulsion, and that the valuable properties of ships are due to the circumstances of their position, partly supported upon one fluid, and having the greater part of their bulk buoyed up into a fluid of a different character, and less density. In this position they are easily guided, and the prime movers act with great energy in their propulsion.

The account, which Fulton occasionally gave his friends of his experiments at the mouth of the Seine, was full of thrilling interest. Those, who, in calm weather and in a land-locked harbour, have descended for the first time in a common diving-bell, have not failed to experience the sensations of sublimity which such an enterprise is calculated to awaken. But in this, assured of a supply of air by a perfect and efficient machinery, supported by strong chains, and confident in the watchful attention of an active crew, trained to obey a set of preconcerted signals, the danger is trifling, or rather can hardly be said to exist. How far such sensations must have been increased, may be imagined, when it

is considered, that, in the experiment of Fulton, all the means of safety, and even of insuring respiration, were shut up with him in a narrow space, and that any failure in the action of his machinery would have been followed by speedy suffocation, or by the loss of the power of ever again revisiting the light of day.

Fulton, on leaving England for the continent, carried with him some of the improvements in the arts which had appeared in that country after all commercial intercourse with France had ceased. A short time before, a wealthy American had become the purchaser of a part of the national domain, consisting of a large piece of ground in a central position in the city of Paris. Upon this he was in the act of erecting a number of shops, arranged along the sides of covered passages. In addition, at the suggestion, it is believed, of Fulton, two lofty circular buildings were constructed for the exhibition of Panoramas. These still exist and are applied to their original purpose. It has also been stated, that, in the first exhibitions with which they were opened, much of the attraction was due to the good taste and graphic skill of the subject of our memoir.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Steam Navigation. — Watt. — Eoans. — Fitch. — Rumsey. — Miller, of Dalswinton. — Symington.*

THE art with which Fulton's name is inseparably connected, as the principal agent in its creation, is that of navigation by steam. That this subject had attracted his attention at an early period, we have already seen; it now remains for us to inquire in what state he found it, and to what extent he carried it.\*

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\* In the first volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, &c., published at Madrid, in 1825, there is a remarkable statement, in which the invention of the steamboat is ascribed to a Spaniard, three hundred years ago. The particulars were derived from the public archives at Simancas. The following is a translation of a part of this statement.

"Blasco de Garay, a sea captain, exhibited to the emperor and king, Charles the Fifth, in the year 1543, an engine by which ships and vessels of the larger size could be propelled, even in a calm, without the aid of oars or sails. Notwithstanding the opposition, which this project encountered, the emperor resolved, that an experiment should be made, as in fact it was with success, in the harbor of Barcelona, on the 17th of June, 1543.

"Garay never publicly exposed the construction of

Until Watt had completed the structure of the double-acting condensing engine, the application of steam to any but the single object of pumping water, had been almost impracticable. It was not enough, in order to render it applicable to general purposes, that the condensation of the water should take place in a separate vessel, and that steam should itself be used, instead of atmospheric pressure, as the moving power; but it was also necessary, that the steam

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his engine; but it was observed at the time of the experiment, that it consisted of a large caldron or vessel of boiling water, and a movable wheel attached to each side of the ship. The experiment was made on a ship of two hundred tons, arrived from Colibre to discharge a cargo of wheat at Barcelona; it was called the *Trinity*, and the captain's name was Peter de Scarza.

“By order of Charles the Fifth, and the prince, Philip the Second, his son, there were present at the time, Henry de Toledo, the governor Peter Cardona, the treasurer Ravago, the vice-chancellor Francis Gralla, and many other persons of rank, both Castilians and Catalonians; and, among others, several sea captains witnessed the operation, some in the vessel, and others on the shore. The emperor and prince, and others with them, applauded the engine, and especially the expertness with which the ship could be tacked. The treasurer, Ravago, an enemy to the project, said it would move two leagues in three hours. It was very complicated and expensive, and exposed to the constant danger of bursting the boiler. The other commission-



should act as well during the ascent, as during the descent, of the piston. Before the method of paddle wheels could be successfully introduced, it was in addition necessary, that a ready and convenient mode of changing the motion of the piston, into one continuous and rotary, should be discovered. All these improvements upon the original form of the steam engine are due to Watt, and he did not complete their perfect combination before the year 1786.

Evans, who, in this country, saw the possi-

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ers affirmed that the vessel could be tacked twice as quick as a galley, served by the common method, and that, at its slowest rate, it would move a league in an hour. The exhibition being finished, Garay took from the ship his engine, and, having deposited the wood work in the arsenal of Barcelona, kept the rest himself.

“Notwithstanding the difficulties and opposition thrown in the way by Ravago, the invention was approved; and, if the expedition, in which Charles the Fifth was then engaged, had not failed, it would undoubtedly have been favored by him. As it was, he raised Garay to a higher station, gave him a sum of money (200,000 maravedies) as a present, ordered all the expenses of the experiment to be paid out of the general treasury, and conferred upon him other rewards.

“Such are the facts collected from the original registers, preserved in the royal archives at Simancas, among the public papers of Catalonia, and those of the secretary of war for the year 1543.”—See *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. p. 488.

bility of constructing a double-acting engine, even before Watt, and had made a model of his machine, did not succeed in obtaining funds to make an experiment upon a large scale before 1801. We conceive, therefore, that all those who projected the application of steam to vessels before 1786, may be excluded, without ceremony, from the list of those entitled to compete with Fulton for the honors of invention. No one, indeed, could have seen the powerful action of a pumping engine, without being convinced, that the energy, which was applied so successfully to that single purpose, might be made applicable to many others; but those, who entertained a belief, that the original atmospheric engine, or even the single-acting engine of Watt, could be applied to propel boats by paddle wheels, showed a total ignorance of mechanical principles. This is more particularly the case with all those whose projects bore the strongest resemblance to the plan, which Fulton afterwards carried successfully into effect. Those, who approached most nearly to the attainment of success, were they, who were farthest removed from the plan of Fulton. His application was founded on the properties of Watt's double-acting engine, and could not have been used at all, until that instrument of universal application had received the last finish of its inventor.

In this list of failures, from proposing to do what the instrument they employed was incapable of performing, we do not hesitate to include Savary, Papin, Jonathan Hulls, Perier, the Marquis de Jouffroy, and all the other names of earlier date than 1786, whom the jealousy of the French and English nations have drawn from oblivion, for the purpose of contesting the priority of Fulton's claims. The only competitor, whom they might have brought forward, with some shadow of plausibility, is Watt himself. No sooner had that illustrious inventor completed his double-acting engine, than he saw, at a glance, the vast field of its application. Navigation and locomotion were not omitted; but, living in an inland town, and in a country possessing no rivers of importance, his views were limited to canals alone. In this direction, he saw an immediate objection to the use of any apparatus, of which so powerful an agent as his engine should be the mover; for it was clear, that the injury, which would be done to the banks of the canal, would prevent the possibility of its introduction. Watt, therefore, after having conceived the idea of a steamboat, laid it aside, as unlikely to be of any practical value.

The idea of applying steam to navigation was not confined to Europe. Numerous Americans entertained hopes of attaining the same object;

but, before 1786, with the same want of any reasonable hopes of success. Their fruitless projects were, however, rebuked by Franklin; who, reasoning upon the capabilities of the engine in its original form, did not hesitate to declare all their schemes impracticable; and the correctness of his judgment is at present unquestionable.

Among those, who, before the completion of Watt's invention, attempted the structure of steam-boats, must be named with praise Fitch and Rumsey. They, unlike those whose names have been cited, were well aware of the real difficulties, which they were to overcome; and both were the authors of plans, which, if the engine had been incapable of farther improvement, might have had a partial and limited success. Fitch's trial was made in 1783, and Rumsey's in 1787. The latter date is subsequent to Watt's double-acting engine; but, as the project consisted merely in pumping in water, to be afterwards forced out at the stern, the single-acting engine was probably employed. Evans, whose engine might have answered the purpose, was employed in the daily business of a mill-wright; and, although he might, at any time, have driven these competitors from the field, took no steps to apply his dormant invention.

Fitch, who had watched the graceful and rapid way of the Indian pirogue, saw in the oscillating

motion of the old pumping engine the means of impelling paddles, in a manner similar to that given them by the human arm. This idea is extremely ingenious, and was applied in a simple and beautiful manner; but the engine was yet too feeble and cumbrous to yield an adequate force; and, when it received its great improvement from Watt, a more efficient mode of propulsion became practicable, and must have superseded Fitch's paddles, had they even come into general use.\*

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\* Fitch had sanguine expectations of success; and it appears by the following extract from a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated October 12th, 1785, that he anticipated some of the important advantages of steam navigation, which have since been realized. He says, in writing to Dr. Franklin;

"The subscriber begs leave to trouble you with something further on the subject of a steamboat. His sanguine opinion in favor of its answering the purpose, to his utmost wishes, emboldens him to presume this letter will not give offence. And, if his opinion carries him to excess, he doubts not but your Excellency will make proper allowance.

"It is a matter, in his opinion, of the first magnitude, not only to the United States, but to every maritime power in the world; and he is full in the belief, that it will answer for sea voyages, as well as for inland navigation, in particular for packets, where there may be a great number of passengers. He is also of opinion, that fuel for a short voyage would not exceed the weight of water for a long one, and it would pro-

In the latter stages of Fitch's investigations, he became aware of the value of Watt's double-acting engine, and refers to it as a valuable addition to his means of success; but it does not appear to have occurred to him, that, with this

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duce a constant supply of fresh water. He also believes, that the boat would make head against the most violent tempests, and thereby escape the danger of a lee shore; and that the same force may be applied to a pump, to free a leaky ship of her water. What emboldens him to be thus presuming, as to the good effects of the machine, is, the almost omnipotent force by which it is actuated, and the very simple, easy, and natural way by which the screws or paddles are turned to answer the purpose of oars."

Rittenhouse, after seeing repeated experiments, entertained a favorable opinion of Fitch's machine, as is proved by the following certificate to that effect, given more than two years after the above letter was written.

*"Philadelphia, 12 December, 1787.*

"These may certify, that the subscriber has frequently seen Mr. Fitch's steamboat, which, with great labor and perseverance, he has at length completed; and has likewise been on board when the boat was worked against both wind and tide, with a very considerable degree of velocity, by the force of steam only. Mr. Fitch's merit, in constructing a good steam engine, and applying it to so useful a purpose, will, no doubt, meet with the encouragement he so justly deserves from the generosity of his countrymen, especially those who wish to promote every improvement of the useful arts in America.

*"DAVID RITTENHOUSE."*

improved power, methods of far greater efficiency, than those to which he had been limited before this invention was completed, had now become practicable.

When the properties of Watt's double-acting engine became known to the public, an immediate attempt was made to apply it to navigation. This was done by Miller, of Dalswinton, who employed Symington as his engineer. Miller seems to have been the real author; for, as early as 1787, he published his belief, that boats might be propelled by employing a steam engine to turn paddle wheels. It was not until 1791, that Symington completed a model for him, of a size sufficient for a satisfactory experiment. If we may credit the evidence, which has since been adduced, the experiment was as successful as the first attempts of Fulton; but it did not give to the inventor that degree of confidence, which was necessary to induce him to embark his fortune in the enterprise. The experiment of Miller was, therefore, ranked by the public among unsuccessful enterprises, and was rather calculated to deter from imitation, than to encourage others to pursue the same path.

Symington, at a subsequent period, resumed the plans of Miller, and, by the aid of funds furnished by Lord Dundas, put a boat in motion on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1801,

There can be little doubt that Symington was

a mechanic of great practical skill, and considerable ingenuity ; but he can have no claim to be considered as an original inventor ; for he was, in the first instance, no more than the workman, who carried into effect the ideas of Miller, and his second boat was a mere copy of the first. It is with pain, too, that we are compelled to notice a most disingenuous attempt, on his part, to defraud the memory of Fulton of its due honor.

In a narrative which he drew up, after Fulton's death, he states, that, while his first boat was in existence, probably in 1802, he received a visit from Fulton, and, at his request, put the boat in motion. Now it appears to be established, beyond all question, that Fulton was not in Great Britain between 1796 and 1804, when he returned to that country on the invitation of Mr. Pitt, who held out hopes that his torpedoes would be experimented upon by that government. At all events, we know, that Fulton could not have made the copious notes, which Symington says he took, and we have reason to believe, that he had never seen the boat of that artist ; for the author of this memoir, long after the successful enterprise of Fulton, actually furnished him, for the purpose of reference, with a work containing a draft of Symington's boat, of which he could have had no need, had the assertions of the latter been true.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Farther Attempts at Steam Navigation in the United States. — Stevens. — Livingston. — Roosevelt. — Livingston goes as Minister to France. — Becomes acquainted with Fulton. — Their Contract. — Experiments at Plombières. — Experimental Boat on the Seine. — Engine ordered from Watt. — Its Peculiarities.*

THE experiments of Fitch and Rumsey in the United States, although generally considered as unsuccessful, did not deter others from similar attempts. The great rivers and arms of the sea, which intersect the Atlantic coast, and still more, the innumerable navigable arms of the Father of Waters, appeared to call upon the ingenious machinist to contrive means for their more convenient navigation.

The improvement of the engine by Watt was now familiarly known; and it was evident, that it possessed sufficient powers for the purpose. The only difficulty which existed, was in the mode of applying it. The first person who entered into the inquiry was John Stevens, of Hoboken, who commenced his researches in 1791. In these he

was steadily engaged for nine years, when he became the associate of Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt. Among the persons employed by this association was Brunel, who has since become distinguished in Europe, as the inventor of the block machinery used in the British navy yards, and as the engineer of the tunnel beneath the Thames.

Even with the aid of such talent, the efforts of this association were unsuccessful, as we now know, from no error in principle, but from defects in the boat to which it was applied. The appointment of Livingston as ambassador to France broke up this joint effort; and, like all previous schemes, it was considered as abortive, and contributed to throw discredit upon all undertakings of the kind. A grant of exclusive privileges on the waters of the State of New York was made to this association without any difficulty, it being believed that the scheme was little short of madness.

Livingston, on his arrival in France, found Fulton domiciliated with Joel Barlow. The conformity in their pursuits led to intimacy, and Fulton speedily communicated to Livingston the scheme, which he had laid before Earl Stanhope in 1793. Livingston was so well pleased with it, that he at once offered to provide the funds necessary for an experiment, and to enter into

a contract for Fulton's aid in introducing the method into the United States, provided the experiment were successful.

Fulton had, in his early discussion with Lord Stanhope, repudiated the idea of an apparatus acting on the principle of the foot of an aquatic bird, and had proposed paddle wheels in its stead. On resuming his inquiries, after his arrangements with Livingston, it occurred to him to compose wheels with a set of paddles revolving upon an endless chain, extending from the stem to the stern of the boat. It is probable, that the apparent want of success, which had attended the experiments of Symington, led him to doubt the correctness of his own original views.

That such doubt should be entirely removed, he had recourse to a series of experiments upon a small scale. These were performed at Plombières, a French watering place, where he spent the summer of 1802. In these experiments, the superiority of the paddle wheel over every other method of propulsion, that had yet been proposed, was fully established. His original impressions being thus confirmed, he proceeded, late in the year 1803, to construct a working model of his intended boat, which model was deposited with a commission of French *savans*. He at the same time commenced building a vessel sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width. To this

an engine was adapted ; and the experiment made with it was so satisfactory, as to leave little doubt of final success.

Measures were therefore immediately taken, preparatory to constructing a steamboat on a large scale in the United States. For this purpose, as the workshops of neither France nor America could at that time furnish an engine of good quality, it became necessary to resort to England for the purpose. Fulton had already experienced the difficulty of being compelled to employ artists unacquainted with the subject. It is indeed more than probable, that, had he not, during his residence in Birmingham, made himself familiar, not only with the general features, but with the most minute details of the engine of Watt, the experiment on the Seine could not have been made. In this experiment, and in the previous investigations, it became obvious, that the engine of Watt required important modifications in order to adapt it to navigation. These modifications had been planned by Fulton ; but it now became important, that they should be more fully tested. An engine was therefore ordered from Watt and Bolton, without any specification of the object to which it was to be applied ; and its form was directed to be varied from their usual models, in conformity to sketches furnished by Fulton. As this engine was in fact the type of many of

those used in the steam navigation of both Europe and America, it may not be uninteresting to inquire into its original form.

The cylinder having the usual proportions, the capacity of the condenser was increased, from one eighth of that of the cylinder, to one half. By this fourfold increase of capacity, the necessity of a cold water cistern was done away with. The water of injection was supplied by a pipe intended to be passed through the bottom of the boat. Instead of the parallel motion of Watt, the piston rod had a cross head, and worked in guides. From the cross head was suspended, by connecting rods, two lever beams, whose centres were no more elevated above the floor timbers of the vessel than was sufficient for their free oscillation. As these would lie in an unfavorable position to work the wheels, the beam was made nearly in the form of an inverted J; and, from the upper end of the stem, a connecting rod proceeded to a crank formed upon the axle of each wheel. This connecting rod lay, while passing the centre, in a horizontal position. On the same axle with the cranks were toothed wheels, which gave motion to pinions, and to the axles of these pinions was adjusted a heavy fly wheel. Provision was made for throwing either wheel out of gear, and it was even proposed to cause the two wheels to revolve

at pleasure in opposite directions. These two adjustments were intended to aid in turning the vessel.

In his subsequent experience, Fulton soon discovered that this engine was unnecessarily complicated; he therefore suppressed the working beam in his next vessel, making the connecting rods apply themselves to the cranks of the wheels without any intervening machinery. The possibility of backing either wheel, while the other continued its motion was thus dispensed with; but the fly wheel, and the gear for driving it, were retained. A small lever was used to supply that office of the working beam, which consists in giving motion to the bucket of the air pump. This last construction, with the omission of the fly wheel, is still the most usual form of boat engines in the United States; but the proportions of the cylinder have been changed, and the length of stroke much increased. By the latter change, the crank is made to act much more favorably in giving motion to the wheel.

Among the workmen sent out from Soho for the purpose of putting up the engine purchased from Watt and Bolton, was one of the name of Bell. This person, after performing his task, returned to Europe. The success of Fulton's experiment being known, Bell was employed to build a steamboat. This he did not do until

the year 1812, four years after Fulton's boats had been in active operation upon the Hudson.

The vessel built by Bell, it may be stated from actual inspection, is obviously a copy of that of Fulton. The engines subsequently constructed in England have, with little variation, followed the original model. The lever beam is still placed near the keelson of the vessels, but is usually suspended by a parallel motion; the wheels are moved by cranks attached to the beam by connecting rods, which in passing the centre are vertical. But, while the American engineers have sought to obtain a more favorable position for the impelled point of the crank, by increasing the stroke of the piston, the English have worked for an advantage of another description, namely, that of greater stability, in the opposite practice of diminishing the height of the cylinder, until it may work wholly beneath the deck.

The advantage gained in the latter way is at best problematical; for it by no means follows, that a vessel is rendered safer by every increase of stability; and, as a suppression of a part at least of the masts and sails, increases the stability also, it appears more than probable, that vessels, whose lading is thus purposely lowered, must labor much more in heavy seas, than those in which the centre of gravity is higher. By lessening the stroke of the piston, the action of

the crank is rendered unfavorable ; and it is no doubt owing to this structure of the engine, that, with equal power, and more accurate workmanship in the engine, the steamboats of Great Britain fall far short of the speed attained by those of America.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Application of Livingston to the State of New York for exclusive Privileges. — Fulton revisits England. — Returns to the United States. — First Steamboat built and tried. — First Voyage to Albany. — Transactions of the Summer of 1807.*

THE order for an engine, intended to propel a vessel of large size, was transmitted to Watt and Bolton in 1803. Much about the same time, Chancellor Livingston, having full confidence in the success of the enterprise, caused an application to be made to the legislature of New York, for an exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of that State by steam, that granted on a former occasion having expired.

This was granted with little opposition. Indeed, those who might have been inclined to object, saw so much of the impracticable and even of the ridiculous in the project, that they conceived the application unworthy of serious debate. The condition attached to the grant was, that a vessel should be propelled by steam at the rate of four miles an hour, within a prescribed space of time. This reliance upon the reserved rights

of the States proved a fruitful source of vexation to Livingston and Fulton, embittered the close of the life of the latter, and reduced his family to penury. It can hardly be doubted, that, had an expectation been entertained, that the grant of a State was ineffectual, and that the jurisdiction was vested in the general government, a similar grant might have been obtained from Congress. The influence of Livingston with the administration was deservedly high, and that administration was supported by a powerful majority; nor would it have been consistent with the principles of the opposition to vote against any act of liberality to the introducer of a valuable application of science. Livingston, however, confiding in his skill as a lawyer, preferred the application to the State, and was thus, by his own act, restricted to a limited field.

Before the engine ordered from Watt and Bolton was completed, Fulton visited England. Disgusted by the delays and want of consideration exhibited by the French government, he had listened to an overture from that of England. This was made to him at the instance of Earl Stanhope, who urged upon the administration the dangers to be apprehended by the navy of Great Britain, in case the invention of Fulton fell into the possession of France. After a long negotiation, protracted by the difficulty of communicating

on such a subject between two hostile countries, he at last revisited England. Here, for a time, he was flattered with hopes of being employed for the purpose of using his invention. Experiments were made with such success, as to induce a serious effort to destroy the flotilla lying in the harbor of Boulogne by means of torpedoes. This effort, however, did not produce much effect; and finally, when the British government demanded a pledge that the invention should be communicated to no other nation, Fulton, whose views had always been directed to the application of these new military engines to the service of his native country, refused to comply with the demand.

In these experiments, Earl Stanhope took a strong interest, which was shared by his daughter, Lady Hester; whose talents and singularity have since excited so much attention, and who now almost reigns as a queen among the tribes of the Libanus.

Although the visit of Fulton to England was ineffectual, so far as his project of torpedoes was concerned, it gave him the opportunity of visiting Birmingham, and directing, in person, the construction of the engine ordered from Watt and Bolton. It could only have been at this time, if ever, that he saw the boat of Symington; but a view of it could have produced no effect upon his own

plans, which had been matured in France, and carried, so far as the engine was concerned, to such an extent as to admit of no alteration.

The engine was at last completed, and reached New York in 1806. Fulton, who returned to his native country about the same period, immediately undertook the construction of a boat in which to place it. In the ordering of this engine, and in planning the boat, Fulton exhibited plainly, how far his scientific researches and practical experiments had placed him before all his competitors. He had evidently ascertained, what each successive year's experience proves more fully, the great advantages possessed by large steamboats over those of smaller size; and thus, while all previous attempts were made in small vessels, he alone resolved to make his final experiment in one of great dimensions. That a vessel, intended to be propelled by steam, ought to have very different proportions, and lines of a character wholly distinct from those of vessels intended to be navigated by sails, was evident to him. No other theory, however, of the resistance of fluids was admitted at the time, than that of Bossut, and there were no published experiments except those of the British Society of Arts. Judged in reference to these, the model chosen by Fulton was faultless, although it will not stand the test of an examination founded upon a better theory, and more accurate experiments.

The vessel was finished and fitted with her machinery in August, 1807. An experimental excursion was forthwith made, at which a number of gentlemen of science and intelligence were present. Many of these were either skeptical, or absolute unbelievers. But a few minutes served to convert the whole party, and satisfy the most obstinate doubters, that the long-desired object was at last accomplished. Only a few weeks before, the cost of constructing and finishing the vessel threatening to exceed the funds with which he had been provided by Livingston, he had attempted to obtain a supply by the sale of one third of the exclusive right granted by the State of New York. No person was found possessed of the faith requisite to induce him to embark in the project. Those, who had rejected this opportunity of investment, were now the witnesses of the completion of the scheme, which they had considered as an inadequate security for the desired funds.

Within a few days from the time of the first experiment with the steamboat, a voyage was undertaken in it to Albany. This city, situated at the natural head of the navigation of the Hudson, is distant, by the line of the channel of the river, rather less than one hundred and fifty miles from New York. By the old post road, the distance is one hundred and sixty miles, at which

that by water is usually estimated. Although the greater part of the channel of the Hudson is both deep and wide, yet, for about fourteen miles below Albany, this character is not preserved, and the stream, confined within comparatively small limits, is obstructed by bars of sand, or spreads itself over shallows. In a few remarkable instances, the sloops, which then exclusively navigated the Hudson, had effected a passage in about sixteen hours, but a whole week was not unfrequently employed in this voyage, and the average time of passage was not less than four entire days. In Fulton's first attempt to navigate this stream, the passage to Albany was performed in thirty-two hours, and the return in thirty.

Up to this time, although the exclusive grant had been sought and obtained from the State of New York, it does not appear, that either he or his associate had been fully aware of the vast opening which the navigation of the Hudson presented for the use of steam. They looked to the rapid Mississippi and its branches, as the place where their triumph was to be achieved; and the original boat, modelled for shallow waters, was announced as intended for the navigation of that river. But, even in the very first attempt, numbers, called by business or pleasure to the northern or western parts of the State of New York, crowded into the yet untried vessel, and,

when the success of the attempt was beyond question, no little anxiety was manifested, that the steamboat should be established as a regular packet between New York and Albany.

With these indications of public feeling, Fulton immediately complied, and regular voyages were made at stated times until the end of the season. These voyages were not, however, unattended with inconvenience. The boat, designed for a mere experiment, was incommodious, and many of the minor arrangements by which facility of working, and safety from accident to the machinery, were to be insured, were yet wanting. Fulton continued a close and attentive observer of the performance of the vessel; every difficulty, as it manifested itself, was met and removed by the most masterly as well as simple contrivances. Some of these were at once adopted, while others remained to be applied while the boat should be laid up for the winter. He thus gradually formed in his mind the idea of a complete and perfect vessel; and, in his plan, no one part, which has since been found to be essential to ease of manœuvre or security, was omitted. But the eyes of the whole community were now fixed upon the steamboat; and, as all, of competent mechanical knowledge, were as alive to the defects of the original vessel as Fulton himself, his right to priority of invention of various important accessories has been disputed.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Steamboat rebuilt. — Occupations of the Summer of 1808. — Causes of Opposition to Fulton's Rights. — Rival Boats upon the Hudson.*

THE winter of 1807-8, was occupied in remodelling and rebuilding the vessel, to which the name of the *Clermont* was now given. The guards and housings for the wheels, which had been but temporary structures, applied as their value was pointed out by experience, became solid and essential parts of the boat. For a rudder of the ordinary form, one of surface much more extended in its horizontal dimensions was substituted. This, instead of being moved by a tiller, was acted upon by ropes applied to its extremity, and these ropes were adapted to a steering wheel, which was raised aloft towards the bow of the vessel.

It had been shown by the numbers, who were transported during the first summer, that, at the same price for passage, many were willing to undergo all the inconveniences of the original rude accommodations, in preference to encountering the delays and uncertainty to which the



passage in sloops was exposed. Fulton did not however take advantage of his monopoly, but, with the most liberal spirit, provided such accommodations for passengers, as, in convenience and even splendor, had not before been approached in vessels intended for the transportation of travellers. This was, on his part, an exercise of almost improvident liberality. By his contract with Chancellor Livingston, the latter undertook to defray the whole cost of the engine and vessel, until the experiment should result in success; but, from that hour, each was to furnish an equal share of all subsequent investments. Fulton had no patrimonial fortune, and what little he had saved from the product of his ingenuity was now exhausted. But the success of the experiment had inspired the banks and capitalists with confidence, and he now found no difficulty in obtaining, in the way of loan, all that was needed. Still, however, a debt was thus contracted, which the continued demands made upon him for new investments never permitted him to discharge. The *Clermont*, thus converted into a floating palace, gay with ornamental painting, gilding, and polished woods, commenced her course of passages for the second year in the month of April.

The first voyage of this year was of the most discouraging character. Chancellor Livingston,

who had, by his own experiments, approached as near to success as any other person, who, before Fulton, had endeavoured to navigate by steam, and who had furnished all the capital necessary for the experiment, had plans and projects of his own. These he urged into execution in spite of the opposition of Fulton. The boiler furnished by Watt and Bolton, was not adapted to the object. Copied from those used on the land, it required that its fireplace and flues should be constructed of masonry. These added so much weight to the apparatus, that the rebuilt boat would hardly have floated had they been retained. In order to replace this boiler, Livingston had planned a compound structure of wood and copper, which he insisted should be tried.

It is only necessary for us to say, that this boiler proved a complete failure. Steam began to issue from its joints a few hours after the *Clermont* left New York. It then became impossible to keep up a proper degree of tension, and the passage was thus prolonged to forty-eight hours. These defects increased after leaving Albany on the return, and the boiler finally gave way altogether within a few miles of New York. The time of the downward passage was thus extended to fifty-six hours. Fulton was, however, thus relieved from all further interference ;

this fruitless experiment was decisive as to his superiority over his colleague in mechanical skill. He therefore immediately planned and directed the execution of a new boiler, which answered the purpose perfectly ; and, although there are many reasons why boilers of a totally different form, and of subsequent invention, should be preferred, it is for its many good properties extensively used, with little alteration, up to the present day. But a few weeks sufficed to build and set this boiler, and in the month of June the regular passages of the *Clermont* were renewed.

In observing the hour appointed for departure, both from New York and Albany, Fulton determined to insist upon the utmost regularity. It required no little perseverance and resolution to carry this system of punctuality into effect. Persons, accustomed to be waited for by packet boats and stages, assented with great reluctance to what they conceived to be a useless adherence to precision of time. The benefits of this punctuality were speedily perceptible ; the whole system of internal communication of the State of New York was soon regulated by the hours of arrival and departure of Fulton's steamboats ; and the same system of precision was copied in all other steamboat lines. The certainty of conveyance at stated times being thus secured, the number of travellers was instantly augmented ; and, before the end of

the second summer, the boat became far too small for the passengers, who crowded to avail themselves of this novel, punctual, and unprecedentedly rapid method of transport.

Such success, however, was not without its alloy. The citizens of Albany and the River towns saw, as they thought, in the steamboat, the means of enticing their customers from their ancient marts, to the more extensive market of the chief city; the skippers of the river mourned the inevitable loss of a valuable part of their business; and innumerable projectors beheld with envy the successful enterprise of Fulton.

Among the latter class was one, who, misled by false notions of mechanical principles, fancied that in the mere oscillations of a pendulum lay a power sufficient for any purpose whatever. Availing himself of a well constructed model, he exhibited to the inhabitants of Albany a pendulum, which continued its motions for a considerable time, without requiring any new impulse, and at the same time propelled a pair of wheels. These wheels, however, did not work in water. Those persons, who felt themselves aggrieved by the introduction of steamboats, quickly embraced this project, prompted by an enmity to Fulton; and determined, if they could not defeat his object, at least to share in the profits of its success.

It soon appeared from preliminary experiments, made in a sloop purchased for the purpose, that a steam engine would be required to give motion to the pendulum; and it was observed, that the water wheels, when in connexion with the pendulum, had a very irregular motion. A fly wheel was therefore added, and the pendulum was now found to be a useless incumbrance. Enlightened by these experiments, the association proceeded to build two boats; and these were exact copies, not only of the hull and all the accessories of the *Clermont*, but the engine turned out to be identical in form and structure with one, which Fulton was at the very time engaged in fitting to his second boat, *The Car of Neptune*.

The pretence of bringing into use a new description of prime mover was of course necessarily abandoned, and the owners of the new steam-boats determined boldly to test the constitutionality of the exclusive grant to Fulton. Fulton and Livingston, in consequence, applied to the Court of Chancery of the State of New York for an injunction, which was refused. On an appeal to the Court of Errors this decision of the chancellor was reversed, but the whole of the profits which might have been derived from the business of the year, were prevented from accruing to Livingston and Fulton, who, compelled to contend in price with an opposition supported by popular feeling

in Albany, were losers rather than gainers by the operations of the season.

As no appeal was taken from this last decision, the waters of the State of New York remained in the exclusive possession of Fulton and his partner, until the death of the former. This exclusive possession was not, however, attended with all the advantages, that might have been anticipated. The immense increase of travel, which the facilities of communication created, rendered it imperative upon the holders of the monopoly to provide new facilities by the construction of new vessels. The cost of these could not be defrayed out of the profits. Hence new and heavy debts were necessarily contracted by Fulton, while Livingston, possessed of an ample fortune, required no pecuniary aid, beyond what he was able to meet from his own resources.

## CHAPTER X.

*Fulton's Marriage.—His Success speedily clouded by Opposition.—Nature and Sources of the Opposition.—Claims derived from Fitch.—Fulton's two Patents.—Simplicity of his Methods.*

THE success of Fulton's first experiment, was speedily followed by his marriage. On his arrival in the United States, his connexion in business with Chancellor Livingston brought him in contact with the relatives and friends of that gentleman. Of this circle Miss Harriet Livingston, the niece of the Chancellor, was, at that time, the ornament. Preëminent in beauty, grace, and accomplishments, she speedily attracted the ardent admiration of Fulton; and this was returned by an estimate of his talent and genius, amounting almost to enthusiasm.

The epoch of their nuptials, the spring of 1808, was that of Fulton's greatest glory. Every thing, in fact, appeared to concur in enhancing the advantages of his position. Leaving out of view all questions of romance, his bride was such as the most impartial judgment would have selected; young, lovely, highly educated, intelligent,

possessed of what, in those days, was accounted wealth. His long labors in adapting the steam-engine to the purposes of navigation, had been followed by complete success; and that very success had opened to him, through the exclusive grant of the navigation of the Hudson, the prospect of vast riches. Esteemed and honored, even by those who had been most incredulous while his scheme was in embryo, he felt himself placed on the highest step of the social scale. Nothing, in short, seemed wanting to complete the blessings of his lot.

We have seen, in a former chapter, how speedily his apparently well-grounded hopes of immediate profit from his invention, were frustrated by the opposition steamboats constructed in Albany, and how slow was his legal remedy for the damage he thus incurred. This opposition was, as we have stated, supported by those who anticipated injury from his success. When it was clearly to be seen, that any such anticipation was groundless, and that Albany, so far from being injured, was to be largely benefited by the steam navigation of the Hudson, other causes of discontent and opposition speedily arose; and, however important were the services conferred upon travellers, and the community in general, by the introduction of steamboats,



those of Fulton and Livingston speedily ceased to enjoy popularity.

In the early part of the enterprise, before its rapidity and certainty had actually created a traffic beyond the capacity of the vessels to accommodate, nothing could be imagined more agreeable than a summer passage to Albany in the steamboats. Gliding along, at a steady, but by no means rapid rate, the passenger had leisure to dwell upon the beauties of a scenery almost unrivalled in beauty, and to view it in all its aspects and under every variety of light. The time had not yet arrived when prudence would require a separation of one's self from all unknown persons; for the very fact of being a steamboat passenger, was, for a time, almost a guaranty of respectability. A society, therefore, existed on board, of the most easy and polished character. Rudeness and vulgarity, if accidentally present, were controlled by a preponderating force of good manners and refinement.

Such happy influences, however, continued but a few months, and the steamboats were speedily crowded by persons of every description, in such numbers as to defy all attempts on the part of the owners to render them comfortable. Most of the additions to the number, were of that class, who, from calculation, found that the saving of time in the steamboat was

more than equivalent to its additional cost. These nice calculators also speedily found, that the cost of the provisions they consumed, and of the fuel which conveyed them, was far less than the sum they paid; and, leaving out of account the vast cost and labor expended on the preliminary experiments, they not only grumbled at the inconveniences arising from their own unexpected numbers, but complained of the extortions of which they conceived themselves the victims.

Of such impressions, each passenger became in his turn the vehicle; and those, to whom the steamboats were known only by name, were speedily aware of all their discomforts. The crowded sleeping-rooms, the decks strewn with couches, the confined and offensive air, meals scrambled for, food ravenously swallowed, were all laid to the charge of the exclusive privileges of the owners. These feelings it was attempted to counteract by the most liberal, nay, profuse, expenditure; but this liberality produced no other good effect than to enrich the stewards and purveyors; in the hands of some of whom, the wealth gained in his service, was made the most efficient means of depriving his family of the rights Fulton bequeathed them. Thus, while with the intelligent, the educated, and the high-minded, the name of Fulton was regarded with esteem and reverence, it became hateful to the ignorant and

selfish, of whom, even in our more enlightened times, the majority is made up.

It is, however, to be admitted, that the opposition to Fulton's monopoly was not wholly confined to persons of the latter description. In the legal disputes which arose out of the attempts to set aside the exclusive privileges granted to Fulton, and in the debates which arose in the legislatures of several of the States, there were men enlisted on the side of the opposition, who were not mere professional advocates, but had the firmest reliance upon the justice of the cause they espoused. They believed, conscientiously, that Fulton had arrogated to himself the merit of discoveries, which had been made by others. To these pure and disinterested gentlemen we must allow the praise of proper and patriotic motives.

The most formidable opposition which was made to the privileges of Fulton, was founded upon the discoveries of Fitch. We have seen, that he had constructed a boat, which made some passages between Trenton and Philadelphia; but the method, which he used, was that of paddles, which are far inferior to the paddle-wheel. Of the inferiority of the method of paddles, had any doubt remained, positive evidence was afforded in the progress of this dispute; for, in order to bring the question to the test of a

legal decision, a boat propelled by them was brought into the waters of the State of New York. The result of the experiment was so decisive, that, when the parties engaged in the enterprise had succeeded in their designs, they made no attempt to propel their boats by any other method than that of wheels.

Fulton, assailed in his exclusive privileges derived from State grants, took, for his further protection, a patent from the general government. This is dated in 1809, and was followed by another, for improvements upon it, in 1811. It now appeared, that the very circumstance in which the greatest merit of his method consists, was to be the obstacle to his maintaining an exclusive privilege. Discarding all complexity, he had limited himself to the simple means of adapting paddle-wheels to the axle of the crank of Watt's engine; and, under the patent laws, it seems hardly possible that such a simple, yet effectual method, could be guarded by a specification. As has been the case with many other important discoveries, the most ignorant conceived that they might themselves have discovered it; and those acquainted with the history of the attempts at navigation by steam were compelled to wonder, that it had been left for Fulton to bring into successful operation.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Conflicting Claims of the States of New York and New Jersey. — Attempt to obtain a Repeal of the Grant from the State of New York. — Fulton's Steam Ferryboats. — Boat for the Navigation of the Sound. — Boats planned by Fulton, and left unfinished at the Time of his Death.*

IN considering the history of the remaining years of Fulton's life, it is impossible not to be struck with the obvious fact, that he had made a false step in forming a partnership with Livingston, and in looking to exclusive legislative grants for his remuneration. Had he acted simply as Livingston's engineer, and kept aloof from all more intimate connexion, he would have been consulted, as a matter of course, by all those who embarked in the enterprise of extending steam navigation.

From such professional service, fortune and popularity could not fail to have followed. But becoming, as he did, the partner in a monopoly, every new extension of the method he had brought into successful use, and every improvement made in it, was hostile to his interests, and

those, who, under other circumstances, would have been his firmest supporters became his opponents and enemies.

The State of New York, at the time when its grant to Fulton and Livingston was in force, claimed jurisdiction over the whole of the waters lying between its own shores and those of New Jersey. The latter State resisted this claim; but, in the intercourse by ferries between the two States, the influence of individual interests had prevented any inconvenience arising from the conflicting jurisdictions.

It is probable, that, had Fulton himself been the sole proprietor of the grant from the State of New York, a spirit of compromise with the citizens of New Jersey would have governed him. But the partnership, instead of treating on fair terms with the parties holding ferry rights in that State, transferred the whole of the rights they held under the State of New York to a near relation of Chancellor Livingston. The boat constructed under this grant, on commencing its passages, came into immediate competition with the ferry owners in New Jersey, and left them no option except between the total abandonment of their property in the ferries and a competition by means of steamboats.

For this latter object, grants made to Fitch by the State of New Jersey, which, although

never acted upon, were still in force, were resorted to. Not content with an opposition upon the debatable waters, the parties engaged in this attempt resolved to try the validity of the grant to Livingston within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the State of New York. With this view an application was made in the winter of 1808-9 for a repeal of the law. This application, being referred to a committee of the Legislature, was favorably received, and a bill for the repeal was reported. Fulton and Livingston, however, having obtained permission to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Assembly, succeeded in preventing this bill from becoming a law.

The action of the State of New Jersey was effectual in causing the steamboat, constructed by virtue of the grant from Fulton and Livingston, to suspend her passages; and, in retaliation, her proprietors, in opposition, as is believed, to the wishes of Fulton, brought the law of the State of New York to bear upon a ferryboat belonging to John Stevens, of Hoboken, which was in consequence prevented from plying.

It thus happened, that the persons, who were entitled to all the merit of introducing steam successfully into the service of navigation; were the greatest sufferers by the contest. Fulton lost the income for which he had stipulated out of the profits of the steamboats plying to New Jersey;

while Stevens, who had constructed and set in motion a steamboat of unobjectionable construction, within a few weeks after Fulton's successful experiment, was prevented from using it.

We may here pause to remark, on what small circumstances the claim to original invention may rest. Stevens had now been engaged for seventeen years in attempts to apply the steam engine to the purposes of navigation, and was on the very eve of success, when forestalled by Fulton, while the latter was entitled to his right of priority by no more than a few weeks. It is, however, to be remarked, that the engine, with which Fulton's successful experiment was made, had been planned and constructed several years before; and it appears probable, that the exertions of Stevens, and of his son, who had now come forward as his father's engineer, were stimulated by the knowledge of Fulton's confidence in a successful issue of his experiments. If, however, it were necessary for us to decide to whom, of all the rivals of Fulton, any share of the honors of success were due, there could be no hesitation in awarding them to Stevens.

This controversy with the State of New Jersey, which embarrassed, and often interrupted wholly, the communication by steam between Philadelphia and New York, was not adjusted during the life of Fulton, and may indeed be said



to have continued until the grant of the State of New York was finally decided to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Although thus harassed by litigation, Fulton did not permit his mind to be wholly diverted from mechanical pursuits. The insular position of the City of New York, however favorable to commerce, both domestic and inland, subjected it to great difficulty in its communications with the adjacent country, and diminished materially the value of the lands situated on the opposite shores of its rivers and bay. From the magnitude of these masses of water, row-boats were an unsafe mode of communication, which, if attempted by them, was subject to continual interruptions; and large sail-boats, although more safe, were, in consequence of the rapidity of the tides and the irregularity of the winds, liable to great uncertainty in their passage. That these difficulties might be overcome by steam was now obvious, and Fulton tasked himself to contrive the most appropriate means of applying that mover to the object.

It appeared necessary that the vessels should be so constructed, that carriages might be driven into them without difficulty. He was in consequence led to adopt the plan of twin boats, having the paddle-wheels between them, and connected by a deck, sufficiently strong to bear the feet of

horses and the weight of loaded carriages. It is probable, that he now, for the first time, availed himself of the experiment of Symington, whose boat was of similar structure; and it was at this period, that he consulted the work which contains a drawing of that vessel. The assistance he derived from an inspection of this draft was however but small; for there is not the slightest resemblance in the arrangement and distribution of the two inventions, with the exception of both being twin boats, and both moved by a single paddle-wheel set in motion by a steam engine. Fulton had found no difficulty in the navigation of rivers, in the direction of their length, by a single boat with wheels on each side; but the circumstances of the case were far different, when a movable road, bearing both foot passengers and carriages, was to be employed to cross a stream. So far as the theory then received of the resistance of fluids could be a guide, the form selected by Fulton was a good one; but it is now determined, by observations upon the ferryboats constructed by him and others, that twin boats are retarded by a resistance of a more powerful character than single ones.

This increase of resistance, to an amount far greater than is pointed out by theory, appears to be due to a wedge of water which lies between the two conjoined boats, and which must be removed

as the vessel advances. Of this Fulton could not have been aware, as no observations or experiments existed by which it could have been determined. With this exception, the ferryboat of Fulton is to be classed with the very few machines, which come perfect, on the first trial, from the hands of the inventor; and, with the substitution of a single hull for the twin boat, it has in its arrangement and distribution undergone little or no change.

Steam ferryboats were first established upon the ferry between New York and Brooklyn, and a short time afterwards, between the former city and Paulus Hook. The latter were completed shortly after the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the United States. An immediate opportunity was afforded to prove the importance of the invention. It became necessary to transport a troop of flying artillery, with its battery of guns and other carriages. The whole were conveyed across this ferry, whose breadth is about a mile, in less than an hour, by a single boat, although comprising upwards of a hundred mounted men, and more than twenty carriages, each drawn by four horses.

A difficulty existed, on account of the ebb and flow of the tide, in making his ferryboats answer the purpose of a movable road, into and from which carriages might be driven without delay

or danger. This was obviated, in a simple and ingenious way, by means of a floating bridge; and the danger to the wharves and the vessel itself arising from the shock attending their contact, was prevented by an apparatus governed by a floating counterpoise. These exhibited much skill in practical mechanics, and knowledge of the laws of hydrostatics. The latter part of his invention has, however, been rendered useless by the dexterity, which the ferrymen have attained in the management of the boats, but was at first of the utmost importance to prevent injury, not only to the machines themselves, but to the passengers.

The steamboats on the Hudson River were increased in number, before the death of Fulton, to five. A sixth was built under his direction for the navigation of the Sound; and, this water being rendered unsafe by the presence of an enemy's squadron, the boat plied for a time upon the Hudson. In the construction of this boat, he had, in his own opinion, exhausted the power of steam in navigation, having given it a speed of nine miles an hour; and it is a remarkable fact, which manifests his acquaintance with theory and skill in calculation, that he in all cases predicted, with almost absolute accuracy, the velocity of the vessels he caused to be constructed. The engineers of Great Britain came long after to a similar conclusion in respect to the maximum of speed.

It is now, however, well known, that with a proper construction of prows, the resistance to vessels moving at higher velocities than nine miles an hour, increases in a much less ratio than had been inferred from experiments made upon wedge-shaped bodies; and that the velocity of the pistons of steam engines may be conveniently increased beyond the limit fixed by the practice of Watt.

For these important discoveries, the world is indebted principally to Robert L. Stevens. That Fulton must have reached them in the course of his own practice can hardly be doubted, had his valuable life been spared to watch the performances of the vessels he was engaged in building at the time of his premature death. These were, a large boat, intended for the navigation of the Hudson, to which the name of his partner, Chancellor Livingston, was given, and one planned for the navigation of the ocean. The latter was constructed with the intention of making a passage to St. Petersburg; but this scheme was interrupted by his death, which took place at the moment he was about to add to his glory, as the first constructor of a successful steamboat, that of being the first navigator of the ocean by this new and mighty agent.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Fulton's Torpedoes. — His Submarine Guns. — Steam Frigate. — Submarine Vessel. — He is called before the Legislature of New Jersey as a Witness. — Is detained on the Hudson by the Ice. — His Illness. — Death and Character.*

THE prime of Fulton's life had been spent in ineffectual attempts to introduce a novel mode of warfare. In these efforts, he was encouraged by the hope, that, were its efficacy once established, his native country would be safe from the aggressions of European powers. The war of 1812 promised an opportunity of applying his carefully matured schemes to the purpose for which they were originally intended, and of realizing his long-cherished hopes. He had, almost immediately after his return to the United States, instituted a set of experiments with his torpedo; these were successful in destroying a vessel anchored in the bay of New York. The attention of the general government being thus awakened, he had received instructions to perform another set of experiments, in which he was to receive the aid of officers of the navy;

or, rather, was to attempt the application of his torpedoes to a vessel, which they were to defend.

It is no dishonor to Fulton, that, in the course of these experiments, he was foiled. The officers of the navy, fully aware of the manner of his approach, took such measures as prevented all access to the vessel to be attacked. It is, however, obvious, that the very necessity of taking such precautions as they found indispensable, was a proof of the greatness of the danger; and it was evident, that, had they not had weeks for preparation, and all the means, both in men and material, furnished by a large navy yard at their disposal, some one or other of the means proposed by Fulton must have been successful.

In spite, then, of the advantage which the highest degree of naval skill, and the command of means, that could not be within the reach of an enemy's vessel upon our shores, gained over Fulton's embryo scheme, we must conclude, that it would have been a powerful and efficient means of annoyance against an enemy anchoring in our waters. It was viewed in this light by the government, not as a substitute for the ordinary modes of warfare, but as a useful and powerful addition to the means of harbor defence.

When, therefore, the entrances of our harbors

were blockaded, Fulton's talents were called into the service of the government; but, as his enterprises were conducted with the most profound secrecy, little was said of them at the time. It is now, however, well known, that, although no actual injury was done to the British fleet, yet the motions of the squadron in Long Island Sound, were paralyzed, although commanded by the favorite captain of Nelson, and its crews kept in a state of continual alarm, by a fear of the invention of Fulton.

It is not to be wondered, that his motions were watched by spies, and regularly reported to the British commander; who, on one occasion, landed a strong party, which invested the house at which Fulton had intended to sleep. By a lucky accident, he was prevented reaching his intended quarters, or he would certainly have been made prisoner.

In the course of his experiments upon the mode of attaching the Torpedo, he had planned an instrument, by which a cable was to be cut. This consisted of an arrow, projected beneath the surface of the water, by a small piece of ordnance. A trial of this instrument showed the practicability of firing artillery beneath the surface of the water, and doing execution with it, at moderate distances. Upon this observation, he founded a method of arming vessels



with submarine guns ; by the use of which, they would, in close action, have acquired a vast superiority over those armed in the usual manner.

His attention was next directed to the construction of a vessel of war, to be propelled by steam ; and he succeeded in producing perhaps the most formidable engine of naval war, which has ever been planned. Viewed in the light of a floating battery, intended solely for the defence of harbors, this vessel left little to be desired ; but he had no intention of fitting it for the general purposes of navigation ; and hence we have no right, in estimating its value, in comparison with that of subsequent constructions of the same sort, to take its fitness for any other object into account.

When death arrested the career of Fulton, he was busily engaged in constructing an improved form of the submarine vessel, which he had used in France. Aware, by experience, of the difficulty of moving a vessel when wholly submerged, he limited his views, in this case, to bringing the deck to a level with the surface of the water. This deck was to be rendered ball-proof. In this position, a large wheel, intended as the propelling apparatus, would have worked partly in air and partly in water. Such were the obvious features of the plan ; but, of

many accessory parts, the idea was confined to his own breast; and thus, upon his demise, no person was to be found able or willing to undertake the completion of the unfinished invention. The object of this vessel was to furnish a safe and convenient mode of using his torpedoes and submarine guns.

The energies of Fulton's mind were arrested by death, in the midst of these active and interesting pursuits. The controversy, in which the parties holding under him were engaged with the owners of the monopoly granted by the State of New Jersey, had never been closed. A favorable opportunity seemed to present itself for obtaining a repeal of the law of that State, which was seized by the former party. Fulton, having no direct interest in the question, was a competent witness, and was summoned, as such, to attend the legislature of New Jersey, in January, 1815. On his return, the Hudson River was found to be filled with floating ice, which put a stop to the usual means of passage. Fulton, anxious to rejoin his family, attempted the passage in an open row-boat, and was thus exposed for several hours to the inclemency of the weather. The consequence was a severe attack of illness.

Before he had wholly recovered, his anxiety in relation to the steam frigate and his subma-

rine vessel was such as to induce him, in defiance of the suggestions of prudence, to visit the Navy Yard at Brooklyn, and expose himself for some hours upon the decks of the former. The result of this imprudence was a relapse of such violence, that his constitution, enfeebled by constant labors and anxieties, was unable to resist it. His death took place on the 24th of February, 1815.

Rarely has it happened, that the natural death of any citizen excited so general mourning as that of Fulton. Cut off in the very height of his usefulness, and in the zenith of his reputation, his countrymen felt it as a loss almost irreparable.

Fulton was in person considerably above the middle height; his countenance bore marks of intelligence and talent. Natural refinement, and long intercourse with the most polished societies both of Europe and America, had given him grace and elegance of manners. His great success, and the belief that his invention had secured the certainty of great wealth, however unfounded this belief was proved to be after his death, never, for a moment, rendered him arrogant or assuming. Fond of society, he was the soul of the intelligent circle in which he moved, and of which his hospitable mansion was the centre. The fine arts, once his chosen profes-

sion, were his recreation and delight in after life; and he not only practised them himself, but bountifully encouraged the efforts of others.

Our memoir has exhibited the extent of his mechanical knowledge and ingenuity; and, in the midst of the most prolific creations of American industry, the services rendered by Fulton are at length admitted to be superior to those of any other inventor, with the sole exception of Whitney. This rank is now awarded him, not only by the tardy justice of his own countrymen, but by the almost universal suffrage of the whole civilized world, the bonds of whose union are daily drawn closer and closer, by an invention which, however long sought and nearly attained by others, was at last introduced into use by his talent and perseverance.

In forming this estimate of his services, it is not necessary that we should undervalue the efforts of those, who preceded him in the attempt to apply steam to navigation. It is very probable, indeed, that, had it not been for the experiments of Fitch, Fulton might never have applied his attention to steam navigation. But it is not less certain, that, had he not been successful, the merits of Fitch would have been forgotten, and unknown to the present generation. It may even be questioned, whether the public would have believed in the success of

Stevens, and afforded him the encouragement necessary to carry on his enterprise, had not conviction been forced upon it, by the more brilliant and conspicuous experiment of Fulton. Compared with these two names, the superiority of reputation, which the future historian will not fail to ascribe to Fulton, may be as much due to good fortune as to actual merit; but, with this exception, he has no competitor for the glory of having introduced one of the most useful applications of mechanics, with which the civilized world has yet been favored.

LIFE

OF

JOSEPH WARREN,

BY

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, LL. D.

# JOSEPH WARREN.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *His Family and Education.*

THE name of JOSEPH WARREN is one of the most conspicuous in the annals of the Revolution. His memory is cherished with even warmer regard than that of some others, who, from the greater length of their career, and the wider sphere in which they acted, may be supposed to have rendered more important services to the country. This distinction in his favor is owing in part to the chivalrous beauty of his character, which naturally excites a sympathetic glow in every feeling mind; and in part to that untimely but glorious fate, which consecrated him as the first distinguished martyr in the cause of independence and liberty.

It is much to be regretted, that the materials for the biography of one, in whom we feel so deep an interest, are not more abundant; but

the circumstances of his active life were not such as to create a large mass of written and published documents for the information of future ages. The short period of time during which he was prominent in public affairs, and the confined circle that limited his efforts, afforded no scope for the voluminous correspondence, which forms the basis of the biography of most distinguished men. It is chiefly, therefore, as the young martyr of Bunker's Hill, that he lives, and will for ever live, in the memory of his countrymen. What ambition could desire a more glorious destiny? In consequence of this deficiency of materials, the present brief notice will be necessarily confined, in a great measure, to a rapid sketch of the events that filled up, or immediately preceded, that memorable day. A few particulars of his early life, which have been preserved by the affectionate care of his family, may serve as an introduction.

JOSEPH WARREN was born at Roxbury, in Massachusetts, in the year 1741. The house in which his father resided is still standing, near the centre of the principal village, in a street which has received his name. The father was chiefly employed in the cultivation of land, and particularly in raising fruit. He was the person who introduced into the neighborhood of Boston the species of apple denominated from him the



*Warren Russet.* One day in autumn, as he was walking in his orchard, after the apples had been mostly gathered, he saw one remaining upon the top of a tree, which tempted him by its uncommon beauty. He climbed the tree to pluck it; but, just as he was putting his hand upon the apple, the branch upon which he stood broke under him, and precipitated him to the ground a lifeless corpse. His youngest son, the late Dr. John Warren, of Boston, then four years old, who had been despatched by his mother to the orchard, to call his father to dinner, met the body borne by two laborers. By this fatal accident, the mother of Warren was left a widow, with the charge of four boys, of whom the eldest, Joseph, was then about sixteen years of age. The fidelity, with which she executed this arduous trust, is sufficiently attested by the eminent virtues and talents of her children. She lived to a very advanced age, at the house in Roxbury, surrounded by the younger members of the family, and reaping, in their affectionate attention, the best reward for the exemplary care with which she had herself discharged the maternal duties.

Joseph Warren was instructed in the rudiments of learning at the public school in Roxbury, one of the best endowed and most flourishing in Massachusetts, and entered Harvard College

at fourteen years of age. He was remarked at school and at college, as a young man of superior talents, gentle manners, and a frank, independent, and fearless character. A trifling incident, which occurred during his residence at Cambridge, and of which an account has been handed down by tradition, illustrates very agreeably the last of these qualities, and may, perhaps, be worth repeating.

A number of Warren's classmates were engaged in one of those youthful frolics, which occur periodically at all colleges, but of which they knew that Warren did not approve. The leaders, apprehending, that, if he were present at their meetings, his eloquence and influence would draw off their followers and defeat the plan, determined to prevent him from attending. They accordingly fastened the door of the room in which they met, and which was in the upper story of one of the college buildings. Finding that he could not get in at the door, and perceiving that there was an open window in the room, Warren determined to effect his entrance by that way, from the roof. He accordingly ascended the stairs to the top of the building, and getting out upon the roof, let himself down to the eaves, and thence, by the aid of a spout, to a level with the open window, through which he leaped into the midst of the conspirators.

The spout, which was of wood, was old, and so much decayed, that it fell to the ground as soon as Warren relaxed his hold upon it. His companions, hearing the crash, rushed to the window, and, when they perceived the cause, loudly congratulated him upon his escape. He coolly remarked, that the spout had retained its position just long enough to serve his purpose, and, without further notice of the accident, proceeded to harangue his audience upon the matter in hand. We are not informed of the result; but it can hardly be doubted, that prudent counsels, advanced with so much fearlessness and address, were adopted.

This little anecdote was related fifty years after the occurrence of the incident described, that is, about the year 1807, by a person who was present at the time, and who pointed out the window, which was the scene of a part of the action. There is, therefore, little doubt of the correctness of the statement. It exhibits, on a small scale, the same combination of qualities, which afterwards led Warren, at the most eventful period of his life, first, to dissuade his more aged and experienced colleagues in council, from engaging in the attempt to occupy the heights of Charlestown; and, when his efforts proved ineffectual, to throw himself forward, into the midst of danger, and perish in endeavoring to

give effect to the plan, which he had vainly opposed. He seems, in fact, to have possessed by nature, and to have exercised through life, that precious union of valor and discretion, which is so rarely to be met with; and which, when it does exist, constitutes the perfection of practical wisdom.

## CHAPTER II.

*His Professional Studies and Practice.— Entrance into Political Life.*

WARREN left college at the close of the usual period of residence, and applied himself immediately to the study of medicine. At the age of twenty-three, he established himself at Boston, and commenced the practice of his profession, which he pursued with distinguished success.

He is represented as having been particularly fortunate in his treatment of the smallpox, which prevailed about this time in Boston, and was then a much more formidable disease than it is now. In fact, the zeal with which he entered upon the study and practice of his profession, his fine talents and finished education, together with his agreeable person and manners, and naturally frank and amiable character, opened before him an easy path to wealth and eminence. In quiet times, he would have risen rapidly to the highest rank as a physician, passed his life in the active and literary pursuits belonging to that profession, and bequeathed to posterity a name distinguished only by the peaceful triumphs

of science and letters. During the brief period of his professional career, he had acquired so much distinction, that, at the opening of the war, he was designated as Surgeon-General of the army; and it was after having declined this place, that he was elected Major-General.

But the circumstances, in which the country was then placed, almost necessarily directed the attention of Warren from professional pursuits, and concentrated it upon political affairs. The same superiority of talent, and ardor of temperament, which would have given him an easy success in any profession, rendered him more than ordinarily susceptible of the influences, which then operated upon the community; and threw him forward into the front rank of the asserters of liberal principles. The fact, however, that men like Warren, of the finest talents, and in every respect the fairest promise, were among the first to join in the opposition to the measures of the government, shows sufficiently how completely the whole mind of the colonies had given itself up to the cause, and how utterly impossible it was for the ministry to sustain their pretensions by any power that could be brought to bear upon the people of America.

The establishment of Warren in Boston, as a physician, coincided with the close of the Seven Years' War, which was terminated by the de-

finitive treaty of Paris, of 1763. By that treaty, France, then in the last stages of that long disease of misgovernment, which finally produced, by reaction, the convulsions that marked the termination of the century, threw from her, as if in wantonness, the whole splendid domain, which she had previously possessed on this continent; and which, had it been retained, and well administered, must have ultimately rendered her mistress of the whole. The two Canadas and Florida were ceded to England. Louisiana, the boundaries of which were then unsettled, but which, as claimed by France, included the whole vast valley on both sides of the Mississippi, from the foot of the Alleghanies on the east, to that of the Rocky Mountains on the west, was transferred to Spain. This arrangement, so fatal to the greatness of France, was generally considered, at the time, as securing to the British crown the dominion of the whole of North America. Possessing, already, an unbroken line of coast, from Hudson's Bay round to the mouth of the Mississippi, with nothing to oppose her inland progress, but a torpid Spanish colonial government, there was every reason to expect, that, as population and civilization advanced in the colonies, the British government would gradually, by conquest and purchase, push the unsettled boundary of Louisiana farther and farther to the westward,

until they had driven the Spaniards from the continent. The same career, in short, was anticipated for America, as an appendage to Britain, which she has already pursued, and is still pursuing, as a union of independent States.

This was one of those cases, in which the course of events belies the most probable conjectures. The cession of the Canadas to Great Britain, instead of increasing her power upon the continent, was one of the most active immediate causes of the dismemberment of the empire. While the French, in close alliance with the natives, over whom they have always exercised a much stronger influence than any other European nation, hung upon the rear of the colonies, and, whenever Great Britain and France were at war, carried fire and sword through their peaceful villages, their whole military and political activity was exhausted in efforts to ward off this imminent danger. The coöperation of the mother country in effecting this object, naturally generated good feeling between the parties; and, as long as this relation continued to exist, it did much to prevent any considerable difference upon any subject. Never had this coöperation between the parent country and the colonies been so cordial; and never had the colonies distinguished themselves so much by their zeal and success in supporting the pretensions of the



crown, against a foreign enemy, as in the brilliant campaigns of the Seven Years', or, as it has often been called, in this country, the Old French War, the great school in which our fathers disciplined and exercised themselves for the desperate struggles of the Revolution.

The cession of the Canadas to Great Britain, delivered the colonies from this dangerous neighborhood, and left them no employment for the intense political activity to which they had always been accustomed, but the adjustment of their relations with the parent country. By a sort of fatality, the ministry seized the moment to enter upon a new system of policy, involving pretensions and principles, which had never been put forth before, and to which the colonies could hardly be expected to give a quiet assent. Till now, they had paid no taxes, except such as were imposed by their own legislatures, for the purpose of defraying their own colonial and municipal expenses. They were now called upon to contribute to the general expenses of the empire, by taxes imposed, without their participation, by the general government. The effect was electric; and the magnitude of the results is hardly less astonishing, than the rapidity with which they were brought about.

Between the conclusion of the definitive treaty

of peace, which terminated the French war, and the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, which opened that of the Revolution, there intervened a period of only eleven years. Many of the officers, who had distinguished themselves in the preceding wars, were still surviving, in the full vigor of their faculties, to give their countrymen the benefit of their experience and skill in this new struggle. The same unerring eye, which, at the first capture of Louisburg, on the 17th of June, 1745, directed the shell, which fell upon the citadel, and occasioned the surrender of the place, was employed, on the thirteenth anniversary of that day, in laying out a position for the first regular engagement between the colonial and British armies. So rapid, in some cases, are the movements that regulate the fortunes of nations, and change the aspect of the world.

This period of eleven years, which intervened between the close of the French war, and the opening of that of Independence, was filled up by a succession of interesting events, many of which occurred in the neighborhood of Boston. The Stamp Act; the tumults which followed it; its repeal; the Tea Act; the troubles which attended its enforcement, and which terminated in the celebrated *Boston Tea Party*; the military occupation of Boston by the British army;

the hostile encounters, that occurred so frequently between the troops and the citizens, including the fatal events of the 5th of March, 1770; these occurrences, with various others, of less importance but similar character, were the preludes to the far-famed tragedies of the 19th of April, and the 17th of June, 1775. A detailed review of these events, would, of course, be irrelevant to the present occasion. They belong to the history of the country. It may be proper, however, to advert to the part taken by General Warren, on one or two of these occasions, before proceeding to a somewhat fuller account of the brief period, during which he may be said to have been the leading spirit of the colony, and which will be for ever distinguished in our annals by the memorable battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

## CHAPTER III.

*Events of the 5th of March, 1770.—Warren's Anniversary Addresses.*

THE great authority and influence, which Dr. Warren exercised over his fellow citizens a few years afterwards, evidently show, that he must have taken an active and zealous part in political affairs, from the commencement of his residence at Boston, which coincided, as has been remarked, with the close of the French war. For some time, however, his activity must, of course, have been confined to a secondary sphere. The foreground of the stage was already occupied by the great men, who will figure in history as the fathers of the Revolution, John Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, James Otis, Josiah Quincy.

While these eminent characters were on the spot, and in full activity, the patriots of a younger class labored, of course, under their direction. This was the position of Warren for the first seven or eight years of his residence at Boston. At the close of that time, accidental circumstances removed, or deprived of their capacity for usefulness, at once, nearly all the persons who had acted as leaders in Massachusetts. Otis lost

his health, and retired into the country. Quincy left the colony to visit Europe, and returned the next year, only to breathe his last sigh upon the shores of his beloved country. Hancock and the two Adamses, with Robert Treat Paine and Elbridge Gerry, represented the colony in the Continental Congress. In their absence, the direction of affairs passed, of course, into the hands of the prominent patriots of the next succeeding generation; and it was then, that the commanding genius of Warren carried him, at once, to the helm, and rendered him, for the brief period of his subsequent life, both in civil and military affairs, the most prominent man in New England.

It was one of the distinguishing traits in the character of Warren, that he combined in a remarkable degree the qualities requisite for excellence in civil pursuits, with a strong taste and aptitude for war. In this particular, he stood alone among the leading patriots of Massachusetts; and the circumstance, had his life been prolonged, would have contributed very much to establish and extend his political influence. He also possessed, in high perfection, the gift of eloquence; and, in exercising it, he is represented as having exhibited the discretion, which, in all respects, tempered so honorably the ardor of his character. His voice was often raised in

public, for the purpose of dissuading the people from tumultuous movements, and exhorting them to seek redress for their wrongs, as much as possible, according to the forms of law, and without detriment to the rights of individuals, or a breach of the public peace.

The first occasion, however, on which the name of Dr. Warren appears in connexion with any public proceedings, was one when his eloquence was exerted for a purpose more congenial to the feelings of an ardent patriot. I allude to the addresses which he delivered on the 5th of March, 1772 and 1775, in commemoration of the sanguinary scene which was exhibited in Boston, on the same day of the year 1770.

The riots, which followed the attempt to enforce the new revenue laws at Boston, however natural under the circumstances, produced, as must have been expected, the military occupation of the place by British troops. In the course of the year 1768, two regiments, which had previously been stationed at Halifax, and two from Ireland, making, with part of a regiment of artillery, a corps of about four thousand men, arrived at Boston. They were placed under the command of General Gage, an officer who had honorably distinguished himself in the preceding French war. The General, whose head-quarters were at New York, came to Bos-

ton, to superintend the arrangements for quartering the troops, which were not effected without great difficulty, and much opposition from the inhabitants. It was, in fact, found impossible to induce them to furnish barracks, agreeably to the act of Parliament, providing for the occupation; and the General was compelled to hire houses for the accommodation of three of the regiments. The fourth, with the artillery, was quartered in tents upon the Common.

The military occupation of Boston, although, on the view of things which was taken by the ministry, a matter of indispensable necessity, led, of course, to frequent quarrels between the troops and the citizens. In these, the latter were, probably, from the nature of the case, pretty often in the wrong. This was certainly the fact on the famous occasion of the 5th of March, 1770.

On the evening of that day, a mob of citizens, armed with clubs, without any previous provocation, insulted, and finally assaulted, the soldiers, who were on guard at the Custom House, in King Street, now State Street. The guard exhibited great forbearance, and it was not until one of their number had been actually knocked down at his post by one of the mob, that they fired; whether with or without orders was afterwards disputed. The first discharge killed three persons on the spot, and mortally

wounded two others. Here the affray terminated; and, so clearly were the citizens in the wrong, that Captain Preston, who, as commanding officer of the guard, had been brought to trial, was acquitted by a verdict of the jury, having been defended by the two great leaders of the patriotic party, John Adams and Josiah Quincy.

But, whatever might be the merits of the case on this occasion, as between the parties immediately engaged, it was impossible, on a general view of the subject, not to regard the occurrence as one of the unfortunate results of the new line of policy adopted by the British government. If the bloody retribution, which unreflecting citizens had brought upon themselves, by excesses growing out of the exasperation produced by the ministerial measures, were in itself technically, and even substantially, as between the immediate parties, just, this was only an additional reason for regretting and reprobating a policy, which almost inevitably drew the people into that worst of all misfortunes, the commission of voluntary wrong; which first led them into temptation, and then punished them for yielding to it. Considering the occurrence under this aspect, the leading patriots determined to set apart the day for an annual celebration; and it was accordingly so observed for several years, until the



anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was finally substituted for it, as furnishing, on the whole, a more suitable occasion for commemorating the great results of the controversy between the mother country and the United Colonies. This arrangement has been continued ever since, and will probably never be abandoned, while the union of the States is permitted to endure.

On the second of the anniversary celebrations of the 5th of March, in the year 1772, Samuel Adams was invited to deliver the address. He declined the task, which was then committed to Dr. Warren, who acquitted himself with great ability. On a similar occasion, three years afterwards, he again delivered an address, which has attracted more attention than the former one, from the thrilling interest of the circumstances in which the orator was placed, and the more excited state of the whole community.

The mutual exasperation between the troops and the citizens had then reached a very high point; and it had come to be considered as a service of a somewhat critical character, to deliver the anniversary oration. Warren volunteered to perform the duty. When the day arrived, the aisles of the church, the pulpit stairs, the pulpit itself, were occupied by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who were

doubtless stationed there to overawe the orator, and, perhaps, prevent him, by force, from proceeding. Warren, to avoid interruption and confusion, entered from the rear, by the pulpit window; and, unmoved by the hostile military array that surrounded him, and pressed upon his person, delivered the bold and stirring address, which we have in print. It combines, with a somewhat exuberant display of imagination, a firm exposition of the rights of the colonies, and the sternest denunciation of the previous excesses of the troops, in whose presence he stood. Such was the influence of his courage and eloquence, that he was listened to without a murmur.

I am informed, however, by the Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, Massachusetts, who was present on this occasion in the Old South Church, where the address was delivered, that there was, at least, one silent but not wholly insignificant demonstration of feeling, from the military part of the audience. While the oration was in progress, an officer, who was seated on the pulpit stairs, held up one of his hands, in view of the orator, with several pistol bullets on the open palm. Warren observed the action, and, without discontinuing his discourse, dropped a white handkerchief upon the officer's hand. How happy had it been for the country, if this gentle and

graceful admonition could have arrested the march of violence, and averted the fatal presage afforded by this sinister occurrence of the future fate of the patriotic speaker; a presage too soon and too exactly realized, on the following 17th of June!

## CHAPTER IV.

*Political Organization of Massachusetts.—Warren is elected President of the Provincial Congress, and Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety.—Events of the 19th of April, 1775.*

THE first public appearance of Dr. Warren, in connexion with the political affairs of the day, was, as I have remarked, on the occasion of the delivery of the anniversary address of 1772. In that year, the Committee of Correspondence was formed at Boston; an institution which exercised, in a private way, a very strong influence in promoting the progress of the Revolution.\* Of this Committee, Dr. Warren was an original member. The earliest active proceedings, of a

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\* This Committee was designed for corresponding with the several towns in Massachusetts. The plan was first suggested by James Warren, of Plymouth. The Committees of Correspondence for the Colonies were organized the year following, and were first proposed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, in March, 1773. The same system of Committees of Correspondence had likewise been adopted to some extent in the time of the Stamp Act. See Sparks's edition of FRANKLIN'S WRITINGS, Vol. VII. p. 264.

public character, in which he took a part, were those which grew out of Governor Gage's determination to fortify the southern entrance of Boston, by lines drawn across the isthmus or Neck, which unites it with Roxbury.

On this occasion, a convention was held, of delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, which then comprehended the present county of Norfolk, for the purpose of endeavoring to prevent this measure from being carried into effect. Dr. Warren was a delegate to this convention, and was made chairman of the committee, which was appointed to prepare an address to the Governor upon the subject. The Governor replied, in a brief and unsatisfactory manner. The committee rejoined in another address, of greater length, which was transmitted to the Governor, but received no answer. These papers were written by Dr. Warren, and they give a very favorable idea of his literary taste and talent, as well as of his courage and patriotism. The correspondence was communicated by Dr. Warren, as chairman of the committee, to the Continental Congress; and that body, in their reply, notice, in terms of high approbation, the part taken in it by the committee.

Dr. Warren had never served as a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts, under the colonial government. The representa-

tion of Boston was, at that time, very limited in number, and naturally fell into the hands of the more experienced among the patriotic leaders. These, however, as has been already stated, were removed, by a concurrence of accidental circumstances, from this quarter of the country, at about the time when the government was reorganized, under the direction of the popular party, in the autumn of 1774. The legislative power<sup>e</sup> was intrusted, under this arrangement, to a body of delegates, denominated the Massachusetts Congress; and the executive power was exercised by a committee of thirteen from that body, called the Committee of Public Safety.

The high sense, which was now entertained by his fellow citizens, of the value of the services of Warren to the cause of liberty, was strikingly evinced on this occasion; first, by his election as a delegate from Boston to the Congress; and secondly, by his designation as President of that body, and Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. By virtue of these places, he united in his person the chief responsibility for the conduct of the whole civil and military affairs of the new commonwealth, and became a sort of popular dictator. The Congress was organized at Salem, but shortly after removed to Concord, and, a few days before the battle of Lexington, adjourned to meet

again at Watertown, on the 10th of May, 1775. The Committee of Safety held its meetings, at this time, in a public house at West Cambridge, and seems to have been in session every day.

It was soon apparent, that the station now occupied by Warren in the councils of Massachusetts would be no sinecure. The second anniversary address which he delivered on the 6th of March, 1775, was the bold and spirit-stirring overture to the events of the following 19th of April and 17th of June.

The events of the 19th of April, including the battles of Lexington and Concord, were of such a character, that no individual could well occupy a very conspicuous position in the field. There was no commander-in-chief, and, properly speaking, no regular engagement or battle. The object of the British was to destroy the military stores at Concord; that of the Americans, to prevent this, if possible, and to show, at all events, that, in this quarter of the country at least, every inch of ground would be desperately contested. For the vigor and determination, which marked the conduct of the people on this important day, it is not too much to say, that the country is mainly indebted to the vigilance, activity, and energy of Warren.

It had been the intention of the British commander, to surprise the Americans; and so severe

were the precautions taken for this purpose, that the officers employed in the expedition were only informed of it on the preceding day. Information of a meditated attack had been, however, for some time in possession of the Americans; the first intimation having been given, as is said, by a patriotic lady of Boston, the wife of a royalist officer. A most vigilant observation was, in consequence, maintained upon the movements of the British; and, in this operation, great advantage was derived from the services of an association, composed chiefly of Boston mechanics, which had been formed in the autumn of the preceding year. The late Colonel Paul Revere was an active member of this society, and was employed by Dr. Warren, on this occasion, as his principal confidential messenger.

Some preparatory movements took place among the British troops, on the 15th of April, which attracted the attention of Warren. It was known, that the principal objects of the contemplated expedition were to seize the stores at Concord. Presuming that the movement would now be made without delay, the Committee of Safety took measures for securing the stores, by distributing a part of them among the neighboring towns. John Hancock and Samuel Adams were then at the house of the Reverend Mr. Clark, in Lexington, and Colonel Revere was despatched as a special



messenger to inform them of the probable designs of General Gage. On his return to Boston, he made an agreement with friends in Charlestown, that, if the expedition proceeded by water, two lights should be displayed on the steeple of the North Church; if it moved over the Neck, through Roxbury, only one.

The British commander finally fixed upon the 19th for the intended attempt; and, on the evening of the 18th, he sent for the officers whom he had designated for this service, and communicated to them, for the first time, the nature of the expedition upon which they were to be employed. So strict had been the secrecy observed by the Governor, in regard to this matter. The same discretion had not been maintained in other quarters; for Lord Percy, who was to command the reserve, on his way home to his lodgings, heard the expedition talked of, by a group of citizens, at the corner of one of the streets. He hastened back to the Governor's head-quarters, and informed him, that he had been betrayed. An order was instantly issued, to prevent any American from leaving town; but it came a few minutes too late to produce effect. Dr. Warren, who had returned in the evening from the meeting of the Committee of Public Safety, at West Cambridge, was already informed of the movement of the

British army, and had taken the necessary measures for spreading the intelligence through the country.

At about nine o'clock, on the evening of the 18th, the British troops intended for the expedition were embarked, under the command of Colonel Small, in boats at the bottom of the Common. Dr. Warren inspected the embarkation in person; and, having returned home immediately after, sent for Colonel Revere, who reached his house about ten o'clock. He had already despatched Mr. Dawes over land as a special messenger to Lexington, and he now requested Colonel Revere to proceed through Charlestown on the same errand.

The Colonel made arrangements, in the first place, for displaying the two lights on the steeple of the North Church, agreeably to the understanding with his friends in Charlestown, and then repaired to a wharf, at the north part of the town, where he kept his boat. He was rowed over by two friends, a little to the eastward of the British ship-of-war *Somerset*, which lay at anchor in this part of the channel, and was landed on the Charlestown side. He pursued his way through Charlestown and West Cambridge, not without several perilous encounters with British officers, who were patrolling the neighborhood, and finally arrived safely at Lex-

ington, where he met the other messenger, Mr. Dawes, whom he had, however, anticipated. After reposing a short time, they proceeded together to Concord, alarming the whole country as they went, by literally knocking at the door of almost every house upon the road. They had, of course, been in part anticipated by the signals on the North Church steeple, which had spread intelligence of the intended movement, with the speed of light, through all the neighboring towns.

By the effect of these well judged and well executed measures, Hancock and Adams were enabled to provide in season for their personal security, and the whole population of the towns, through which the British troops were to pass, were roused and on foot before they made their appearance. On reaching Lexington Green, they found a corps of militia under arms and prepared to meet them. At Concord, they found another; and when, after effecting, as far as they could, the objects of their expedition, they turned their steps homeward, they were enveloped, as it were, in a cloud of the armed yeomanry, which thickened around them at every step, and did such fearful execution in their ranks, that nothing but their timely meeting with the reinforcements under Lord Percy, at West Cam-

bridge, could have saved them from entire disorganization and actual surrender.

Colonel Revere, many years afterwards, drew up a very curious and interesting account of his adventures on this expedition, in the form of a letter to the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is printed in the Collections of that body, and is now familiar to the public.

It would be irrelevant to the present purpose to enter into the detail of the events of the 19th of April, in which Dr. Warren took no further part, until the British troops reached West Cambridge, on their return from Concord. Warren was at this place, in attendance on the Committee of Safety. On the approach of the British, he armed himself and went out, in company with General Heath, to meet them. On this occasion, he displayed his usual fearlessness, by exposing his person very freely to the fire of the enemy; and a bullet passed so near his head, as to carry away one of the long, close, horizontal curls, which, agreeably to the fashion of the day, he wore above the ears.

In other times this accident might, perhaps, have been regarded as a sinister omen. When the priests of the ancient religions sacrificed a victim to their divinities, they commonly began by cutting off a lock of his hair, and throwing

it into the fire. By this ceremony, he was supposed to be devoted to the god. A mind under the influence of such a prejudice might have seen, in the loss of General Warren's hair, a presage of the doom that awaited him. But Warren himself, even in a superstitious age, would never have yielded to any such notions. His frank, fearless, and generous character would have rather led him to sympathize with the gallant Trojan hero, in the Iliad, who, when he was advised to wait, before he entered upon a battle, till the omens, deduced from the flight of birds, should become favorable, replied, "What care I for the flight of birds, whether they take their course to the right or the left? I ask no better omen than to draw my sword in the cause of my country."

"Without a sign his sword the brave man draws;  
And asks no omen but his country's cause."

## CHAPTER V.

*Formation and Character of the New England Army. — Warren is elected Major-General. — Gridley. — Prescott. — Putnam.*

THE events of the 19th of April announced to all the world, abroad and at home, that the long anticipated crisis had arrived; and that the questions at issue, between the parent country and the colonies, must be settled by an appeal to arms.

The public mind throughout the colonies was prepared for the result. At their first meeting, after the battle of Lexington, the Massachusetts Congress resolved, that an army of thirty thousand men was wanted for the defence of New England; that, of this number, Massachusetts would raise thirteen thousand six hundred; and that the other New England States should be requested to furnish their respective proportions. It was resolved, at the same time, to raise a regiment of artillery, the train to consist of nine fieldpieces; and Richard Gridley, a brother of the celebrated lawyer of that name, himself already distinguished by his services in both the preceding French wars, was appointed its colonel.

The troops began to assemble about the middle of May; and, before the middle of June, fifteen thousand men had reached the neighborhood of Boston. Of these, Massachusetts furnished ten thousand, and Connecticut three. The rest were supplied by the other New England Colonies. The troops were distributed into companies of fifty, of which ten composed a regiment.

On the 21st of May, General Ward was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, and his orders were obeyed by all the other troops within the limits of the colony. His head-quarters were at Cambridge, where he had with him about eight thousand of the Massachusetts troops, and one thousand of those from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent's regiment from New Hampshire, and Patterson's from Berkshire county, were under the immediate command of General Putnam, who was stationed in advance of the main body, at Inman's Farm, where a redoubt and breastwork had been thrown up, near the Charlestown road. General Ward had with him at Cambridge five companies of artillery.

The right wing of the army, consisting of two thousand troops from Massachusetts, two thousand from Connecticut, and one thousand from Rhode Island, was stationed at Roxbury, under the command of Brigadier-General Thomas, who

had also with him three or four companies of artillery. A thousand of the New Hampshire troops, under Colonels Stark and Reed, stationed at Medford, and another detachment of the same troops, with three companies from Gerrish's regiment, stationed at Chelsea, composed the left wing.

On the 14th of June, Dr. Warren was elected by Congress a major-general. He had already received his commission, when he went upon the field as a volunteer, three days after, at the battle of Bunker's Hill.

Such were the strength and composition of the little army, which the events of the 19th of April and the resolutions of the Congress had summoned, from all parts of New England, to the neighborhood of Boston. In regard to the character of the troops, it is sufficient to say, that they were the flower and pride of our hardy yeomanry. They were not, like the rank and file of the regular armies of Europe, the refuse of society, enlisted in the worst haunts of crowded cities, under the influence of a large bounty, or perhaps an inspiration of a still inferior kind. They were, as they are correctly described, in the British "circumstantial account" of the battle of Lexington, the "country people."

Though generally unaccustomed to regular service, and not well skilled in the technical learn-



ing of the art of war, they were all, officers and men, expert in the use of arms, and in the habit of employing them in continual conflicts with the Indians. Many of the officers had already distinguished themselves in the French wars of 1745 and 1756, when the old Provincial standard was displayed, with so much glory, in the Canadas. It is remarkable, indeed, on examining the composition of the New England army of 1775, how many names we find of men, either previously or subsequently illustrious in the history of the country. The fact is one, among many other proofs, how completely the spirit of the times had taken possession of the whole mind of the colonies, and drawn within the sphere of its influence the most eminent professional, political, and military characters, as well as the mass of the people.

Of the officers, who commanded in this army, Warren has been rendered, by subsequent events, by far the most conspicuous. Prescott and Putnam, both veterans of the former wars, occupied with him, at the time, the highest place in the confidence of the country. But, in addition to these, there were many others whose names are not much less extensively known throughout the world than theirs. General Greene, by common acknowledgment second only to Washington in military service during the revolutionary war, was

the colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments. General Pomroy, of Northampton, was at headquarters as a volunteer. He had served, with the rank of captain, under Sir William Johnson, in the war of 1756; and he was distinguished in the celebrated battle with the French and Indians under Baron Dieskau. Stark, afterwards the hero of Bennington, was the colonel of one of the New Hampshire regiments, in which the late General Dearborn was a captain. The late Governor Brooks, of Massachusetts, had the rank of major; the late Governor Eustis was a surgeon of artillery; Knox, afterwards a general in the continental army, appeared as a volunteer.

Gridley, the veteran colonel of artillery, then sixty-four years of age, was an officer of high distinction. In the war of 1745, when Massachusetts alone raised an army of three thousand two hundred men for the expedition against Cape Breton, he commanded the artillery, and, as was remarked before, pointed, with scientific accuracy, the mortar, which, on the third fire, threw into the citadel of Louisburg the shell, which determined its surrender. He was rewarded by a captaincy in Shirley's regiment. In the war of 1756, he again entered the service, as chief engineer and colonel of infantry. Two years afterwards, he assisted at the second taking of Louisburg, with so much distinction,

that General Amherst tendered him the valuable furniture of the French commander's head-quarters, as a present; which he, with chivalrous delicacy, declined to receive. At the siege of Quebec, he commanded the provincial artillery under General Wolfe, and was fighting by his side when he fell. At the close of the war, the King rewarded his gallantry by a grant of the Magdalen Islands, with an extensive cod and seal fishery, and half pay as a British officer. At the opening of the Revolution, his agent at London inquired of him, by order of the British government, what part he intended to take. "I shall fight," he replied, "for justice and my country." His pay as a British officer, was of course, stopped. The arrears, which were offered him, he, with characteristic spirit, refused to receive.

To this list of distinguished persons, whose presence graced the New England army, may be added the name of one now more extensively known, perhaps, than any of the others, though in a different line; and who, subsequently to this period, entered the British service. I mean that of Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford. He held no commission in the New England army, but was present at head-quarters, and, on the day of the battle of Bunker's Hill, accompanied Major Brooks as a volunteer, with the last reinforcements that were sent from

Cambridge. He had solicited in vain the place of major in the artillery, which was due to his eminent merit, but which the parental partiality of Gridley had reserved for his own son. For this act of venial frailty the veteran was severely punished, by the misconduct of his son in his first action on the 17th of June, and by the loss to the country of the great talents of his competitor; a loss, however, which we need not regret, considering with how much brilliancy and success those talents were afterwards employed, on a still more extensive scale, in the cause of humanity and the world.

While these and other kindred spirits, of perhaps not inferior merit, though somewhat less distinguished fame, filled the ranks of the New England army, the two persons who, with Warren, occupied the most conspicuous place in the public eye, were undoubtedly Prescott and Putnam.

Prescott, the colonel of one of the Middlesex regiments, was the officer, who, on the 16th of June, received the orders of the commander-in-chief to occupy and fortify the heights of Charlestown, and who commanded in the redoubt on the day of the battle. He was a native of Pepperell, in the county of Middlesex, where his family, one of the most distinguished and respected in the State, still reside during a

part of the year. Prescott inherited an ample fortune from his father; but he seems to have possessed a natural aptitude for military pursuits; and, at the opening of the war of 1756, he, with so many others of the noble spirits of New England, joined the expedition against Nova Scotia, under General Winslow, with a provincial commission.

He served with such distinction, that, after the close of the war, he was urged to accept a commission in the British line; but he declined the honor, and preferred returning to the paternal estate. Here he resided, occupied in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and in dispensing a frank and liberal hospitality to his neighbors, many of whom were his old companions in arms, until the opening of the Revolution called him, already a veteran, to the council and the field. He was tall and commanding in his person, of a grave aspect, and the simplest manners; holding in utter contempt the parade and pageantry, which constitute with many the essence of war. During the progress of the battle of Bunker's Hill, he was frequently seen on the top of the parapet, attired in a calico frock, with his bald head uncovered to the sun, observing the enemy, or encouraging his men to action. Governor Gage, who, at one of these moments, was reconnoitring the American works through a tele-

scope, remarked the singular appearance of Prescott, and inquired of Willard, one of the council, who he was. "My brother-in-law, Colonel Prescott," was the reply. "Will he fight?" returned the Governor. "Ay," said Willard, "to the last drop of his blood."

Putnam, another veteran of the French wars, was not less bold in action, and equally regardless of unnecessary show and ceremony. He was a native of Salem, in Massachusetts, but emigrated early in life to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he employed himself, like Prescott, in agriculture, though on a smaller scale, until he was called, like him, into the military service, by the opening of the war of 1756. He commanded a company of provincial rangers, and, in this capacity, rendered the most essential services; passing through a series of adventures, the details of which, though resting on unquestionable evidence, seem like a wild and extravagant fable. After the close of the Seven Years' War, Putnam returned to the plough, and was in the act of guiding it, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. Like Cincinnatus of old, he left it in the furrow, and repaired at once to Cambridge, though now more than sixty years of age. After consulting with the leading characters at the camp, he returned to Connecticut, to organize a regiment, with which he ap-

peared shortly after at head-quarters, as brigadier-general.

Putnam was athletic and active in person ; energetic even to coarseness, but keen and pointed in conversation ; and his face, though deeply furrowed by the savage tomahawk, as well as by the finger of time, was always radiant with a broad good-humor, which rendered him the idol of the army. He was particularly earnest, in the council of war, in recommending the measure of fortifying Bunker's Hill ; a part of his regiment was detached for the service, and he was present and active himself on the field, through the night before the battle, and during the action. Whether, as some suppose, he was charged by the Council of War with a general superintendence of the whole affair ; or whether, like Warren, he appeared upon the field as a volunteer, is not now known with certainty ; for the official record of the orders of the day is lost ; and the want of it is not supplied, for this purpose, by any other evidence. It is certain, however, from all the accounts, that his agency in the action was great and effectual.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Strength and Disposition of the British Troops.  
— The Americans occupy the Heights of  
Charlestown.*

SUCH were the composition of the New England army, and the character of some of the prominent officers. The British army, which they were to encounter, was quartered within the limits of Boston. It consisted, at the time of the battle of Lexington, of about four thousand men; but, before the end of May, large reinforcements arrived, which raised the number to about ten thousand. On the 14th of May, General Gage, who had recently superseded Hutchinson in the government of the colony, arrived from New York. He had served with honor in Europe and America, had married an American lady, and, in other times, would have possessed a great personal popularity. The troops were the flower of the British army, and the officers were generally men of distinguished merit. Among the principal, were Generals Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant, and Robertson. Earl Percy and Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings,



had each of them a command. Earl Percy and his hardy Northumbrians took a pride in braving the severity of the climate in an encampment on the Common ; and, to secure themselves from the cold, made use of double tents, having the space between them stuffed with hay. The light-infantry were encamped on the heights of West Boston, then called Beacon Hill. There was a squadron of cavalry, for whose use the Old South Church had been appropriated as a place of exercise. A strong battery for cannon and mortars had been thrown up on Cops Hill, opposite to Charlestown ; and this point was the post of observation of the British commander and his staff, during the action of the 17th of June. A strongly fortified line had been drawn across the Neck, at the southern entrance of the town from Roxbury. There was also a battery at the northern extremity of the town, and others on the Common, on Fort Hill, and on the shore opposite to Cambridge.

The British troops were in the highest state of equipment and discipline, and were amply furnished with every description of necessary stores and ammunition. In these respects, their condition formed a complete contrast to that of the Americans. To aid them in their operations, they had several ships of war stationed in the waters around the peninsula. The *Glasgow* lay

in Charles River, not far from the present position of Craigie's Bridge, and enfiladed with her battery the isthmus that connects Charlestown with the continent. The *Somerset*, the *Lively*, and the *Falcon*, were stationed in the channel between Boston and Charlestown, and, during the action of the 17th of June, pointed their guns directly at the American works.

It may be remarked, that the principal British and American officers were personally known to each other. They had served together in the French wars, and, in some instances, had contracted a close and intimate friendship. Not long after the battle of Lexington, there was an interview at Charlestown, between some of the officers on both sides, to regulate an exchange of prisoners; and Governor Brooks, who was present, was accustomed to relate, that General Putnam and Major Small, of the British army, no sooner met, than they ran into each other's arms.

In this state of the hostile preparations of the two parties, and with the strong feeling of mutual exasperation, which, notwithstanding occasional instances of a different character, prevailed generally between the masses of both, it was apparent, that a trial of strength on a more extensive scale, and of a much more serious and decisive kind, than any that had yet occurred, must soon take

place. In this, as in other cases of a similar description, accidental causes would naturally regulate, in some degree, the time, place, and other circumstances, under which the trial should be made. The concentration of the New England troops around the peninsula of Boston would, of course, suggest to the British commander, if he intended to retain that position, the importance of occupying the neighboring heights of Dorchester and Charlestown. He had accordingly determined upon this measure, and was making his arrangements for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, now South Boston, on the 13th of June.

Information of these intentions and arrangements had been conveyed to the American army, and had become the subject of frequent and serious discussion in the Council of War and the Committee of Safety. It was proposed, on one side, to anticipate this movement of the British, by a corresponding one of our own, and to occupy the heights of Charlestown at once. The troops were full of zeal, and eager for action. It was thought wise to take advantage of this disposition, while it still existed in all its freshness, unimpaired by the weariness that would soon be created by absence from home, and the privations and hardships of military life. It was also necessary, that the attempt, if made at all,

should be made immediately ; for, if the British were permitted to intrench themselves in these positions, it would be impossible to dislodge them, and all hope of recovering Boston must be given up.

It was urged, on the other hand, that the attempt to occupy the heights of Charlestown would, of course, be resisted by the British ; and, if sustained, would bring on a general engagement, for which the army was entirely unprepared, from a want of ammunition. There were, at that time, only eleven barrels of powder in the camp, and only sixty-seven within the State of Massachusetts. It is remarkable, that the more decisive, not to say rash, course, was recommended, on this occasion, by the veterans of the council, Prescott and Putnam ; while the part of prudence was sustained by the young and ardent Warren. The result evinced the correctness of his views. The attempt failed, as had been anticipated, precisely for want of powder. Strict prudence might, perhaps, have counselled the delay, or rather abandonment, of the enterprise ; for, if not attempted at once, it could not, as was intimated above, be attempted at all.

But it may be said, on the other hand, that strict prudence would hardly have lent her sanction to any of the proceedings of the Revolution,

from first to last. It was throughout, in all its parts, an effort of noble and generous feeling, made in defiance of cool calculation; and the result furnishes one among the numerous instances to be found in the history of the world, in which such attempts have been crowned with success. Almost all the great political and moral revolutions have been the triumph of truth and justice over an overwhelming superiority of mere material force.

The feeling, that predominated in the Council of War and the Committee of Safety, was the same that prevailed in the army and throughout the country. It called for immediate action. Colonels Gridley and Henshaw, accompanied by Mr. Devens, had already, by direction of General Ward, surveyed the country, and pointed out Prospect, Bunker's, and Breed's Hills, as the points proper to be occupied. On the 15th of June, it was accordingly voted in the Committee of Safety, which, as has been remarked, constituted the real executive power, to recommend to the Council of War to occupy and fortify Bunker's Hill at once, and Dorchester Heights as soon as might be practicable.

The Council of War proceeded in conformity with this suggestion; and, on the following day, the 16th of June, General Ward, under their direction, issued orders to Colonel Prescott, to

proceed to Charlestown, and to occupy and fortify Bunker's Hill. He was directed to take with him, upon this expedition, his own regiment, and those of Colonels Bridge and Frye; a hundred and twelve men from that of General Putnam, and Captain Gridley's company of artillery, with two fieldpieces. Colonel Frye being absent on other duty, his regiment was commanded at the time by Lieutenant Colonel Brickett; but the Colonel, as I shall have occasion to mention, joined it in the course of the action.

The whole corps amounted to about a thousand men. They were ordered to take with them provisions for one day; and reinforcements, with additional provisions, were to be sent, if they should be found necessary. The detachment was mustered, early in the evening of the 16th, on Cambridge Common, near the Colleges, on which the main body of the army had been quartered. Religious service was performed by President Langdon; after which the troops took up the line of march. Colonel Prescott led the way, attired in his calico frock, preceded by two sergeants with dark lanterns, and accompanied by Colonel Gridley and Judge Winthrop, of Cambridge. Brooks, then a major in Bridge's regiment, joined him at the Neck.

For the information of those, who are unac-

quainted with the geography of the neighborhood of Boston, it may be proper to say, that Charlestown is a peninsula, about a mile long, and half a mile wide at the broadest part, where it is separated from Boston by a narrow channel; that it diminishes gradually in breadth from this part, until it terminates in a neck a hundred and thirty yards over, which connects it with the continent; and that it rises from the channel, and from the banks of the rivers Mystic and Charles, into a height of land composed of two eminences, denominated Bunker's and Breed's Hills. At the time of the battle, the latter name was less known, and that of Bunker's Hill was popularly applied to the whole height of land.

When the troops had reached the ground, and were preparing to execute their orders, the question arose, which of the two hills was intended as Bunker's Hill, and was, of course, the one to be fortified. The northern eminence was more generally spoken of under that name; while the southern, commonly called Breed's Hill, was evidently the one best fitted for the purpose. A good deal of time was consumed in discussing this question; but it was at length determined to construct the principal work on Breed's Hill, and to erect an additional and subsidiary one on Bunker's Hill. Colonel Gridley accordingly proceeded to lay out the principal work.

He placed a redoubt eight rods square on the summit of the hill, with the strongest side secured by projecting angles, looking towards Charlestown, and with an open entrance from the north, on the other side. From the northeastern corner of the redoubt he ran a breastwork, on a line with its side, to a marsh, which lay between the hill and the bank of the river. There was an opening, or sally-port, secured by a blind, between the redoubt and the breastwork. So much time had been lost in discussing the question where the works should be placed, that it was midnight before a spade entered the ground, and there remained less than four hours before daylight, when the operations would, of course, be seen by the British. The men, however, went to work with alacrity.

In the mean time a strong guard, under Captain Manners, was stationed on the Charlestown shore, to observe the enemy. The day had been fair, and it was a clear, starlight night. Colonel Prescott, accompanied by Major Brooks, went down twice to the shore, to reconnoitre, and distinctly heard the British sentries relieving guard, and uttering, as they walked their rounds, the customary, but, in this instance, deceptive cry, *All 's well*.

It may be remarked here, that Major Brooks, who was so conspicuous and useful through the



day, was not at Cambridge when the detachment was ordered to march. He had appeared as a major in Bridge's regiment of militia, at the battle of Lexington, and received, soon after, a similar rank in the line. On the day preceding the battle, he was at home, at Medford, on account of illness in his family ; but, hearing that his regiment was ordered on duty, he voluntarily repaired to his post, and, as has been remarked, joined his companions on their way at Charlestown Neck.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Commencement of the Action of the 17th of June. — The British open their Batteries upon the American Works. — The Americans send for Reinforcements, and are joined by the New Hampshire Troops, under Colonels Stark and Reed.*

THE American troops continued their work unmolested until daylight, when they were discovered by the British. A heavy fire was immediately opened upon them, from the battery on Cops Hill, and from the ships in the river. It continued for some time without effect; until, at length, Asa Pollard, of Billerica, a private soldier, who had ventured without the works, was struck by a ball, and killed on the spot. Such were the circumstances under which the first blood was shed.

Not long after the British had opened their fire, some of the American officers, perceiving that the men were fatigued with the labors of the night, proposed to Colonel Prescott, that they should be relieved by another detachment. The Colonel immediately assembled a council of war, in which the same proposition was renewed.

Prescott, however, strenuously opposed it. The enemy, he thought, would not venture to attack; if they did, they would be repulsed; the men who had raised the works were best able to defend them; they had the merit of the labor, and ought to have the honor of the victory. The proposition to send for relief was rejected.

At about nine o'clock, movements were observed among the British troops in Boston, indicating the intention to attack; the men were now exhausted by fatigue and want of refreshment; the proposition to send for relief was renewed. Prescott again assembled a council, but still discountenanced the proposed plan, which was again rejected. It was thought expedient, however, to send immediately for reinforcements and provisions; and Major Brooks was ordered to proceed to Cambridge, and apply to General Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition, he was directed to take one of the horses belonging to Captain Gridley's company of artillery. To this proposal the captain demurred. Our fathers, as we shall presently see in another instance, seem, on this eventful day, to have been more anxious for the safety of their horses, than they were for their own. Captain Gridley's scruples prevailed, and Major Brooks was ordered to proceed, as rapidly as he could, on foot. He arrived at

Cambridge at about ten o'clock, and delivered his message to General Ward.

The General hesitated about the propriety of sending reinforcements to Charlestown. He feared that the enemy might seize the occasion to make an attempt upon the public stores at Cambridge and Watertown; and thought it hardly prudent to leave them unprotected. The Committee of Safety, who were then in session at head-quarters, were consulted upon the subject; and in this body there was also a difference of opinion. Mr. Devens, of Charlestown, who was a member of the Committee, influenced perhaps in some degree by local feeling, urged very strongly the necessity of sending a large reinforcement; and his opinion so far prevailed, that General Ward despatched orders to Colonels Stark and Reed, who were stationed, as has been remarked, at Medford, with the New Hampshire troops, to join Colonel Prescott.

Without intending to impute the slightest blame to General Ward, or to the Committee of Safety, whose conduct, through the whole affair, is above all praise, it may be conjectured, that, if they had perceived at the moment more distinctly the importance of sending reinforcements, and especially ammunition, the fortune of the day might perhaps have been different.

Had the Americans been supplied with powder enough to meet the enemy on the third attack, as they did on the two first, it is hardly probable that the British would have returned a fourth time to the charge.

Stark and Reed received their orders at about eleven o'clock, and, having supplied their men with powder and ball, an affair which, from the total want of preparation, occupied two hours, they took up the line of march at about one. When they reached Charlestown Neck, they found the entrance occupied by one or two regiments, who had been stationed there the day before, but had not yet received orders to march. Maclary, the major of Stark's regiment, rode forward, by his order, and requested the colonels of these regiments, if they did not intend to proceed, to open to the right and left, and let the New Hampshire troops pass through, which they did.

The troops were marching to slow time, and the Neck, as has been said, was enfiladed by the fire of the *Glasgow*. "My company being in front," says General, then Captain, Dearborn, in his account of the battle, "and I, of course, marching by the side of Stark, I suggested to him the propriety of quickening our pace, that we might relieve the men the sooner from the enemy's fire. 'Dearborn,' he replied, 'one fresh

man, in action, is worth a dozen fatigued ones.”

The march proceeded in slow time.

Stark, like Prescott, Putnam, and Gridley, was a veteran of the French wars. He had served as a captain of rangers, with the highest distinction; had fought with Wolfe, at Quebec; had been received, after the war, into the British service; and, like Gridley, had sacrificed rank and pay in the cause. Major Maclary was, likewise, an officer of great repute.

The New Hampshire troops arrived upon the field at about two o'clock. In the mean time, the American lines had been extended on the left, where advantage had been taken of a fence, composed of stone, surmounted by wooden rails, which ran about two hundred yards in the rear of the breastwork, from the hill to the bank of Mystic River. A little in front of this fence, the troops formed another, of a similar kind, out of the other fences in the neighborhood; and, by filling up the space between the two with the hay which was lying upon the field, constructed an imperfect substitute for a regular breastwork. Between the south end of the rail fence and the north end of the breastwork, there was an opening of about two hundred yards, which was entirely unprotected by any work whatever. This was the weak point in the American defences, and the one through which the British finally

poured in the raking fire from their artillery, which compelled the Americans to leave the redoubt.

General Putnam had posted his company of Connecticut troops, under Captain Knowlton, at the rail fence; and, when the New Hampshire troops came upon the field, he was employed, with a part of the original detachment, in throwing up a second, subsidiary work upon the northern eminence, properly called Bunker's Hill, in distinction from Breed's, which he seems to have regarded as a very important part of the operations of the day. He retained a portion of the New Hampshire troops to aid him at this point, and advised the rest to post themselves, with the Connecticut troops, at the rail fence. Stark accordingly took that course. Having encouraged his men by a short address, and ordered them to give three cheers, he put them at last into quick time, and marched up rapidly to the lines.

These were the principal reinforcements, that came upon the field in season to be of any use. At about one o'clock, when it had become apparent that the British intended to attack the works, General Ward ordered all the troops at Cambridge, with the exception of five regiments, to reinforce those which were engaged; but it was now so late in the day, that this order produced but little effect. Most of the troops did

not reach the ground; and those that did, came too late to be of much service.

The disposition of the American troops at the opening of the action was, therefore, as follows. Colonel Prescott, with Colonel Bridge, Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, and the greater part of the original detachment of a thousand men, were in the redoubt and at the breastwork. Captain Gridley, with his company of artillery and two fieldpieces, and Captain Callender, with another of the same force, were at the opening between the redoubt and the breastwork. Colonels Stark and Reed, with the New Hampshire troops, and Captain Knowlton, with the Connecticut company, were at the rail fence on the left. Captain Manners, with the troops that had been stationed on the Charlestown shore in the morning, were at another rail fence, which had been formed on the right, between the redoubt and the road. General Putnam, who was on horseback, superintended the work on Bunker's Hill, whence he rode, as occasion required, to the rail fence, and once or twice in the course of the morning to head-quarters at Cambridge.

Pomroy, who, as has been said, held no commission in the line, when he heard the artillery, felt it as a summons to action, and could not resist the inclination to repair to the field. He accordingly requested General Ward to lend



him a horse, and, taking his musket, set off at full speed for Charlestown. On reaching the Neck, and finding it enfiladed by a hot and heavy fire of round, bar, and chain shot, from the *Glasgow*, he began to be alarmed; not, as may well be supposed, for his own safety, but for that of General Ward's horse. Horses, as has been already remarked, were at this time almost as rare and precious as the nobler animals that rode them. Too honest to expose his borrowed horse to "the pelting of this pitiless storm," and too bold to dream for a moment of shrinking from it himself, the conqueror of Baron Dieskau dismounted, delivered the horse to a sentry, shouldered his musket, and marched on foot across the Neck. On reaching the hill, he took his station at the rail fence. His person was known to the soldiers, and the name of Pomroy rang with shouts along the line.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Progress of the Action.—A Detachment of British Troops lands at Charlestown.—View of the two Peninsulas and the neighboring Country.—General Warren comes upon the Field.*

WHILE the Americans were employed in fortifying the heights of Charlestown, and in preparing to defend them against the enemy, the British, on their part, were not less busily engaged in preparations for attack. At daybreak, when the movements of the Americans were first discovered, a fire was opened upon them from all the batteries, which was continued, but without doing much execution, through the day.

At an early hour in the morning, Governor Gage summoned a council of war, at the building now called the City Hall. They were all, of course, agreed as to the propriety of dislodging the Americans, but there was some difference of opinion upon the mode of making the attack. Generals Clinton and Grant were for landing at Charlestown Neck, and taking the works in the rear; but this plan was considered by the Governor as too hazardous. It would

place the British between two armies, one superior in force, and the other strongly intrenched, by which they might be attacked at once in front and rear, without the possibility of a retreat. The plan preferred by the council was to attack the works in front.

Accordingly, at about noon, twenty-eight barges left the end of Long Wharf, filled with the principal part of the first detachment of the British troops, which consisted of four battalions of infantry, ten companies of light infantry, and ten of grenadiers. They had six pieces of artillery, one of which was placed in each of the six leading boats. The barges formed in single file, and in two parallel lines. The day was without a cloud, and the regular movement of this splendid naval procession, with the glow of the brazen artillery and the scarlet dresses and burnished arms of the troops, exhibited to the unaccustomed eyes of the Americans a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The barges proceeded in good order, and landed their freight at the southeastern point of the peninsula, commonly called Morton's Point.

Immediately after they had landed, it was discovered, that most of the cannon balls, which had been brought over, were too large for the pieces, and that it was necessary to send them back, and obtain a fresh supply. "This wretched

blunder of oversized balls," says a British writer of the day, "arose from the dotage of an officer of high rank, who spends all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters." It seems, that General Cleveland, "who," as the same author says, "though no Samson, must have his Delilah," was enamored of the beautiful daughter of Master Lovell, and, in order to win favor with the damsel, had given her young brother an appointment in the ordnance department, for which he was not qualified. The accident, to whatever cause it may have been owing, created delay, and somewhat diminished the British fire during the first two attacks.

While the British commander was preparing and sending off his second detachment, the first remained unmolested at Morton's Point, and quietly dined, most of the men for the last time, from the contents of their knapsacks. At about two o'clock, the second detachment left Winnisimmett Ferry in the barges, and joined the first at Morton's Point; soon after which the reinforcements, consisting of a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, the forty-seventh battalion of infantry, and a battalion of marines, landed at Madlin's shipyard, now the Navy Yard, near the east end of Breed's Hill. The detachment consisted altogether of about four thousand men, and was commanded by General

Howe. He had under him General Pigot, and Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clark.

Such were the respective forces and positions of the two armies at the moment immediately preceding the battle. The spectacle, which was exhibited at this time by the two peninsulas and the surrounding waters and country, must have been of a highly varied and brilliant character. General Burgoyne, in a letter written two or three days after the battle, has given a spirited sketch of this splendid panorama, as seen by the British officers from the heights at the northern extremity of Boston. Immediately below them flowed the river Charles, not, as now, interrupted by numerous bridges, but pursuing a smooth, unbroken way to the ocean. Between them and the Charlestown shore, lay at anchor the ships of war the *Somerset*, the *Lively*, and the *Falcon*; and farther on the left, within the bay, the *Glasgow*. Their black and threatening hulks poured forth at every new discharge fresh volumes of smoke, which hung like fleecy clouds upon the air.

From time to time, as the veil of smoke was cleared away by the wind, the spectator could see, upon the opposite side of the river, rising from the shore by a gentle ascent, the sister hills of Charlestown, clothed in the green luxuriance of the first flush of vegetation, excepting

where their summits were broken by the low and hasty works of the Americans. Behind these scanty defences could be seen our gallant fathers, swarming to the rescue of freedom and their country. Their homely apparel had but little to attract the eye, but now and then, when some favorite officer made his appearance, a shout of gratulation passed along their ranks, which showed the zeal that inspired them for the cause. Below the hill, the flourishing village of Charlestown extended its white dwellings, interspersed with trees and gardens, along the shore; and farther to the right, the British troops spread forth their long and brilliant lines.

While both the armies, and the assembled multitude, were hushed in breathless expectation, awaiting eagerly the signal for the action, a horseman was seen advancing from Charlestown Neck at full speed towards the American works. As he crossed Bunker's Hill, General Putnam, who was there, and also on horseback, rode forward to meet him, and recognised General Warren. "General Warren!" exclaimed the veteran, "is it you? I rejoice and regret to see you. Your life is too precious to be exposed in this battle; but, since you are here, I take your orders." "General Putnam, I have none to give. You have made your arrangements. I come to aid you as a volunteer. Tell me where

I can be useful." "Go, then," said Putnam, "to the redoubt; you will there be covered." "I came not to be covered," replied Warren; "tell me where I shall be most in danger; tell me where the action will be hottest." "The redoubt," said Putnam, "will be the enemy's object. If that can be defended, the day is ours." General Warren pursued his way to the redoubt. As he came in view of the troops, they recognised his person, though he wore no uniform, and welcomed him with loud acclamations. When he reached the redoubt, Colonel Prescott offered to take his orders. "No, Colonel Prescott," he replied, "give me yours; give me a musket. I have come to take a lesson of a veteran soldier in the art of war."

These particulars, including the dialogue, are given substantially as reported afterwards by General Putnam and Colonel Prescott, and may be depended on as authentic. Warren, as has been already intimated, was originally opposed to the plan of fortifying the heights of Charlestown; but, when the majority of the Council of War had decided in favor of it, he told them, that he should personally take a part in carrying it into effect. He was strongly urged not to do so, but his resolution was immovable.

On the day preceding the battle, he officiated

as President of the Congress, which was in session at Watertown; and had passed the night in transacting business. At daylight he rode to head-quarters at Cambridge, where he arrived, suffering severely with headache, and retired soon after to take some repose. When information was received, that the British were moving, General Ward sent to give him notice. He rose immediately, declared that his headache was gone, and attended the meeting of the Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman. At this meeting, Elbridge Gerry, who entertained the same opinion with Warren upon the prudence of the attempt, earnestly requested him not to expose his person. "I am aware of the danger," replied the young hero, "but I should die with shame, if I were to remain at home in safety, while my friends and fellow citizens are shedding their blood and hazarding their lives in the cause." "Your ardent temper," replied Gerry, "will carry you forward into the midst of peril, and you will probably fall." "I know that I may fall," returned Warren; "but where is the man who does not think it glorious and delightful to die for his country?"

*'Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.'*"

Such, as reported by the friends who heard it, was the language of Warren, in the Com-



mittee of Safety, on the morning of the 17th of June. After the adjournment of the Committee, he mounted his horse, and rode to Charlestown, where he arrived with the reinforcements a short time only before the commencement of the battle.

## CHAPTER IX.

*General Howe attempts to storm the American Works.—He is repulsed with great Loss.—Ill Conduct of the American Artillery.—Gridley.—Gerrish.—Callender.*

THE plan of attack determined on in the British council of war, as has been already remarked, was to land in front of the works, and attempt to carry them by storm.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the force intended for the service being all in position, and every necessary preparation made, the signal was given for action, by a general discharge of artillery along the whole British line. The troops advanced in two divisions. General Howe, in person, led the right, towards the rail fence; General Pigot, with the left, aimed directly at the redoubt.

It would seem, that the order for a fresh supply of balls, had not yet been answered; as the fire of the British artillery is represented as having been suspended soon after it commenced, because those on hand were too large. It was, however, renewed immediately with grape shot. The little battery, which was stationed at the

opening between the redoubt and breastwork, in the American lines, replied with effect. In the mean time, the American drums beat to arms. General Putnam, who was still at work on Bunker's Hill, quitted his intrenchment, and led his men into action. "Powder is scarce," said the veteran, addressing them in his usual pointed and laconic style; "powder is scarce, and must not be wasted. Reserve your fire till you see the whites of their eyes. Then take aim at the officers."

The substance of these remarks was repeated as an order along the line; but when the British had come within gunshot of the works, a few sharp-shooters disobeyed the injunction, and fired. "Fire again before the word is given at your peril," exclaimed Prescott; "the next man that disobeys orders shall be instantly shot." Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, who, with Colonel Buttrick, had led the troops so gallantly at Concord, on the 19th of April, ran round the top of the parapet, and threw up the muskets. At length the British were at only eight rods distance. "Now, men! now is your time!" said Prescott. "Make ready! take aim! fire!"

So effectually was the order obeyed, that, when the smoke cleared away, the whole hill side was covered, as it were, with the fallen. The British returned the fire; they attempted to rally and

advance, but without success. After a moment's irresolution, they turned their backs, and hurried from the hill.

Such was the issue of the first attempt to storm the works. It was, in all respects, auspicious for the future fortunes of the day; and it may be safely said, that the timely arrival at this moment, of the reinforcements of artillery and supplies of ammunition, which had been ordered from Cambridge, would have insured the most brilliant success. It was now, that the practical mischief, resulting from Colonel Gridley's ill-judged exhibition of parental partiality, in giving the place of major in the artillery to his own son, in preference to Count Rumford, was severely felt.

Major Gridley, as his subsequent conduct proved, was entirely incompetent to the duty assigned him. Could the thorough science, with the vigorous and energetic character of Rumford, have been employed in doing justice to the orders of the veteran conqueror of Louisburg, there would, in all probability, have been no want of ammunition; powder enough would, in one way or another, have found its way into the works, and the day might still have been ours. But it was the fortune of America, on this occasion, to pay the penalty of Colonel Gridley's fatherly weakness, as Great Britain did, though

to a less disastrous extent, that of General Cleveland's superannuated gallantry.

The American artillery was badly served through the whole action. Early in the day, Captain Callender, who, as has been said, was stationed with his company and two fieldpieces at the opening between the redoubt and breastwork, drew off his pieces from the post assigned him, to Bunker's Hill, in order, as he said, that he might prepare his ammunition in safety. General Putnam attempted in vain to induce him to return, and was finally obliged to employ Captain Ford, who was crossing the hill with his company of infantry, and knew nothing of the artillery service, to drag the pieces back. By him, and by Captain Perkins of Boston, who was also stationed at the opening between the redoubt and the breastwork, they were served through the day.

Major Gridley had been ordered to proceed with his battalion from Cambridge to the lines; but had advanced only a few yards beyond the Neck, when he made a halt, determined, as he said, to wait and cover the retreat, which he deemed inevitable. At that moment, Colonel Frye, a veteran of the old French wars, whose regiment was in the redoubt, but who, being on other duty, as was remarked before, had not yet joined it, was riding toward the hill, and

perceived Major Gridley with his artillery in the position which I have described. Frye galloped up to him, and demanded what it meant. "We are waiting," said Gridley, "to cover the retreat." "Retreat?" replied the veteran; "who talks of retreating? This day, thirty years ago, I was present at the first taking of Louisburg, when your father, with his own hand, lodged a shell in the citadel. His son was not born to talk of retreating. Forward to the lines!"

Gridley proceeded a short distance with his artillery; but, overcome with terror, and unequal to the horrors of the scene, he ordered his men to recross the Neck, and take a position on Cobble Hill, where they were to fire with their three-pounders upon the *Glasgow*. The order was so absurd, that Captain Trevett refused to obey it, and proceeded with his two pieces. He lost one of them by a cannon-shot on Bunker's Hill; the other he brought to the lines. This little fragment of Major Gridley's battalion was the only reinforcement of artillery that came into action.

Colonel Gerrish, with his regiment of infantry, reached the top of Bunker's Hill, on his way to the lines; but there his courage failed. He had served with distinction as a captain in the provincial army of 1756, but had now become unwieldy from excessive corpulence. On reach-

ing the top of Bunker's Hill, he declared that he could not go a step farther, and threw himself prostrate upon the ground. Putnam, who was on the hill, attempted in vain to induce him to proceed. His men, discouraged, probably, by the conduct of their commander, were equally indisposed for action. "They could not proceed without their officers." Putnam offered to lead them himself. "The cannon were abandoned, and there was no chance without artillery." In short, the service of the regiment was entirely lost.

Gerrish, by some unaccountable accident, was not only not tried for his conduct on this occasion, but was even employed after the battle upon another service, in which his behavior was not much better. He was then brought to a court-martial for his delinquency in both the actions, convicted of conduct unworthy of an officer, and cashiered.

Major Gridley was tried for neglect of duty, and dismissed from the service.

Captain Callender was also brought to a court-martial, convicted of cowardice, and dismissed from the service; but he determined to clear away the stain upon his character in the most honorable manner. He continued with the army as a volunteer, and exposed himself desperately in every action. Finally, at the battle of Long

Island, after the captain and lieutenant of the artillery company in which he served as a private had been shot, he assumed the command, and, refusing to retreat, fought his pieces till the enemy were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his intrepidity, interfered, and saved his life. He continued in the service till the end of the war, and sustained the character of a brave and energetic officer.\*

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\* See *Washington's Writings*, Vol. III. p. 490.



## CHAPTER X.

*Conflagration of Charlestown. — General Howe attempts a second Time to storm the American Works. — He is again repulsed with great Loss. — Anecdote of General Putnam and Major Small, of the British Army.*

AFTER the repulse of the British troops in their first attack upon the works, an ominous pause, like the lull that sometimes interrupts the wildest tempest, prevailed upon the scene of action, only broken by the occasional discharges of artillery from the ships and batteries. It was not, however, of long duration. General Howe determined, at once, upon a second attack; and, having rallied and reorganized his men, gave the order to advance. With unshaken intrepidity they proceeded through the long grass, under the heat of a blazing summer sun, loaded with knapsacks of more than a hundred pounds each, towards the lines. The artillery pushed forward, to within three hundred yards of the rail fence, and opened their battery to prepare the way for the infantry. In the mean time, a deep silence brooded over the American lines. The men were ordered to re-

serve their fire till the enemy should be within six rods' distance.

While the troops were thus advancing, a new spectacle burst suddenly upon the eyes of the assembled multitude, and added another feature, more startling, if possible, than the rest, to the terrible sublimity of the scene. Clouds of smoke were seen to overspread the air, from which sheets of fire flashed forth in all directions, and it soon became apparent that Charlestown was in flames. The British general had been annoyed, at his first attack upon the works, by the fire of a detachment stationed in the town, and had given orders that it should be burned. For this purpose, combustibles were hurled into it from Boston, which commenced the conflagration; and a detachment of marines, from the *Somerset*, were directed to land, and aid in giving it effect. The flames spread with great rapidity through the town, devouring, with unrelenting fury, house on house, and street on street. At length the large church took fire.

As the flames ascended from the body of the building along the lofty spire, it exhibited a curious and splendid spectacle. When they reached the steeple, the beams that suspended the bell were pretty soon burned off, and the bell itself fell to the ground, ringing continuously with a strange and startling alarm, which was heard

distinctly through the noise of crackling flames and crashing edifices.

Unmoved by scenes like these, which, in ordinary times, would drive the dullest souls to desperation, the armies coolly prosecuted their work. The British troops ascended the hill by slow and regular approaches, firing in platoons with all the precision of a holiday review, and though without aim, not entirely without effect. Colonels Brewer and Nixon were carried off wounded. Colonel Buckminster was crippled for life, by a ball through the shoulder. Major Moore was shot through the thigh. While his men were carrying him from the field, he received another wound in the body, which afterwards proved mortal. He called for water, but none could now be obtained short of the Neck, and two of his men set forth to get it for him.

In the mean time, the Americans, agreeably to their orders, reserved their fire till the British were at six rods' distance. The word was then given, and the discharge took place with still more fatal effect than in the former attack. Hundreds of the men, including a large proportion of the best officers, were prostrated by it. General Howe remained almost alone. Nearly every officer of his staff was killed or wounded by his side, and among them his aids, Colonels Gordon, Balfour, and Addison; the last belong-

ing to the family of the author of the "Spectator." So tremendous was the havoc, that it was found impossible to pursue the attack; and, for the second time on this eventful day, the order was given for the British army to retreat from the hill.

At this period in the progress of the battle, a little incident occurred, in which General Putnam, and Major Small of the British army, were the parties concerned, and which throws over the various horrors of the scene a momentary gleam of kindness and chivalry. It has already been remarked, that these two officers were personally known to each other, and had, in fact, while serving together in the former wars, against the French, contracted a close friendship. After the fire from the American works had taken effect, Major Small, like his commander, remained almost alone upon the field. His companions in arms had been all swept away, and, standing thus apart, he became immediately, from the brilliancy of his dress, a conspicuous mark for the Americans within the redoubt. They had already pointed their unerring rifles at his heart, and the delay of another minute would, probably, have stopped its pulses for ever. At this moment, General Putnam recognised his friend, and perceiving the imminent danger in which he was placed, sprang upon the parapet, and

threw himself before the levelled rifles. "Spare that officer, my gallant comrades," said the noble-minded veteran; "we are friends; we are brothers; do you not remember how we rushed into each other's arms at the meeting for the exchange of prisoners?" This appeal, urged in the well known voice of a favorite old chief, was successful, and Small retired unmolested from the field.

The anecdote, though it wears a rather poetical aspect, is understood to rest upon the well attested authority of both the parties, and may probably be relied on as substantially true. Its authenticity is, in fact, placed beyond a reasonable doubt by the connexion of the incident related with another of a similar kind, which occurred in the farther progress of the action and will be mentioned in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Third Attack upon the American Works, which proves successful.—The Americans leave the Redoubt.—Death of Warren.*

THE British general, undaunted by the new and fatal evidence, afforded by this second repulse, of the determination of the Americans to defend themselves to the last extremity, gave orders, at once, for a third attack. He was now, however, so far enlightened by the lessons he had received, as to adopt a more judicious plan than before. He concentrated his whole force upon the redoubt and breastwork, instead of directing a portion of it against the rail fence. He also directed his men to throw aside their knapsacks, reserve their fire, and trust wholly to the bayonet.

He had discovered the vulnerable point in the American defences, and pushed forward his artillery to the opening between the redoubt and breastwork, where it turned our works, and enfiladed the whole line. General Howe, as before, commanded on the right, and General Pigot on the left. General Clinton, who had seen from Cops Hill the defeat of his countrymen, though

not himself on duty, volunteered his services, and hastened to the rescue. His well known gallantry and talents inspired new confidence. He took his station with General Pigot, on the left.

In the mean time, the Americans were reduced to the last extremity. Their ammunition was exhausted; they had no bayonets; no reinforcements appeared. Colonel Gardiner, who had been stationed with his regiment at Charlestown Neck, but had received no orders to march, through the day, volunteered his services, and reached Bunker's Hill with three hundred men. Just as he was descending to the lines, he received a wound from a musket ball, which afterwards proved mortal.

As his men were carrying him from the field, his son, a youth of nineteen, second lieutenant in Trevett's artillery company, which had just come up, met and recognised his father. Distracted at seeing him in this condition, he offered to aid in conducting him from the field. "Think not of me," replied the father, with a spirit worthy of a Bayard, "think not of me. I am well. Go forward to your duty!" The son obeyed his orders, and the father retired from the field to die. He was a member of the General Court, from Cambridge, and one of the principal men of the colony. His regi-

ment was broken by the loss of their leader, and only one company came into action. This was the Charlestown company, commanded by Captain Harris. It was the last to leave the field.

Their line enfiladed, without ammunition, without bayonets, the Americans awaited with desperate resolution the onset of the British; prepared to repel them, as they best might, with the few remaining charges of powder and ball, with the stocks of their muskets, and with stones. Having reached the works, the foremost of the British attempted to scale them. Richardson, a private in the Royal Irish regiment, was the first to mount the parapet. He was shot down at once. Major Pitcairn followed him. As he stepped upon the parapet, he was heard to utter the exulting cry, "The day is ours!" But, while the words were still upon his lips, he was shot through the body by a black soldier, named Salem. His son received him in his arms as he fell, and carried him from the hill. He led the detachment, which first encountered our troops upon Lexington Green, on the 19th of April, had a horse shot under him on that day, and was left upon the field for dead.

General Pigot, who had mounted the southeast corner of the redoubt, by the aid of a tree, which had been left standing there, was the first



person to enter the works. He was followed by his men. The Americans, however, still held out. Gridley received, at this time, a ball through the leg, and was carried from the field. Colonel Bridge, who had come with the first detachment the night before, remained till the last, and was twice severely wounded with a broadsword. Lieutenant Prescott, a nephew of the Colonel, was wounded in the arm, which hung broken and lifeless by his side. His uncle advised him to content himself with encouraging the men; but he continued to load his musket, and was passing through the sallyport, to point it at the enemy, when a cannon ball cut him to pieces. Major Moore remained at the last extremity. His men, who had gone to the Neck for water, returned and offered to assist him, but he told them to provide for themselves, and leave him to his fate. Perceiving, at length, that further resistance would be only a wanton and useless sacrifice of valuable life, Colonel Prescott ordered a retreat. The Americans left the redoubt, and retired with little molestation from the hill.

General Warren had come upon the field, as he said, to learn the art of war from a veteran soldier. He had offered to take Colonel Prescott's orders; but his desperate courage would hardly permit him to obey the last. It was not

without extreme reluctance, and at the very latest moment, that he quitted the redoubt; and he was slowly retreating from it, being still at a few rods' distance only, when the British had obtained full possession. His person was, of course, in imminent danger. At this critical moment, Major Small, whose life, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, had been saved in a similar emergency by the interference of General Putnam, attempted to requite the service by rendering one of a like character to Warren. He called out to him by name from the redoubt, and begged him to surrender, at the same time ordering the men around him to suspend their fire. Warren turned his head, as if he recognised the voice, but the effort was too late. While his face was directed toward the works, a ball struck him on the forehead, and inflicted a wound which was instantly fatal.

These particulars of the death of Warren are understood to rest on the authority of Major Small himself, and are believed to be authentic. His body was identified the following day, by General Isaac Winslow, of Boston, then a youth, and by various other visitors of the field, who had been familiar with his person. The bullet, which terminated his life, was taken from the body by Mr. Savage, an officer in the Custom House, and was carried by him to England.

Several years afterwards, it was given by him, at London, to the Reverend Mr. Montague, of Dedham, Massachusetts, and is now in possession of his family. The remains of Warren were buried on the spot where he fell. The next year, they were removed to a tomb in the Tremont Cemetery, and were finally deposited in the family vault, under St. Paul's Church, in Boston.

General Howe, though slightly wounded in the foot, passed the night on the field of battle. The next morning, as he lay wrapped in his cloak upon a mound of hay, word was brought to him, that the body of Warren was found among the dead. Howe refused, at first, to credit the intelligence. It was impossible, that the President of Congress could have exposed his life in such a battle. When assured of the fact, he declared that his death was a full offset for the loss of five hundred men.

The battle, which commenced at three o'clock, lasted about two hours. The number of Americans engaged is estimated at about three thousand five hundred. The loss was a hundred and fifteen killed and missing, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty taken prisoners. Prescott's regiment suffered more than any other; in that alone, there were forty-two killed, and twenty-eight wounded. The other regiments, which com-

posed the original detachment, and the New Hampshire troops, also suffered severely. Colonel Gardiner, Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, Major Moore, and Major Maclary, were the only officers, above the rank of captain, who fell in the battle.

The number of British troops engaged was estimated, as has been said, at about four thousand. Their loss was rated by the Massachusetts Congress, in their official account of the action, at fifteen hundred. Governor Gage, in his official account, acknowledges a loss of one thousand and fifty-four; two hundred and twenty-six killed, eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including nineteen officers killed, and twenty-eight wounded. Charlestown was entirely destroyed by the flames. After the battle, the British took possession of Bunker's Hill, from which they kept up a fire of artillery through the night. The Americans occupied Prospect and Winter Hills. It was apprehended, that the British would pursue their advantage, by making an attempt on the stores at Cambridge; but their loss was probably too severe. They intrenched themselves on Bunker's Hill, and the Americans resumed their former position.\*

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\* For many facts in the preceding narrative, we have been indebted to Colonel Swett's valuable and interesting "*History of the Battle of Bunker's Hill*," where the reader may find all the details of the action fully explained.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Resolutions of the Continental Congress in Honor of Warren. — His Wife and Family. — Concluding Reflections.*

IN the official account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, by the Massachusetts Congress, the character of Warren is noticed in the most honorable terms. "Among the dead," says the account, "was Major-General Joseph Warren, a man, whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

General Warren married, soon after his establishment in Boston, Elizabeth Hooton, the daughter of a respectable physician of that place. She died about six years afterwards, leaving four children, two sons and two daughters. After the death of Mrs. Warren, the children were committed to the care of their paternal grandmother, with whom they remained until the marriage of Dr. John Warren, the youngest brother of the General. They were then taken home by him, and were considered afterwards

as a part of his family.\* Within a year after the death of Warren, it was resolved, by the Continental Congress, that his eldest son should be educated at the public expense; and two or three years later, it was further resolved, that public provision should be made for the education of the other children, until the youngest should be of age. The sons both died soon after they reached maturity. The daughters were distinguished for their amiable qualities and personal beauty. One of them married the late General Arnold Welles, of Boston, and died without issue. The other married Richard Newcombe of Greenfield, Massachusetts. Their children are the only surviving descendants of the hero of Bunker's Hill.

In addition to the public provision made by the Congress for the children of Warren, it was also resolved by that body, that a monument should be erected, at the national expense, to his memory. This resolution, like the similar one in honor of Washington, remains, as yet, without effect. The duty imposed by it will, doubtless, be discharged by the piety and patriotism of

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\* The three younger children were for some time under the care of Miss Mercy Scollay, of Boston, to whose solicitude and kindness they were much indebted.—See SPARKS'S *Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold*, p. 126.

some succeeding generation; but the noblest and most appropriate monument of both these great men, is, after all, to be found in the constantly increasing prosperity and power of their country.

Such are the only particulars of interest, that are now known, of the brief and brilliant career of Joseph Warren. Had it been his fortune to live out the usual term of human existence, he would probably have passed with distinction through a high career of usefulness and glory. His great powers, no longer limited to the sphere of a single province, would have directed the councils or led the armies of a vast confederate empire. We should have seen him, like his contemporaries and fellow patriots, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, sustaining the highest magistracies at home, or securing the rights and interests of the country, in her most important embassies, abroad; and, at length, in declining age, illuminating, like them, the whole social sphere, with the mild splendor of a long and peaceful retirement. This destiny was reserved for them,—for others.

To Warren, distinguished as he was among the bravest, wisest, and best of the patriotic band, was assigned, in the inscrutable decrees of Providence, the crown of early martyrdom. It becomes not human frailty to murmur at the will of Heaven; and however painful may be the

first emotions excited in the mind by the sudden and premature eclipse of so much talent and virtue, it may perhaps well be doubted, whether, by any course of active service, in a civil or military department, General Warren could have rendered more essential benefit to the country, or to the cause of liberty throughout the world, than by the single act of heroic self-devotion, which closed his existence. The blood of martyrs has been, in all ages, the nourishing rain of religion and liberty.

There are many among the patriots and heroes of the revolutionary war, whose names are connected with a greater number of important transactions; whose biography, correspondence, and writings fill more pages; and whose names will occupy a larger space in general history; but there is hardly one whose example will exercise a more inspiring and elevating influence upon his countrymen and the world, than that of the brave, blooming, generous, self-devoted martyr of Bunker's Hill. The contemplation of such a character is the noblest spectacle which the moral world affords. It is declared by a poet to be a spectacle worthy of the gods. It awakens, with tenfold force, the purifying emotions of admiration and tenderness, which are represented as the legitimate objects of tragedy.

A death like that of Warren is, in fact, the



most affecting and impressive catastrophe, that can ever occur, in the splendid tragedy, which is constantly going on around us,—far more imposing and interesting, for those who can enjoy it, than any of the mimic wonders of the drama,—the real action of life. The ennobling and softening influence of such events is not confined to contemporaries and countrymen. The friends of liberty, from all countries, and throughout all time, as they kneel upon the spot that was moistened by the blood of Warren, will find their better feelings strengthened by the influence of the place, and will gather from it a virtue in some degree allied to his own.

LIFE  
OF  
HENRY HUDSON,  
BY  
HENRY R. CLEVELAND.

# HENRY HUDSON.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Hudson's early History little known. — First Voyage, in 1607. — Sails from Gravesend. — Makes Discoveries on the Coast of Greenland. — Sails thence to Spitzbergen. — Proceeds northward, to the Eighty-second Degree of Latitude. — Attempts to find a Passage around the North of Greenland. — Driven back by the Ice. — Returns to the southern Parts of Spitzbergen, and thence to England.*

IN few men are more rare combinations of talents required, than in discoverers and explorers of new countries and seas. Invincible courage, patience and fortitude under suffering, daring enterprise tempered by prudence, promptness and decision united with calm reflection, sagacity and fertility of invention, strong common sense combined with enthusiasm and vivid imagination, the power of commanding other minds joined to gen-

tleness of manner and ready sympathy, are some of the more prominent traits in the character of this class of men.

Among those, who were peculiarly gifted in these attributes, was the subject of the present memoir, HENRY HUDSON, the bold navigator of the Arctic Seas, the discoverer of the vast inland sea, and of the river in North America, which bear his name.

Of the early history of Hudson hardly any thing is known. He was a native of England, a scientific and professed navigator, and ranked with the most distinguished seamen of his age. He was a contemporary and friend of the famous Captain John Smith, and rivalled him in intrepidity and perseverance. He resided in London, was married, and had one son.\* We are not informed in what way he acquired his practical skill in navigation; but, as he lived in an age immediately succeeding the most dazzling discoveries, and while these discoveries were occupying, with absorbing interest, the mind of the whole civilized world, it is not improbable, that his nautical education may have been received from some one of the great navigators, who followed immediately in the footsteps of Columbus,

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\* Yates and Moulton's *History of the State of New York*, Vol. I. p. 198.

and explored the new world, which his genius had revealed.

We are first introduced to him by his own journal of a voyage, undertaken at the charge of "certaine worshipfull Merchants of London," in the year 1607. The object of the voyage was to explore the coast of Greenland, and pass round it to the northwest, or directly under the Pole; or, in his own words, "for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China."\*

The crew consisted in all of twelve persons, including Henry Hudson, the master, and his son John, a boy; all of whom, we are informed, went to the church of Saint Ethelburge, in Bishopsgate Street, a few days before sailing, to partake solemnly of the holy sacrament; a pious practice, which seems to have been very general in those days, and which was highly appropriate for men who were about to encounter the hardships, terrors, and uncertainties of a voyage of discovery in unknown regions.

They sailed from Gravesend, on the 1st of May, 1607, and, taking a northerly course, made the Shetland Islands in twenty-six days. The needle was here found to have no variation; but, four days afterwards, Hudson "found the needle to

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\* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 567.

incline seventy-nine degrees under the horizon"; and, on the 4th of June, he observed a variation of five degrees westwardly. His course, after losing sight of the Shetland Isles, was north-westerly; the object being to reach the coast of Greenland.

On the 11th of June, he saw six or seven whales near the ship, the promise of a harvest, which was destined subsequently to prove of such immense profit to his country and to Holland. Two days afterwards, early in the morning, land was discovered ahead, with ice; and, there being a thick fog, he stood away south by east, six or eight leagues. The weather was so cold, that the sails and ropes were coated with ice; the wind blowing a gale from the northeast. About eight o'clock in the morning, it cleared up, and Hudson was able to see the land distinctly, stretching away northeast by north, and northeast, to the distance of about nine leagues. In his journal, he says, "This was very high land, most part covered with snow. The nether part was uncovered. At the top, it looked reddish, and underneath a blackish clay, with much ice lying about it."\* There was a quantity of fowl on this coast, and a whale was seen close by the shore. Hudson named the headland, thus

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\* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 567.

discovered, *Young's Cape*, probably from its being first seen by James Young, one of his crew. Near this cape was a "very high mount, like a round castle," which he named the *Mount of God's Mercy*. This was on the coast of Greenland.

He continued northeasterly along the coast, encountering a succession of fogs, gales of wind, rains, and snows, occasionally driven from his course by head winds, and at one time lying to for the space of forty-eight hours. His purpose was, to ascertain whether the land he had seen was an island, or part of Greenland; but, being discouraged by the continued fogs, which hid the land from his view, he determined to steer for *Newland*, or Spitzbergen, and the course was altered to the northeast. At length the weather cleared up, and they enjoyed the comfort of a bright sun, after eighteen days of continued fogs and clouds.

After sailing on this course about fifteen or sixteen leagues, he saw land on the larboard, or left hand, about four leagues distant, stretching northeast and southwest. There was a vast number of birds circling around the land, with black backs and white bodies; and many floating pieces of ice, which they were obliged carefully to avoid. The fog returned again, and Hudson feared that he was embayed, from the quan-

tities of ice about the ship. He therefore steered northeast for five or six leagues, keeping a diligent lookout for the eastward termination of the land, and afterwards stood to the south.

He soon changed his course to the northeast again; and, the weather clearing up, he saw land at the distance of about twelve leagues, in the latitude of seventy-three degrees. This land appeared lofty and covered with snow, and in the north part were seen some very high mountains. The weather in this latitude was much less severe than that which they experienced in the neighborhood of Young's Cape. This land he did not explore any further, being prevented by fogs, calms, and contrary winds; he named it the *Land of Hold with Hope*.

In his journal, Hudson apologizes for steering so far westwardly, instead of making due north for the Pole. He says, that he was prompted by a desire to see that part of Greenland, which he supposed was hitherto undiscovered. Moreover, being in the vicinity of this land, it was natural to expect westerly winds, which would greatly favor his approach to the Pole. "And," he adds, "considering we found lands contrary to that which our cards make mention of, we accounted our labor so much the more worth. And, for aught that we could see, it is like to be a good land and worth the seeing."\*

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\* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 568.



On the 24th, the master's mate again saw high land on the larboard, which fell away to the northwest the more they advanced; and this was the last point of Greenland which presented itself to them. Hudson now turned to the northward and eastward, encountering constant fogs; but, being in so high latitude, that the sun was above the horizon the whole twenty-four hours, he was the less incommoded by the thick weather.

By the 26th of June, he saw flocks of birds similar to those he had seen on the coast of Greenland; he concluded that land was not far off, though, from the dense fog, he could see nothing of it. But the next morning, about one or two o'clock, the fog cleared up from the sea, and he saw the coast of Spitzbergen, or *New-land*, a name, which he says the Dutch had given to it. The land was covered with fog, and the ice was lying very thick all along the shore, for fifteen or sixteen leagues. At noon, he found himself to be in the latitude of seventy-eight degrees, and he supposed the land in sight to be Vogelhoeck, a projecting point in the western coast of Spitzbergen.\*

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\* Forster remarks, that "the honor of the discovery of Spitzbergen belongs to Hudson."—*History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the North*, p. 326. It is also asserted in Yates and Moulton's *History of the*

He continued to ply to the north and north-east, in the hope of finding a passage to the north of the island, until the middle of July. And it was in this part of the voyage, that his patience and fortitude seem to have been most severely tried. Constantly hemmed in with ice, and in danger of having his ship crushed by the masses, encountering head winds and storms, and

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*State of New York*, (Vol. I. p. 199,) that to Hudson is awarded the honor of discovering Spitzbergen. The same statement had been previously made by Dr. Belknap, (*Amer. Biog.*, Vol. I. p. 395,) and by Dr. Miller, (*Collect. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 28.) It appears very clearly, however, that Hudson was not the first discoverer of Spitzbergen; as the journal written by himself proves to us, that he knew of its existence and position previously to seeing it, and he recognised the portion of it, which he first saw, as the cape or headland called *Vogelhoeck* by the Dutch. The island was certainly seen, and probably first discovered, by William Barentz, of Amsterdam. This appears from a Latin work, entitled, *Descriptio ac Delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti sive Transitus ad Occasum supra Terras Americanas in Chinam atque Japonem ducturi*, published at Amsterdam, in 1613, twelve years before Hudson's Journal was published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. The author of this work says, that Barentz and Cornelius, in the year 1596, being on a voyage of discovery, in the hope of finding a northern passage to China, saw land in latitude 79° 50', and that they named this land *Spitzbergen*, from its mountainous aspect, and the quantity of snow and ice that was seen. They also named a

obliged to change his course almost daily, with disappointment meeting him at every step, he still continued to buffet the storms, availing himself of every moment of favorable weather to work to the northward, till fairly convinced of the impossibility, on account of the ice, of finding a passage by this side of the island. The sea appeared, at different times, blue, green, or

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remarkable promontory of this island *Vogelhoeck*, from the number of birds they found there. The island was, therefore, certainly discovered before Hudson saw it.

Scoresby, in his *Account of the Arctic Regions*, (Vol. I. p. 20,) speaks of the *re-discovery* of Spitzbergen by Hudson. This expression seems incorrect, as Hudson himself mentions the name by which it was called by the Hollanders; from which it is evident, that the existence of the island was generally known before his voyage in 1607.

When Hudson first approaches the land, he speaks of it as the same that was "called *Newland* by the Hollanders," (Purchas, Vol. III. p. 571.) That the country was at first called by the two names of *Spitzbergen* and *Newland* is proved by the fact, that there is now in existence a small quarto volume, entitled, *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberg, ou l'Isle de Terre Neuve*, published at Amsterdam, in 1613. The error of ascribing the first discovery to Hudson probably originated in a marginal note of Purchas, in which he says, "Newland, or *Greenland*, of which the Hollanders made a little discovery by Barentz." Hence it was inferred, that the *Newland* mentioned by Hudson was *Greenland*; which is refuted by his Journal.

black; and they saw a large number of morses, seals, and bears; which last animal afforded food to the crew, who ate so freely of the flesh one day, that many of them were made sick by it.

On the 14th of July, they saw a bay open towards the west, the shores of which were very high and rugged. The northerly point they named *Collins's Cape*, in honor of the boatswain, who first discovered it. A great number of whales were swimming about in the bay, one of which came under the keel, and "made her held," but did them no harm. Though there was a quantity of snow lying in the swamps and valleys near the shore, the weather was hot. Several of the crew went on shore, where they found and brought on board a pair of morse's teeth in the jaw; they also found some dozen or more deer's horns, and saw the foot-steps of other animals. Two or three streams of fresh water pouring into the bay proved very grateful to the men, who were made thirsty by the heat of the weather. In the evening, a fine gale springing up, they steered northeast again.

The weather was warm and clear on the morning of the 16th, and Hudson perceived that he was almost encompassed with ice. The land extended northeast far into the eighty-first degree of latitude; but, on account of the ice,

there was no passage to the north of it. Hudson therefore determined to sail round the southern extremity of the island, and then seek a passage to the northeast. He accordingly put the ship about, and laid his course southwardly, having been as far north as the eighty-second degree; a higher latitude than had yet been attained by any navigator.

He continued southwardly along the coast of Spitzbergen, having occasional glimpses of land, till the 25th of July, when he saw the land bearing north. He was now convinced, from the general prevalence of the winds since he had been on the coast, that it would be impossible to work his way to the northeast; he therefore abandoned the plan he had formed, of sailing round the southern extremity of the island, and determined to "prove his fortunes" by the west once more, hoping to go round the north of Greenland, and then return, by Davis's Straits, to England. His course was now, accordingly, shaped westward.

On the 27th, being nearly becalmed, they heard a great noise, occasioned by the ice and sea, and found that the sea was heaving them westward towards a large body of ice. The boat was got out, in the hope of towing the ship away from it, but the sea ran so high, that their efforts would have been of little avail. "In this extremity," says Hudson, "it pleased God

to give us a small gale at northwest and by west. We steered away four leagues, till noon. Here we had finished our discovery, if the wind had continued that brought us hither, or if it had continued calm; but it pleased God to make this northwest and by west wind the means of our deliverance; which wind we had not found common in this voyage. God give us thankful hearts for so great deliverance."

At noon the weather cleared up, and Hudson was convinced by the sky, which reflected the ice, that he could find no passage to the north of Greenland. He therefore took advantage of a westerly wind, and steered to the southeast. He again saw the southern extremity of Spitzbergen, and continued his course to the south. For, finding the fogs more thick and troublesome than before, and that many of the stores were beginning to fail; the season, moreover, being so far advanced, that it would be impossible to make the projected voyage this year, even if it were practicable at the proper season; he determined to return to England.

He passed in sight of Cheries Island, and, the weather being clear, he had a distinct view of the land, covered with craggy rocks. Continuing a southerly course through the month of August, he arrived at Tilbury Hope, on the Thames, September 15th, having been absent four months and a half.

## CHAPTER II.

*Hudson's Second Voyage. — Sails from London with the Design of seeking a Northeastern Passage to India. — Passes the North Cape. — Obstructed by Ice. — Arrives at Nova Zembla. — Abandons the Hope of going further North. — Explores an Inlet, or River, in Nova Zembla. — Resolves to return. — Searches for Willoughby's Land. — Arrives in England.*

As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Hudson prepared for a second voyage of discovery, the object of which was to find a northeast passage to the East Indies, by going to the north of Nova Zembla. The crew amounted to fifteen persons, including Hudson and his young son, who accompanied him on all his voyages. The master's mate was a certain Robert Juet,\* a man of considerable nautical skill and some education, who accompanied Hudson on all his subsequent voyages, and was destined to act a conspicuous part in his adventures.

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\* So, with Belknap, we prefer to modernize the spelling in Purchas, which is always *Juet* (like *June, July, judge*), except once *Juet* (p. 576), and once *IJET* (p. 581, where it is printed in capitals, like *HUDSON*.) Yet in Harris's *Collection of Voyages*, where Purchas is copied and the spelling reformed, it is constantly printed *Ivet*.

He sailed from London on the 22d of April, 1608, and after a month's sailing northward, till the 24th of May, he judged himself to be distant only sixteen leagues from the coast of Norway, in latitude of sixty-seven degrees. He had encountered constant fogs till this time, though generally with favorable winds; but the weather now cleared up, and continued fair, yet so cold, that it caused the sickness of the carpenter and several of the crew. He plied constantly to the northward and northeast, as the wind permitted, and, in three days more, was in latitude so high north, that he took an observation at midnight, the sun being on the north meridian, five degrees and a half above the horizon.

On the 1st of June, there came a severe gale, with snow. This continued for two days, when the weather became fair again, and he saw the North Cape about eight leagues distant. There were also several Norway fishermen in sight. Continuing a northeasterly course, he came into the neighborhood of ice, the first he had seen upon the voyage. His wish was to make his way through it, and he consequently held his course, loosening some of it, and bearing away from the larger portions, till late in the afternoon, when he found the ice so thick and firm, that it was impossible to force a further passage through it, and he was obliged to



return, having suffered no other harm than slightly rubbing the sides of his ship.

From this time, he made but a small advance to the north, the highest latitude which he reached being a little more than seventy-five degrees. He was on soundings nearly every day, finding much green ooze, and the water being whitish green. He saw great numbers of whales and porpoises, and he says the sea was covered with fowl. He also heard the bears roaring upon the ice, and saw an immense number of seals. The quantities of ice, by which he was beset, and the head winds, constantly obstructed his progress northward, so that, instead of gaining, he found himself drifting to the south.

He was here compelled to abandon the hope of going to the north of Nova Zembla, being very near its western coast, and unable, from the ice, to work to northward. Turning southward, he saw the part of Nova Zembla called Swart-Cliff by the Dutch. On one occasion, the ship only two miles from the land, he sent six of the men on shore, to examine the appearance of the country, and to fill the water casks. They found the shore covered with long grass, and the ground boggy and overflowed in places with streams from melting snow; the weather being very hot. They also saw traces of deer, foxes, and bears, and picked up some fins of

whales. In returning to the ship, they saw two or three troops or herds of morses swimming near the boat. Soon after this, several of the crew landed, in the hope of killing some of the morses; and they found a cross standing near the shore, with the signs of fires that had been kindled there.

After remaining in this place a short time, they saw a great number of morses in the water, and hoisted sail, and got out the boat to tow the vessel along; in the hope, that by following the morses, they might discover their place of landing, where they might kill them. They continued the chase till they doubled a point, and came to anchor in the mouth of a broad river, or sound, near a small island. They found the position so dangerous, however, from the ice which was borne down the stream, that they were obliged to weigh anchor in the night, and stand out, a fine gale springing up just in season to free them from their danger; but they returned to the same anchorage as soon as the ice had been carried out to sea by the current.

Constantly on the watch for any thing that might aid his discovery of the northeast passage, Hudson had no sooner perceived the broad river, near the mouth of which he had anchored, than he formed hopes that he might here find

a way to the other side of Nova Zembla. When he had ascertained the impossibility of sailing north of this island, it had been his intention to try the passage of the Vaygats,\* a strait which he knew would conduct him to the eastern side, unless obstructed with ice. "But," he says, "being here, and hoping by the plenty of morses we saw here to defray the charge of our voyage, and also that this sound might for some reasons be a better passage to the east of Nova Zembla than the Vaygats, if it held according to a hope conceived by the likeness it gave," he resolved to remain till he could explore it.

Soon after coming to anchor, he observed a large number of morses asleep on a projecting rock of the little island near him, and he therefore despatched the whole crew to hunt them. They only succeeded in killing one; all the rest having plunged into the water at their approach. The men landed, and found the shores high and steep; but, on ascending them, the land appeared quite level. After killing a great quantity of fowl, they returned on board. Several men were now sent, under the command of the mate, to examine the mouth of the

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\* The *Vaygats*, *Waygats*, or *Vaigatz*, is a strait between the southernmost parts of Nova Zembla and the northern coast of Russia.

river, or sound, by which he hoped to find a passage. After an absence of about twenty-four hours, they returned, bringing a very large deer's horn, and a lock of white hair; also a large number of fowl, which they had shot. They had seen a herd of white deer, and they reported that the shore was covered with drift-wood, that there were convenient bays, and a river coming from the north, which appeared to be a favorite resort of the morses. As for the sound, which they had been sent to examine, they had found it to be two or three leagues in breadth, the water of the color of the sea and very salt, and a strong current setting out; and they had no soundings at twenty fathoms.

This report determined him to explore the sound, and he accordingly weighed anchor, and stood in for the mouth of the river. He crossed a reef where the water was shallow; but after that it deepened again; and, having entered the river, he found it to be more than twenty fathoms deep. After ascending the stream to the distance of nine or ten leagues, he anchored again, the wind being ahead, and the current too strong to allow any farther advance that day. He, however, sent his mate Juet and five of the men in the boat, with provision and weapons, directing them to explore the stream, provided it continued deep, till they found it bending to

the east or southward, promising to follow them with the ship as soon as the wind should prove favorable. The men returned the next day, much fatigued with the labor they had undergone. They had explored the river to the distance of six or seven leagues, when the water became very shallow, not more than four feet deep. Finding that it would be impossible for their ship to pass these shallows, they had not thought it worth while to explore the river beyond this point.

There was no choice, therefore, but to return ; and accordingly he set sail and stood to the southwest again, as he tells us in his Journal, "with sorrow that our labor was in vain ; for, had this sound held as it did make show of, for depth, breadth, safeness of harbor, and good anchor ground, it might have yielded an excellent passage to a more easterly sea."

The month of July was somewhat advanced, and Hudson had failed in two attempts to discover a northeast passage. The ship was not now provided with stores or conveniences sufficient for attempting the passage of the Vaygats, and there was nothing left but to return to England. He determined, however, to visit Willoughby's Land\* on the way, as he wished to

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\* It has been asserted by English writers, and frequently repeated, that Sir Hugh Willoughby had

ascertain whether it was laid down correctly or not on the chart ; and he supposed that he should find a large number of morses there, as they were driven from the coast of Nova Zembla by the ice. His course was, therefore, laid westerly, being in the latitude of seventy-one degrees. He

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discovered Spitzbergen. It appears, however, from Hudson's Journal of his second voyage, that he was not of this opinion, but considered Willoughby's Land as entirely distinct from Spitzbergen. He steered west for this land, being in latitude 71°, while he well knew, that the most southerly point of Spitzbergen was several degrees to the north of this. In the old Dutch maps, *Willoughby's Land* is placed to the southeast of Spitzbergen.

The author of the Latin work cited in a former note, who is very accurate in his statements, maintains stoutly, that Willoughby's Land was not Spitzbergen, and cites a passage from the manuscript Journal of Willoughby to prove it. This passage agrees exactly with the Journal afterwards published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, except in some slight variations of orthography. It is as follows ; "The 14th day, early in the morning, we discovered land, which land we bare withal, hoising out our boat to discover what land it might be, but the boat could not come to land, the water was so shoare, where was very much yse also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees ; then we plyed to the northward the 15th, 16th, and 17th day." There is no mention in Willoughby's Journal, published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, of his having reached a higher

did not, however, come within sight of this land. After having sailed nearly west for about ten days, he perceived the promontory of Wardhus, on the coast of Lapland, and soon after doubled the North Cape. By the end of July, being off the coast of Norway, the nights had become dark,

northern latitude than  $72^{\circ}$ ; and it is very evident, that Hudson expected to find Willoughby's Land considerably to the south of Spitzbergen.

It may be satisfactory to some of our readers to examine for themselves the Latin passage referred to in this note. We therefore cite it entire.

“Qui Anglicanæ Navigationis cognitionem habent, non ignorant quam iniquis rationibus nitantur, et defendere conentur Angli, Equitem Hugonem Willoughby (Capitaneum trium Navium, vocatarum Bona Esperenza, Eduardus Bona Adventurus, et Bona Confidentia) invenisse et detegisse magnam illam insulam Spitzbergensem, idque septimo anno Regni Eduardi Sexti, anno nimirum Domini 1553. Nam eorum rerum maritimarum ipsæ lucubrationes atque scripta contrarium manifestò testantur, nimirum prædictum Equitem cum tribus istis navibus ex portu Anglicano Ratcliff solvisse (ut Septentrionem versus Regnum Cathaya detegeret) 10 May, 1553, et ab insula Norvegiæ Seynã 30 Julii; eumque duabus navibus, matutino tempore 14 Augusti, terram quandam detegisse sitam à dicta Insula Seynam (Mesocæcias) 160 Anglicanis Leucis (milliaribus Germanicis 120) ad altitudinem  $72^{\circ}$  graduum. Quod quidem præfatus Eques propriâ manu Anglicè conscripsit his verbis.” The writer then quotes the passage in English from Willoughby's journal, as contained above.

so that a light was required in the binacle, not having been used for two months before.

Hudson would have been glad to pursue his course to Greenland from this point, to attempt the northwest passage ; but the season was now so far advanced as to render such a plan impracticable, and he determined to waste no more time and money in an unavailing search ; and, therefore, made sail for England, where he arrived on the 26th of August, having been absent about four months.



## CHAPTER III.

*Hudson's third Voyage.— He seeks Employment from the Dutch East India Company.— Sails from Amsterdam.— Disappointed in the Hope of passing through the Vaygats.— Sails Westward, to the Bank of Newfoundland, and thence to the Coast of America.— Enters Penobscot Bay.— Intercourse with the Natives.— Sails to Cape Cod, and explores the Coast to the Southward.— Returns to the North.— Discovers the Outlet of Hudson's River, and anchors in New York Bay.*

THE London Company had become discouraged by two unsuccessful attempts to find a northern passage to China; and Hudson, whose mind was completely bent upon making the discovery, sought employment from the Dutch East India Company. The fame of his adventures had already reached Holland, and he had received from the Dutch the appellations of the bold Englishman, the expert pilot, the famous navigator.\* The company were generally in fa-

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\* Yates and Moulton's *History of New York*, Vol. I. p. 201. These writers, in their account of Hudson's third voyage, make frequent references to a history of

vor of accepting the offer of his services, though the scheme was strongly opposed by Balthazar Moucheron, one of their number, who had some acquaintance with the Arctic seas. They accordingly gave him the command of a small vessel, named the *Half Moon*, with a crew of twenty men, Dutch and English, among whom was Robert Juet, who had accompanied him as mate on his second voyage. The Journal of the present voyage, which is published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, was written by Juet.

He sailed from Amsterdam the 25th of March, 1609, and doubled the North Cape in about a month. His object was to pass through the Vaygats, or perhaps to the north of Nova Zembla, and thus reach China by the northeast passage. But after contending for more than a fortnight with head winds, continual fogs, and ice, and finding it impossible to reach even the coast of Nova Zembla, he determined to abandon this plan, and endeavor to discover a passage by the northwest. He accordingly directed his course westerly, doubled the North Cape again, and in

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the same expedition by Lambrechtsen, President of the Zealand Society of Sciences, who appears to have had access to the records of the Dutch East India Company. A translation of his *Kort Beschryving* was made by Mr. Van der Kemp, and was consulted in manuscript by Yates and Moulton.

a few days saw a part of the western coast of Norway, in the latitude of sixty-eight degrees. From this point he sailed for the Faroe Islands, where he arrived about the end of May.

Having replenished his water casks at one of these islands, he again hoisted sail, and steered southwest, in the hope of making Buss Island, which had been discovered by Sir Martin Frobisher, in 1578, as he wished to ascertain if it was correctly laid down on the chart. As he did not succeed in finding it, he continued this course for nearly a month, having much severe weather, and a succession of gales, in one of which the foremast was carried away. Having arrived at the forty-fifth degree of latitude, he judged it best to shape his course westward, with the intention of making Newfoundland. While proceeding in this direction, he one day saw a vessel standing to the eastward, and, wishing to speak her, he put the ship about, and gave chase; but finding, as night came on, that he could not overtake her, he resumed the westerly course again.

On the 2d of July, he had soundings on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, and saw a whole fleet of Frenchmen fishing there. Being on soundings for several days, he determined to try his luck at fishing; and, the weather falling calm, he set the whole crew at work to so much

purpose, that, in the course of the morning, they took between one and two hundred very large cod. After two or three days of calm, the wind sprang up again, and he continued his course westward, till the 12th, when he first had sight of the coast of North America. The fog was so thick, however, that he did not venture nearer the coast for several days; but at length, the weather clearing up, he ran into a bay at the mouth of a large river, in the latitude of forty-four degrees. This was Penobscot Bay, on the coast of Maine.

He already had some notion of the kind of inhabitants he was to find here; for, a few days before, he had been visited by six savages, who came on board in a very friendly manner, and ate and drank with him. He found, that, from their intercourse with the French traders, they had learned a few words of their language. Soon after coming to anchor, he was visited by several of the natives, who appeared very harmless and inoffensive; and, in the afternoon, two boats full of them came to the ship, bringing beaver skins and other fine furs, which they wished to exchange for articles of dress. They offered no violence whatever, though we find in Juet's Journal constant expressions of distrust, apparently without foundation.

They remained in this bay long enough to

cut and rig a new foremast; and, being now ready for sea, the men were sent on shore upon an expedition, that disgraced the whole company. What Hudson's sentiments or motives, with regard to this transaction, were, we can only conjecture from a general knowledge of his character, as we have no account of it from himself. But it seems highly probable, that, if he did not project it, he at least gave his consent to its perpetration. The account is in the words of Juet, as follows. "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drave the salvages from their houses, and took the spoil of them, as they would have done of us." After this exploit, they returned to the ship, and set sail immediately. It does not appear from the Journal that the natives had ever offered them any harm, or given any provocation for so wanton an act. The writer only asserts, that they would have done it, if they could. No plea is more commonly used to justify tyranny and cruelty, than the supposed bad intentions of the oppressed.

He now continued southward along the coast of America. It appears that Hudson had been

informed by his friend, Captain John Smith, that there was a passage to the western Pacific Ocean south of Virginia, and that, when he had proved the impossibility of going by the northeast, he had offered his crew the choice, either to explore this passage spoken of by Captain Smith, or to seek the northwest passage, by going through Davis's Strait. Many of the men had been in the East India service, and in the habit of sailing in tropical climates, and were consequently very unwilling to endure the severities of a high northern latitude. It was therefore voted, that they should go in search of the passage to the south of Virginia.

In a few days they saw land extending north, and terminating in a remarkable headland, which he recognised to be Cape Cod. Wishing to double the headland, he sent some of the men in the boat to sound along the shore, before venturing nearer with the ship. The water was five fathoms deep within bowshot of the shore, and, landing, they found, as the Journal informs us, "goodly grapes and rose trees," which they brought on board with them. He then weighed anchor, and advanced as far as the northern extremity of the headland.\* Here he heard the

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\* There is some confusion in that part of the Journal, in which these particulars are related. The northernmost point of Cape Cod is in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 7'$ .

voice of some one calling to them ; and, thinking it possible some unfortunate European might have been left there, he immediately despatched some of the men to the shore. They found only a few savages ; but, as these appeared very friendly,

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But the first "headland" described in the Journal was in  $41^{\circ} 45'$ , which corresponds very nearly with the south end of Chatham Beach. The course thence pursued was to the southeast, and we are told, two days afterwards, of another headland, "that lyeth in  $41^{\circ} 10'$ ." And the journalist adds, "This is that headland, which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602, and called *Cape Cod*, because of the store of cod-fish that he found thereabout." But, if the latitude as here stated be correct, this headland was that of the southwest point of Nantucket.

De Laet's great work on the "New World" was published at Leyden, in the year 1625. He is said to have had in his possession a part of the Journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself. He tells us, that Hudson first saw the land in latitude  $41^{\circ} 43'$ , and, supposing it to be an island, called it New Holland ; but that he afterwards discovered it to be connected with the continent, and the same as the *White Cape*, or *Cape Cod*, (promontorium *Blancum*, sive *Cod*.) He moreover adds, that Hudson ascertained this cape to be seventy-five miles farther westward from Europe, than the position assigned to it in the charts.—*Novus Orbis*, Lib. III. c. 7. These discrepancies may perhaps be in some degree accounted for by the inaccuracy of the latitudes, or errors of figures in transcribing or printing the Journal ; but, after all, it is doubtful what parts of the promontory of Cape Cod were seen by Hudson.

they brought one of them on board, where they gave him refreshments, and also a present of three or four glass buttons, with which he seemed greatly delighted. The savages were observed to have green tobacco, and pipes, the bowls of which were made of clay, and the stems of red copper.

The wind not being favorable for passing west of this headland into the bay, Hudson determined to explore the coast farther south; and the next day he saw the southern point of Cape Cod, which had been discovered and named by Bartholomew Gosnold, in the year 1602. He passed in sight of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and continued a southerly course till the middle of August, when he arrived at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. "This," says the writer of the Journal, "is the entrance into the King's river,\* in Virginia, where our Englishmen are."† The colony, under the command of Newport, consisting of one hundred and five persons, among whom were Smith, Gosnold, Wingfield, and Ratcliffe, had arrived here a little more than two years before; and, if Hudson could have landed, he would have enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with his own countrymen, and in his own lan-

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\* James River, thus called in honor of King James.

† Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 589.



guage, in the midst of the forests of the New World. But the wind was blowing a gale from the northeast, and, probably dreading a shore with which he was unacquainted, he made no attempt to find them.

He continued to ply to the south for several days, till he reached the latitude of thirty-five degrees forty-one minutes, when he again changed his course to the north. It is highly probable, that, if the journal of the voyage had been kept by Hudson himself, we should have been informed of his reasons for changing the southerly course at this point. The cause, however, is not difficult to conjecture. He had gone far enough to ascertain, that the information given him by Captain Smith, with respect to a passage into the Pacific south of Virginia, was incorrect; and he probably did not think it worth while to spend more time in so hopeless a search. He therefore retraced his steps; and, on the 28th of August, discovered Delaware Bay, where he examined the currents, soundings, and the appearance of the shores, without attempting to land. From this anchorage, he coasted northwards, the shore appearing low, like sunken ground, dotted with islands, till the 2d of September, when he saw the highlands of Never-sink, which, the journalist remarks, "is a very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see."

The entrance into the southern waters of New York is thus described in the Journal. "At three of the clock in the afternoon, we came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northernmost, thinking to have gone into it; but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the southern side of them; then we had five and six fathoms, and anchored. So we sent in our boat to sound, and they found no less water than four, five, six, and seven fathoms, and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, oozy ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rays very great." The next morning, having ascertained by sending in the boat, that there was a very good harbor before him, he ran in, and anchored at two cables' length from the shore. This was within Sandy Hook Bay.

He was very soon visited by the natives, who came on board his vessel, and seemed to be greatly rejoiced at his arrival among them. They brought green tobacco, which they desired to exchange for knives and beads; and Hudson observed, that they had copper pipes, and ornaments of copper. They also appeared to have plenty of maize, from which they made good

bread. Their dress was of deerskins, well cured, and hanging loosely about them. There is a tradition, that some of his men, being sent out to fish, landed on Coney Island. They found the soil sandy, but supporting a vast number of plum trees loaded with fruit, and grape vines growing round them.\*

The next day, the men, being sent in the boat to explore the bay still farther, landed, probably on the Jersey Shore, where they were very kindly received by the savages, who gave them plenty of tobacco. They found the land covered with large oaks. Several of the natives also came on board, dressed in mantles of feathers and fine furs. Among the presents they brought, were dried currants, which were found extremely palatable.

Soon afterwards five of the men were sent in the boat to examine the north side of the bay, and sound the river, which was perceived at the distance of four leagues. They passed through the Narrows, sounding all along, and saw "a narrow river to the westward, between two islands"; supposed to be Staten Island and Bergen Neck. They described the land as covered with trees, grass, and flowers, and filled with delightful fragrance. On their return to the ship,

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\* Yates and Moulton's *History of New York*, Vol. I. p 210.

they were assaulted by two canoes, one containing twelve, and the other fourteen savages. It was nearly dark, and the rain which was falling had extinguished their match, so that they could only trust to their oars for escape. One of the men, John Colman, who had accompanied Hudson on his first voyage, was killed by an arrow shot into his throat, and two more were wounded. The darkness probably saved them from the savages, but at the same time it prevented their finding the vessel; so that they did not return till the next day, when they appeared bringing the body of their comrade. Hudson ordered him to be carried on shore and buried, and named the place, in memory of the event, Colman's Point.\*

He now expected an attack from the natives, and accordingly hoisted in the boat, and erected a sort of bulwark along the sides of the vessel, for the better defence. But these precautions were needless. Several of the natives came on board, but in a friendly manner, wishing to exchange tobacco and Indian corn for the trifles which the sailors could spare them. They did not appear to know any thing of the affray, which had taken place. But, the day after, two large canoes came off to the vessel, the one filled

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\* Probably the point since known as Sandy Hook.

with armed men, the other under the pretence of trading. Hudson, however, would only allow two of the savages to come on board, keeping the rest at a distance. The two who came on board were detained, and Hudson dressed them up in red coats; the remainder returned to the shore. Presently another canoe, with two men in it, came to the vessel. Hudson also detained one of these, probably wishing to keep him as a hostage; but he very soon jumped overboard, and swam to the shore. On the 11th Hudson sailed through the Narrows, and anchored in New York bay.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Hudson explores the River which now bears his Name. — Escape of the Hostages. — Strange Experiment with the Natives. — Anchors near the present Site of Albany. — Returns down the River. — Battle with the Natives, near Hoboken. — Sails from the Bay, and leaves America. — Arrives in England.*

HUDSON now prepared to explore the magnificent river, which came rolling its waters into the sea from unknown regions. Whither he would be conducted in tracing its course, he could form no conjecture. A hope may be supposed to have entered his mind, that the long desired passage to the Indies was now at length discovered; that here was to be the end of his toils; that here, in this mild climate, and amidst these pleasant scenes, was to be found that object, which he had sought in vain through the snows and ice of the Arctic zone. With a glad heart, then, he weighed anchor, on the 12th of September, and commenced his memorable voyage up that majestic stream, which now bears his name.

The wind only allowed him to advance a few

miles the first two days of the voyage; but the time, which he was obliged to spend at anchor, was fully occupied in trading with the natives, who came off from the shore in great numbers, bringing oysters and vegetables. He observed that they had copper pipes, and earthen vessels to cook their meat in. They seemed very harmless and well disposed; but the crew were unwilling to trust these appearances, and would not allow any of them to come on board. The next day, a fine breeze springing up from the southeast, he was able to make great progress, so that he anchored at night nearly forty miles from the place of starting in the morning. He observes, that "here the land grew very high and mountainous," so that he had undoubtedly anchored in the midst of the fine scenery of the Highlands.

When he awoke in the morning, he found a heavy mist overhanging the river and its shores, and concealing the summits of the mountains. But it was dispelled by the sun in a short time; and, taking advantage of a fair wind, he weighed anchor, and continued the voyage. A little circumstance occurred this morning, which was destined to be afterwards painfully remembered. The two savages, whom he held as hostages, made their escape through the portholes of the vessel, and swam to the shore; and, as soon

as the ship was under sail, they took pains to express their indignation at the treatment they had received, by uttering loud and angry cries. Towards night, he came to other mountains, which, he says, "lie from the river's side," and anchored, it is supposed, near the present site of Catskill Landing. "There," says the Journal, "we found very loving people, and very old men; where we were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish." \*

The next morning, September 16th, the men were sent again to catch fish, but were not so successful as they had been the day before, in consequence of the savages having been there in their canoes all night. A large number of the natives came off to the ship, bringing Indian corn, pumpkins, and tobacco. The day was consumed in trading with the natives, and in filling the casks with fresh water; so that they did not weigh anchor till towards night. After sailing about five miles, finding the water shoal, they came to anchor, probably near the spot where the city of Hudson now stands. The weather was hot, and Hudson determined to set his men at work in the cool of the morning. He accordingly, on the 17th, weighed anchor at dawn,

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\* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 593.



and ran up the river about fifteen miles; when, finding shoals and small islands, he thought it best to anchor again. Towards night, the vessel having drifted near the shore, grounded in shoal water, but was easily drawn off, by carrying out the small anchor. She was aground again in a short time in the channel, but, the tide rising, she floated off.

The two days following, he advanced only about five miles, being much occupied by his intercourse with the natives. Being in the neighborhood of the present town of Castleton, he went on shore, where he was very kindly received by an old savage, "the governor of the country," who took him to his house, and gave him the best cheer he could. At his anchorage, also, five miles above this place, the natives came flocking on board, bringing a great variety of articles, such as grapes, pumpkins, beaver and otter skins, which they exchanged for beads, knives, and hatchets, or whatever trifles the sailors could spare them. The next day was occupied in exploring the river; four men being sent in the boat, under the command of the mate, for that purpose. They ascended several miles, and found the channel narrow, and in some places only two fathoms deep, but, after that, seven or eight fathoms. In the afternoon, they returned to the ship. Hudson resolved to pursue the examination of

the channel on the following morning, but was interrupted by the number of natives who came on board. Finding that he was not likely to gain any progress this day, he sent the carpenter ashore to prepare a new foreyard; and, in the mean time, prepared to make an extraordinary experiment on board.

From the whole tenor of the Journal, it is evident, that great distrust was entertained by Hudson and his men towards the natives. He now determined to ascertain, by intoxicating some of the chiefs, and thus throwing them off their guard, whether they were plotting any treachery. He accordingly invited several of them into the cabin, and gave them plenty of brandy to drink. One of these men had his wife with him, who, the Journal informs us, "sate so modestly as any one of our countrywomen would do in a strange place"; but the men had less delicacy, and were soon quite merry with the brandy. One of them, who had been on board from the first arrival of the ship, was completely intoxicated, and fell sound asleep, to the great astonishment of his companions, who probably feared that he had been poisoned; for they all took to their canoes and made for the shore, leaving their unlucky comrade on board. Their anxiety for his welfare, however, soon induced them to return; and they brought a quantity of beads, which they gave

him, perhaps to enable him to purchase his freedom from the spell that had been laid upon him.

The poor savage slept quietly all night, and, when his friends came to visit him the next morning, they found him quite well. This restored their confidence, so that they came to the ship again in crowds, in the afternoon, bringing various presents for Hudson. Their visit, which was one of unusual ceremony, is thus described in the Journal. "So, at three of the clock in the afternoon, they came aboard, and brought tobacco and more beads, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and showed him all the country round about. Then they sent one of their company on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves, and they caused him to eat with them. Then they made him reverence, and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard."\*

At night the mate returned in the boat, having been sent again to explore the river. He reported, that he had ascended eight or nine leagues, and found but seven feet of water, and irregular soundings.

It was evidently useless to attempt to ascend the river any further with the ship, and Hudson therefore determined to return. We may well

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\* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 594.

imagine, that he was satisfied already with the result of the voyage, even supposing him to have been disappointed in not finding here a passage to the Indies. He had explored a great and navigable river to the distance of nearly a hundred and forty miles; he had found the country along the banks extremely fertile, the climate delightful, and the scenery displaying every variety of beauty and grandeur; and he knew that he had opened the way for his patrons to possessions, which might prove of inestimable value.

It is supposed, that the highest place which the *Half Mohn* reached in the river, was the neighborhood of the present site of Albany; and that the boats, being sent out to explore, ascended as high as Waterford, and probably some distance beyond. The voyage down the river was not more expeditious than it had been in ascending; the prevalent winds were southerly, and for several days the ship could advance but very slowly. The time, however, passed agreeably, in making excursions on the shore; where they found "good ground for corn and other garden herbs, with a great store of goodly oaks, and walnut trees, and chesnut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones;" or in receiving visits from the natives, who came off to the ship in numbers.

While Hudson was at anchor near the spot where the city bearing his name now stands, two canoes came from the place where the scene of the intoxication had occurred, and in one of them was the old man, who had been the sufferer under the strange experiment. He brought another old man with him, who presented Hudson with a string of beads, and "showed all the country there about, as though it were at his command." Hudson entertained them at dinner, with four of their women, and in the afternoon dismissed them with presents.

He continued the voyage down the river, taking advantage of wind and tide as he could, and employing the time, when at anchor, in fishing or in trading with the natives, who came to the ship nearly every day, till, on the 1st of October, he anchored near Stony Point.

The vessel was no sooner perceived from the shore to be stationary, than a party of the native mountaineers came off in their canoes to visit it, and were filled with wonder at every thing it contained. While the attention of the crew was taken up with their visitors upon deck, one of the savages managed to run his canoe under the stern, and, climbing up the rudder, found his way into the cabin by the window; where, having seized a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel, he made off with them in

the canoe. The mate detected him as he fled, fired at, and killed him. Upon this, all the other savages departed with the utmost precipitation; some taking to their canoes, and others plunging into the water. The boat was manned and sent after the stolen goods, which were easily recovered; but, as the men were returning to the vessel, one of the savages, who were in the water, seized hold of the keel of the boat, with the intention, as was supposed, of upsetting it. The cook took a sword and lopped his hand off, and the poor wretch immediately sunk. They then weighed anchor and advanced about five miles.

The next day, Hudson descended about seven leagues, and anchored. Here he was visited in a canoe by one of the two savages, who had escaped from the ship as he was going up. But fearing treachery, he would not allow him or his companions to come on board. Two canoes filled with armed warriors then came under the stern, and commenced an attack with arrows. The men fired at them with their muskets, and killed three of them. More than a hundred savages now came down upon the nearest point of land, to shoot at the vessel. One of the cannon was brought to bear upon these warriors, and, at the first discharge, two of them were killed, and the rest fled to the woods.

The savages were not yet discouraged. They

had, doubtless, been instigated to make this attack by the two, who escaped near West Point, and who had probably incited their countrymen by the story of their imprisonment, as well as by representing to them the value of the spoil, if they could capture the vessel, and the small number of men who guarded it. Nine or ten of the boldest warriors now threw themselves into a canoe, and put off towards the ship; but a shot from the cannon made a hole in the canoe, and killed one of the men. This was followed by a discharge of musketry, which destroyed three or four more. This put an end to the battle; and in the evening, having descended about five miles, Hudson anchored in a part of the river out of the reach of his enemies, probably near Hoboken.

Hudson had now explored the bay of New York, and the noble stream which pours into it from the north. For his employers he had secured possessions, which would beyond measure reward them for the expense they had incurred in fitting out the expedition. For himself, he had gained a name, that was destined to live in the gratitude of a great nation, through unnumbered generations. Happy in the result of his labors, and in the brilliant promise they afforded, he spread his sails again for the Old World, on the 4th of October, and, in a little more than a month, arrived safely at Dartmouth, in England.

The Journal kept by Juet ends abruptly at this place. The question, therefore, immediately arises, whether Hudson pursued his voyage to Holland, or whether he remained in England, and sent the vessel home. Several Dutch authors assert, that Hudson was not allowed, after reaching England, to pursue his voyage to Amsterdam; and this seems highly probable, when we remember the well known jealousy with which the maritime enterprises of the Dutch were regarded by King James.

Whether Hudson went to Holland himself, or not, it seems clear from various circumstances, that he secured to the Dutch Company all the benefits of his discoveries, by sending to them his papers and charts. It is worthy of note, that the earliest histories of this voyage, with the exception of Juet's Journal, were published by Dutch authors. Moreover, as we have already seen, Hudson's own Journal, or some portion of it at least, was in Holland, and was used by De Laet previously to the publication of Juet's Journal in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. But the most substantial proof, that the Dutch enjoyed the benefit of his discoveries earlier than any other nation, is the fact, that the very next year they were trading in Hudson's River; which it is not probable would have happened, if they had not had possession of Hudson's charts and Journal.



## CHAPTER V.

*Hudson's Fourth Voyage. — He engages in the Service of the London Company. — Sails to Iceland. — Disturbances among his Crew. — Advances westward. — In great Danger from the Ice. — Enters and explores Hudson's Bay. — Unsuccessful in the Search for a Western Passage. — Determines to winter in the Bay.*

THE success of Hudson's last voyage probably stimulated the London Company to take him again into their employment, and to fit out another vessel in search of that great object of discovery, the northwest passage. We find him setting out on a voyage, under their auspices, early in the spring of 1610. His crew numbered several persons, who were destined to act a conspicuous part in the melancholy events of this expedition. Among these were Robert Juet, who had already sailed with him as mate in two of his voyages; Habakuk Pricket, a man of some intelligence and education, who had been in the service of Sir Dudley Digges, one of the London Company, and from whose Journal we learn chiefly the events of the voyage; and Henry Greene, of whose character and circum-

stances it is necessary here to give a brief account.

It appears from the Journal, that Greene was a young man of good abilities and education, born of highly respectable parents, but of such abandoned character, that he had forced his family to cast him off. Hudson found him in this condition, took pity upon him, and received him into his house in London. When it was determined, that he should command this expedition, Hudson resolved to take Greene with him, in the hope, that, by exciting his ambition, and by withdrawing him from his accustomed haunts, he might reclaim him. Greene was also a good penman, and would be useful to Hudson in that capacity. With much difficulty Greene's mother was persuaded to advance four pounds, to buy clothes for him; and, at last, the money was placed in the hands of an agent, for fear that it would be wasted if given directly to him. He was not registered in the Company's books, nor did he sail in their pay; but Hudson, to stimulate him to reform, promised to give him wages, and on his return to get him appointed one of the Prince's guards, provided he should behave well on the voyage.

Hudson was also accompanied, as usual, by his son. The crew consisted of twenty-three men; and the vessel was named the *Discovery*.

The London Company had insisted upon Hudson's taking in the ship a person, who was to aid him by his knowledge and experience, and in whom they felt great confidence. This arrangement seems to have been very disagreeable to Hudson, as he put the man into another vessel before he reached the mouth of the Thames, and sent him back to London, with a letter to his employers stating his reasons for so doing. What these reasons were, we can form no conjecture, as there is no hint given in the Journal.

He sailed from London on the 17th of April, 1610. Steering north from the mouth of the Thames, and passing in sight of the northern part of Scotland, the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Isles, and having, in a little more than a month, sailed along the southern coast of Iceland, where he could see the flames ascending from Mount Hecla, he anchored in a bay on the western side of that island. Here they found a spring so hot, that "it would scald a fowl," in which the crew bathed freely. At this place, Hudson discovered signs of a turbulent and mutinous disposition in his crew. The chief plotter seems to have been Robert Juet, the mate. Before reaching Iceland, Juet had remarked to one of the crew, that there would be bloodshed before the voyage was over; and he was evidently at

that time contriving some mischief.\* While the ship was at anchor in this bay, a circumstance occurred, which gave Juet an opportunity to commence his intrigues. It is thus narrated by Pricket.

“At Iceland, the surgeon and he [Henry Greene] fell out in Dutch, and he beat him ashore in English, which set all the company in a rage, so that we had much ado to get the surgeon aboard. I told the master of it, but he bade me let it alone; for, said he, the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had. But Robert Juet, the master’s mate, would needs burn his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale, when’he was drunk, that our master had brought in Greene to crack his credit that should displease him; which words came to the master’s ears, who, when he understood it, would have gone back to Iceland, when he was forty leagues from thence, to have sent home his mate, Robert Juet, in a fisherman. But, being otherwise persuaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood; but for religion, he would say, he was clean paper, whereon he might write what he would.”†

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\* Wydhouse’s note; Purchas’s *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 609.

† Purchas’s *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 601.

He sailed from Iceland on the 1st of June, and for several days Juet continued to instigate the crew to mutiny, persuading them to put the ship about and return to England.\* This, as we have seen, came to the knowledge of Hudson, and he threatened to send Juet back, but was finally pacified. In a few days he made the coast of Greenland, which appeared very mountainous, the hills rising like sugar loaves, and covered with snow. But the ice was so thick all along the shore, that it was found impossible to land. He therefore steered for the south of Greenland, where he encountered great numbers of whales. Two of these monsters passed under the ship, but did no harm; for which the journalist was devoutly thankful. Having doubled the southern point of Greenland, he steered northwest, passed in sight of Desolation Island, in the neighborhood of which he saw a huge island or mountain of ice, and continued northwest till the latter part of June, when he came in sight of land bearing north, which he supposed to be an island set down in his chart in the northerly part of Davis's Strait. His wish was to sail along the western coast of this island, and thus get to the north of it; but adverse winds and the quanti-

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\* Wydhouse's note; Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 609.

ties of ice, which he encountered every day, prevented him.

Being south of this land, he fell into a current setting westwardly, which he followed, but was in constant danger from the ice. One day, an enormous mountain of ice turned over near the ship, but fortunately without touching it. This served as a warning to keep at a distance from these masses, to prevent the ship from being crushed by them. He encountered a severe storm, which brought the ice so thick about the ship, that he judged it best to run her among the largest masses, and there let her lie. In this situation, says the journalist, "some of our men fell sick; I will not say it was of fear, although I saw small sign of other grief." As soon as the storm abated, Hudson endeavoured to extricate himself from the ice. Wherever any open space appeared, he directed his course, sailing in almost every direction; but the longer he contended with the ice, the more completely did he seem to be enclosed, till at last he could go no further. The ship seemed to be hemmed in on every side, and in danger of being soon closely wedged, so as to be immovable. In this perilous situation, even the stout heart of Hudson almost yielded to the feeling of despair; and, as he afterwards confessed to one of the men, he thought he should never escape from the ice, but that he was doomed to perish there.

He did not, however, allow his crew, at the time, to be aware what his apprehensions really were; but, assembling them all around him, he brought out his chart, and showed them that they had advanced in this direction a hundred leagues further than any Englishman had done before; and gave them their choice whether to proceed, or to return home. The men could come to no agreement; some were in favor of returning, others were for pushing forward. This was probably what Hudson expected; the men were mutinous, and yet knew not what they wanted themselves. Having fairly convinced them of this, it was easier to set them at work to extricate the ship from her immediate danger. After much time and labor, they made room to turn the ship round, and then by little and little they worked their way along for a league or two, when they found a clear sea.

The scene which has just been described, seems indeed a subject worthy of the talents of a skilful painter. The fancy of the artist would represent the dreary and frightful appearance of the ice-covered sea, stretching away as far as the eye could reach, a bleak and boundless waste; the dark and broken clouds driving across the fitful sky; the ship motionless amidst the islands and mountains of ice, her shrouds and sails being fringed and stiffened with the frozen spray. On

the deck would appear the form of Hudson himself, displaying the chart to his men; his countenance care-worn and sad, but still concealing, under the appearance of calmness and indifference, the apprehensions and forebodings, which harrowed his mind. About him would be seen the rude and ruffian-like men; some examining the chart with eager curiosity, some glaring on their commander with eyes of hatred and vengeance, and expressing in their looks those murderous intentions, which they at last so fatally executed.

Having reached a clear sea, Hudson pursued his course northwest, and in a short time saw land bearing southwest, which appeared very mountainous and covered with snow. This he named *Desire Provokes*. He had now entered the Strait which bears his name, and, steering west, he occupied nearly the whole month of July in passing through it. To the various capes, islands, and promontories, which he saw, he gave names either in commemoration of some circumstance, which happened at the time, or in honor of persons and places at home, or else for the reward of the discoverer.

Some islands, near which he anchored, and where his ship was but just saved from the rocks, he called the *Isles of God's Mercies*. On the 19th, he passed a point of land, which he named



*Hold with Hope.* To the main land, which he soon after discovered, he gave the name of *Magna Britannia*. On the 2d of Séptember, he saw a headland on the northern shore, which he named *Salisbury's Foreland*; and, running southwest from this point about fourteen leagues, he entered a passage not more than five miles in width, the southern cape at the entrance of which he named *Cape Worsenholme*, and that on the north side, *Cape Digges*.

He now hoped, that the passage to the western sea was open before him, and that the great discovery was at length achieved. He therefore sent a number of the men on shore at *Cape Digges*, to ascend the hills, in the hope that they would see the great ocean open to them beyond the Strait. The exploring party, however, were prevented from making any discovery, by a violent thunder storm, which soon drove them back to the ship. They saw plenty of deer, and soon after espied a number of small piles of stones, which they at first supposed must be the work of some civilized person. On approaching them, and lifting up one of the stones, they found them to be hollow, and filled with fowls, hung by the neck. They endeavored to persuade their commander to wait here, till they could provision the ship from the stores, which were thus remarkably provided for

them. But his ardor was so great to find his way into the ocean, which he felt convinced was immediately in the vicinity, that he could suffer no delay, but ordered his men to weigh anchor at once; a precipitancy which he had afterwards reason bitterly to regret. Having advanced about ten leagues through the Strait, he came into the great open Bay or sea which bears his name.

Having entered the Bay, he pursued a southerly course for nearly a month, till he arrived at the bottom of the Bay; when, finding that he was disappointed in his expectation of thus reaching the western seas, he changed his course to the north, in order to retrace his steps. On the 10th of September, he found it necessary to inquire into the conduct of some of the men, whose mutinous disposition had manifested itself a good deal of late. Upon investigation, it appeared, that the mate, Robert Juet, and Francis Clement, the boatswain, had been the most forward in exciting a spirit of insubordination. The conduct of Juet at Iceland was again brought up, and, as it appeared that both he and Clement had been lately plotting against the commander, they were both deposed, and Robert Billet was appointed mate, and William Wilson boatswain.

The remaining part of September and all October were passed in exploring the great Bay.

At times the weather was so bad, that they were compelled to run into some bay and anchor; and in one of the storms they were obliged to cut away the cable, and so lost their anchor. At another time they ran upon a sunken ledge of rocks, where the ship stuck fast for twelve hours, but was at last got off without being much injured. The last of October having now arrived, and winter beginning to set in, Hudson ran the vessel into a small bay, and sent a party in search of a good place to intrench themselves till the spring. They soon found a convenient station; and, bringing the ship thither, they hauled her aground. This was on the 1st of November. In ten days they were completely frozen in, and the ship firmly fixed in the ice.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Dreary Prospect for the Winter. — Disturbances and Sufferings of the Crew. — Unexpected Supply of Provisions. — Distress from Famine. — Hudson sails from his Wintering-Place. — Mutiny of Greene and Others. — Fate of Hudson and Eight of the Crew. — Fate of Greene and Others of the Mutineers. — Return of the Vessel to England.*

THE prospect for Hudson and his men was now dreary and disheartening. In addition to the rigors of a long winter, in a high northern latitude, they had to apprehend the suffering, which would arise from a scarcity of provisions. The vessel had been victualled for six months, and that time having now expired, and their stores falling short, while, at the same time, the chance of obtaining supplies from hunting and fishing was very precarious, it was found necessary to put the crew upon an allowance. In order, however, to stimulate the men to greater exertions, Hudson offered a reward or bounty for every beast, fish, or fowl, which they should kill; hoping, that in this way the scanty stock

of provisions might be made to hold out till the breaking up of the ice in the spring.

About the middle of November, John Williams, the gunner, died. We are not informed what was his disease, but we are led to suppose from the Journal, that his death was hastened, if not caused, by the unkind treatment he experienced from Hudson. It appears very evident from the simple narration by Pricket, that "the master," as he calls him, had become hasty and irritable in his temper. This is more to be regretted, than wondered at. The continual hardships and disappointments, to which he had been exposed, and especially the last unhappy failure in discovering the northwest passage, when he had believed himself actually within sight of it, must have operated powerfully upon an ardent and enthusiastic mind like his, in which the feeling of regret at failure is always proportionate to the strength and confidence of hope when first formed. In addition to this, the troublesome disposition of the crew, which must have caused ceaseless anxiety, undoubtedly contributed much to disturb his calmness and self-possession, and render him precipitate and irritable in his conduct. Many proofs of this soon occurred.

The death of the gunner was followed by consequences, which may be regarded as the beginning of troubles, that in the end proved fatal.

It appears, that it was the custom in those times, when a man died at sea, to sell his clothes to the crew by auction. In one respect, Hudson violated this custom, and probably gained no little ill will thereby. The gunner had a gray cloth gown or wrapper, which Henry Greene had set his heart upon possessing; and Hudson, wishing to gratify his favorite, refused to put it up to public sale, but gave Greene the sole choice of purchasing it.

Not long after this, Hudson ordered the carpenter to go on shore, and build a house, or hut, for the accommodation of the crew. The man replied, that it would now be impossible to do such a piece of work, from the severity of the weather, and the quantity of snow. The house ought to have been erected when they had first fixed their station there, but now it was too late, and Hudson had refused to have it done at first. The carpenter's refusal to perform the work excited the anger of the master to such a degree, that he drove him violently from the cabin, using the most opprobrious language, and finally threatening to hang him.

Greene appeared to take sides with the carpenter, which made Hudson so angry, that he gave the gown, which Greene had coveted so much, to Billet, the mate; telling Greene, with much abusive language, that, as not one of his

friends at home would trust him to the value of twenty shillings, he could not be expected to trust him for the value of the gown; and that, as for wages, he should have none if he did not behave better. These bitter taunts sunk deep into Greene's heart, and no doubt incited him to further mutinous conduct.

The sufferings of the men were not less, during the winter, than they had had reason to apprehend. Many of them were made lame, probably from chilblains and freezing their feet; and Pricket complains in the Journal, written after the close of the voyage, that he was still suffering from the effects of this winter. They were, however, much better supplied with provisions than they had anticipated. For three months they had such an abundance of white partridges about the ship, that they killed a hundred dozen of them; and, on the departure of these, when spring came, they found a great plenty of swans, geese, ducks, and other waterfowl.

Hudson was in hopes, when he saw these wild fowl, that they had come to breed in these regions, which would have rendered it much easier to catch them; but he found that they went still further north for this purpose. Before the ice had broken up, these birds too had disappeared, and the horror of starvation began to stare them in the face. They were forced to

search the hills, woods, and valleys, for any thing that might afford them subsistence; even the moss growing on the ground, and disgusting reptiles, were not spared. Their sufferings were somewhat relieved, at last, by the use of a bud, which is described as "full of turpentine matter."\* Of these buds the surgeon made a decoction, which he gave the men to drink, and also applied them hot to their bodies, wherever any part was affected. This was undoubtedly very effectual in curing the scurvy.

About the time that the ice began to break up, they were visited by a savage, whom Hudson treated so well, that he returned the day after to the ship, bringing several skins, some of which he gave in return for presents he had received the day before. For others Hudson traded with him, but made such hard bargains, that he never visited them again. As soon as the ice would allow of it, some of the men were sent out to fish. The first day they were very successful, catching about five hundred fish; but after this, they never succeeded in taking a quarter part of this number in one day. Being greatly distressed by want of provisions, Hudson took the boat and coasted along the

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\* Probably the bud of the Tacamahaca tree, the *Populus balsamifera* of Linnæus.



bay to the southwest, in the hope of meeting some of the natives, from whom he might obtain supplies. He saw the woods blazing at a distance, where they had been set on fire by the natives; but he was not able at any time to come within sight of the people themselves. After an absence of several days, he returned unsuccessful to the ship.

The only effect of this little expedition was defeating a conspiracy, formed by Greene, Wilson, and some others, to seize the boat and make off with her. They were prevented from putting this scheme in execution by Hudson's unexpected determination to use the boat himself. Well would it have been for him, if they had been allowed to follow their wishes.

-Having returned to the ship, and finding every thing now prepared for their departure according to his directions, before weighing anchor he went through the mournful task of distributing to his crew the small remnant of the provisions, about a pound of bread to each man; which he did with tears in his eyes. He also gave them a bill of return, as a sort of certificate for any who might live to reach home. Some of the men were so ravenous, that they devoured in a day or two the whole of their allowance of bread.

They sailed from the bay, in which they had

passed the winter, about the middle of June, and, in three or four days, being surrounded with ice, were obliged to anchor. The bread he had given the men, and a few pounds of cheese, which had remained, were consumed. Hudson now intimated to one of the crew, that the chests of all the men would be searched, to find any provisions that might have been concealed there; and ordered him at the same time to bring all that was in his. The man obeyed, and produced thirty cakes in a bag. This indiscretion on the part of Hudson appears to have greatly exasperated his crew, and to have been the immediate cause of open mutiny.

They had been detained at anchor in the ice about a week, when the first signs of this mutiny appeared. Greene, and Wilson, the boatswain, came in the night to Pricket, who was lying in his berth very lame, and told him, that they and several of the crew had resolved to seize Hudson, and set him adrift in the boat, with all on board who were disabled by sickness; that there were but few days' provisions left, and the master appeared entirely irresolute which way to go; that for themselves they had eaten nothing for three days; their only hope, therefore, was in taking command of the ship, and escaping from these regions as quickly as possible; and that they would carry their plot into execution, or perish in the attempt.

Pricket remonstrated with them in the most earnest manner, entreating them to abandon such a wicked intention, and reminding them of their wives and children, from whom they would be banished for ever, if they stained themselves with so great a crime. But all he could say had no effect. He then besought them to delay the execution for three days, for two days, for only twelve hours; but they sternly refused. Pricket then told them, that it was not their safety for which they were anxious, but that they were bent upon shedding blood and revenging themselves, which made them so hasty. Upon this, Greene took up the bible which lay there, and swore upon it, that he would do no man harm, and that what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else. Wilson took the same oath, and after him came Juet and the other conspirators separately, and swore in the same words. The words of the oath are recorded by Pricket, because, after his return to England, he was much blamed for administering any oath, as he seemed by so doing to side with the mutineers. The oath, as administered by him, ran as follows;

“You shall swear truth to God, your Prince, and Country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man.” How little regard was paid to this oath by the mutineers, will shortly appear.

It was decided, that the plot should be put in execution at daylight ; and, in the mean time, Greene went into Hudson's cabin to keep him company, and prevent his suspicions from being excited. They had determined to put the carpenter and John King into the boat with Hudson and the sick, having some grudge against them for their attachment to the master. King and the carpenter had slept upon deck this night. But about daybreak, King was observed to go down into the hold with the cook, who was going for water. Some of the mutineers ran and shut down the hatch over them, while Greene and another engaged the attention of the carpenter, so that he did not observe what was going on.

Hudson now came up from the cabin, and was immediately seized by Thomas, and Bennet, the cook, who had come up from the hold, while Wilson ran behind and bound his arms. He asked them what they meant, and they told him he would know when he was in the shallop. Hudson called on the carpenter to help him, telling him that he was bound ; but he could render him no assistance, being surrounded by mutineers. In the mean time, Juet had gone down into the hold, where King was ; but the latter, having armed himself with a sword, attacked Juet, and would have killed him, if the

noise had not been heard upon deck by the conspirators, some of whom ran down and overpowered him. While this was done, two of the sick men, Lodlo and Bute, boldly reproached their shipmates for their wickedness, telling them, that their knavery would show itself, and that their actions were prompted by mere vengeance, not the wish to preserve their lives. But their words had no effect.

The boat was now hauled along side, and the sick and lame were called up from their berths. Pricket crawled upon deck as well as he could, and Hudson, seeing him, called to him to come to the hatchway to speak with him. Pricket entreated the men, on his knees, for the love of God to remember their duty, and do as they would be done by ; but they only told him to go back to his berth, and would not allow him to have any communication with Hudson. When Hudson was in the boat, he called again to Pricket, who was at the horn window, which lighted his cabin, and told him that Juet would "overthrow" them all. "Nay," said Pricket, "it is that villain, Henry Greene;" and this he said as loud as he could.

After Hudson was put into the boat, the carpenter was set at liberty, but he refused to remain in the ship unless they forced him ; so they told him he might go in the boat, and allowed

him to take his chest with him. Before he got into the boat, he went down to take leave of Pricket, who entreated him to remain in the ship; but the carpenter said he believed that they would soon be taken on board again, as there was no one left who knew enough to bring the ship home; and that he was determined not to desert the master. He thought the boat would be kept in tow; but, if they should be parted, he begged Pricket to leave some token for them if he should reach Digges's Cape first. They then took leave of each other with tears in their eyes, and the carpenter went into the boat, taking a musket and some powder and shot, an iron pot, a small quantity of meal, and other provisions. Hudson's son and six of the men were also put into the boat. The sails were now hoisted, and they stood eastward with a fair wind, dragging the shallop from the stern; and in a few hours, being clear of the ice, they cut the rope by which the boat was dragged, and soon after lost sight of her for ever.

The account here given of the mutiny, is nearly in the words of Pricket, an eyewitness of the event. It is difficult at first to perceive the whole enormity of the crime. The more we reflect upon it, the blacker it appears. Scarcely a circumstance is wanting, that could add to the baseness of the villany, or the horror of the

suffering inflicted. The principal conspirators were men, who were bound to Hudson by long friendship, by lasting obligations, and by common interests, adventures, and sufferings. Juet had sailed with him on two of his former voyages, and had shared in the glory of his discoveries. Greene had been received into his house, when abandoned even by his own mother; had been kindly and hospitably entertained, encouraged to reform, and taken, on Hudson's private responsibility; into a service in which he might gain celebrity and wealth. Wilson had been selected from among the crew, by the approving eye of the commander, and appointed to a place of trust and honor. Yet these men conspired to murder their benefactor, and instigated the crew to join in their execrable scheme.

Not contented with the destruction of their commander, that nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of their wickedness, they formed the horrible plan of destroying, at the same time, all of their companions, whom sickness and suffering had rendered a helpless and unresisting prey to their cruelty. The manner of effecting this massacre was worthy of the authors of such a plot. To have killed their unhappy victims outright would have been comparatively merciful; but a long, lingering, and painful death was chosen for them. The imagi-

nation turns with intense and fearful interest to the scene. The form of the commander is before us, bound hand and foot, condescending to no supplication to the mutineers, but calling in vain for assistance from those, who would gladly have helped him, but who were overpowered by numbers, or disabled by sickness. The cry of the suffering and dying rings in our ears, as they are dragged from their beds, to be exposed to the inclemencies of the ice-covered sea in an open boat. Among them appears the young son of Hudson, whose tender years can wake no compassion in the cold-blooded murderers.

We refrain from following them, even in fancy, through their sufferings after they are separated from the ship; their days and nights of agony, their cry of distress, and the frenzy of starvation, their hopes of relief defeated, their despair, and their raving as death comes on. Over these awful scenes the hand of God has hung a veil, which hides them from us for ever. Let us not seek to penetrate, even in imagination, the terrors which it conceals.

How far Pricket's account, in regard to the course pursued by Hudson, is worthy of confidence, must be left to conjecture. It should be remembered, however, that Pricket was not free from the suspicion of having been in some degree implicated in the conspiracy, and that his



narrative was designed in part as a vindication of himself. The indiscreet severity charged upon Hudson, and the hasty temper he is represented to have shown, in embroiling himself with his men, for apparently trifling reasons, are not consistent with the moderation, good sense, and equanimity, with which his conduct had been marked in all his preceding voyages. It is moreover hardly credible, that, knowing as he did, the mutinous spirit of some of the crew, he should so rashly inflame this spirit, at a time when he was surrounded by imminent dangers, and when his safety depended on the united support of all the men under his command. Hence, whatever reliance may be placed on the veracity of Pricket, it is due to the memory of Hudson not to overlook the circumstances, by which his pen may have been biased.

When Hudson and the men were deposited in the boat, the mutineers busied themselves with breaking open chests and pillaging the ship. They found in the cabin a considerable quantity of biscuit, and a butt of beer; and there were a few pieces of pork, some meal, and a half bushel of pease in the hold. These supplies were enough to save them from immediate starvation; and they expected to find plenty of game at Digges's Cape.

Henry Greene was appointed commander,

though evidently too ignorant for the place. It was a full month before they could find their way to the Strait, which leads out of the great Bay in which they had wintered. Part of this time they were detained by the ice; but several days were spent in searching for the passage into Davis's Strait. During this time they landed often, and sometimes succeeded in catching a few fish or wild fowl; but supplied their wants principally by gathering the cockle-grass, which was growing in abundance on every part of the shore. They arrived within sight of Digges's Cape about the last of July, and immediately sent the boat on shore for provisions. The men who landed found considerable quantities of game, as it was a place where the wild fowl breed. There were great numbers of savages about the shore, who appeared very friendly, and testified their joy by lively gestures.

The next day Henry Greene went ashore, accompanied by Wilson, Thomas, Perse, Mouter, and Pricket. The last was left in the boat, which was made fast to a large rock, and the others went on shore in search of provisions. While some of the men were busy in gathering sorrel from the rocks, and Greene was surrounded by the natives, with whom he was trading, Pricket, who was lying in the stern of the boat, observed one of the savages coming

in at the bows. Pricket made signs to him to keep off; and while he was thus occupied, another savage stole round behind him. Pricket suddenly saw the leg and foot of a man by him, and looking up, perceived a savage with a knife in his hand, aiming a blow at him. He prevented the wound from being fatal, by raising his arm and warding off the blow; but was still severely cut. Springing up, he grappled with the savage, and drawing his dagger, at length put him to death.

In the mean time, Greene and the others were assaulted by the savages on shore, and with difficulty reached the boat, all of them wounded except Perse and Moter. The latter saved his life by plunging into the water, and catching hold of the stern of the boat. No sooner had they pushed off, than the savages let fly a shower of arrows, which killed Greene outright, and mortally wounded some of the others, among them Perse, who had hitherto escaped. Perse and Moter began to row toward the ship, but Perse soon fainted, and Moter was left to manage the boat alone, as he had escaped unwounded. The body of Greene was thrown immediately into the sea. Wilson and Thomas died that day in great torture, and Perse two days afterwards.

The remainder of the crew were glad to de-

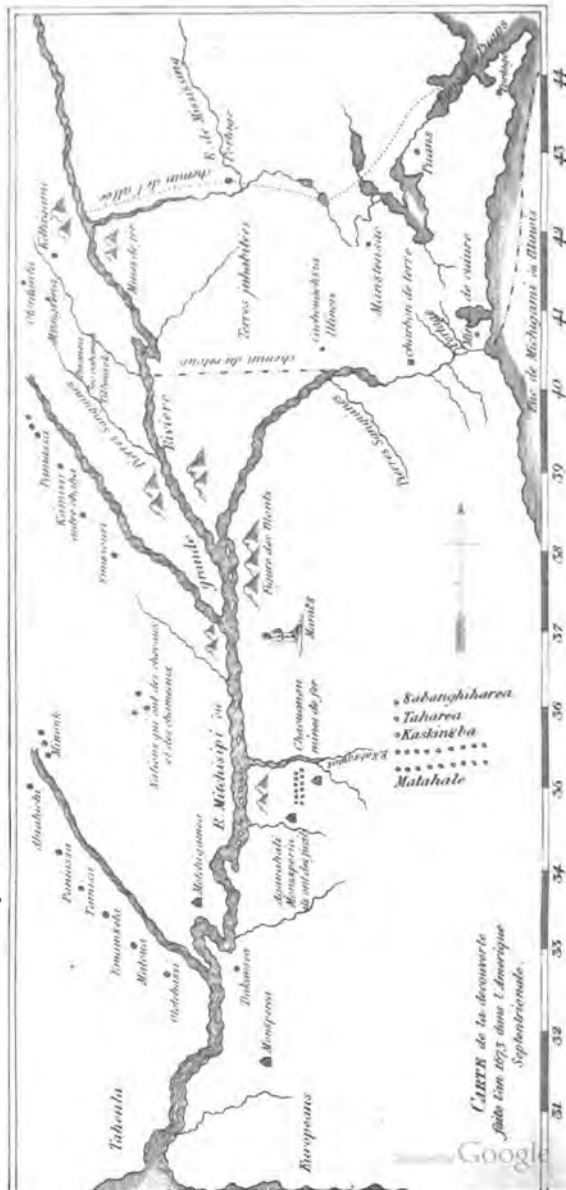
part from the scene of this fatal combat, and immediately set sail, with the intention of reaching Ireland as soon as possible. While they were in the Strait, they managed to kill a few wild fowl occasionally; but the supply was so small, that they were obliged to limit the crew to half a fowl a day, which they cooked with meal; but this soon failed, and they were forced to devour the candles. The cook fried the bones of the fowls in tallow, and mixed this mess with vinegar, which, says Pricket, was "a great daintie."

Before they reached Ireland, they were so weakened, that they were forced to sit at the helm to steer, as no one among them was able to stand. Just before they came in sight of land, Juet died of want, thus meeting the very fate, to avoid which he had murdered his commander and friend. The men were now in utter despair. Only one fowl was left for their subsistence, and another day would be their last. They abandoned all care of the vessel, and prepared to meet their fate, when the joyful cry of "a sail," was heard. It proved to be a fishing vessel, which took them into a harbor in Ireland, from which they hired a pilot to take them to England; where they all arrived in safety, after an absence of a year and five months.

The year following, the *Discovery*, the vessel in which Hudson made his last voyage, and the *Resolution*, were sent out, under the command of Captain Thomas Button, who was accompanied by Pricket, in the hope of learning something of the fate of Hudson, and of relieving him; and, at the same time, to discover, if possible, the northwest passage. Pricket had observed, in the voyage with Hudson, when the ship had struck upon a rock near Digges's Island, that a strong tide from the westward had floated her off again. The London Company had hopes, from this fact, that there might be a passage to the western ocean at no great distance from this place. The expedition was unsuccessful in both objects. No tidings of Hudson could ever be gained; and the discovery of the northwest passage is a problem, which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, has scarcely yet been solved.

LIFE  
OF  
FATHER MARQUETTE,  
BY  
JARED SPARKS.

of the Map attached to Marquette's Journal: reduced from the Original.



## FATHER MARQUETTE.\*

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It is generally believed, that the Mississippi River was first discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, as early as 1541. The accounts of his expedition in Florida are so highly exaggerated, so indefinite, and in many parts so obviously false, that little more can be inferred from them, than that he passed far into the country, had many combats with the natives, and finally died in the interior. The probability is so strong, however, that he and his party actually crossed the Mississippi, that it has usually been assumed as a historical fact.

Soto had distinguished himself as a military leader under Pizarro, in the conquest of Peru. He returned to Spain, renowned for his exploits, and enriched by the spoils of the Peruvians and of their unfortunate monarch Atahualpa, extorted

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\* A large part of this Memoir has heretofore been published in the appendix to the second edition of BURLEIGH'S *History of Kentucky*. It is here reprinted with considerable additions.



by iniquity and violence. He appeared in much splendor at the court of Spain, and, becoming acquainted with one of the companions of Narvaez, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Florida, he formed the project of achieving the conquest of that country. He solicited permission from Charles the Fifth to undertake the enterprise at his own expense, and his request was granted. The fame of Soto, the great wealth he had acquired in Peru, and the hope of making similar acquisitions in Florida, drew around him many adventurers, some of whom belonged to the first families in Spain. Several persons also joined him from the town of Elvas, in Portugal. In a short time he procured seven ships, and supplied them with every thing necessary for the voyage. The fleet sailed from St. Lucar, in the month of April, 1538, proceeding first to St. Jago in Cuba, and thence to Havana. The number of men that accompanied him is not precisely known. The most authentic account states it to have been six hundred; according to others it was much larger.

The Emperor had appointed Soto governor of Cuba, with the title of General of Florida, and Marquis of all the lands he might conquer. Leaving his wife at Havana, he sailed from that port on the 18th of May, 1539, and landed at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, in Florida. After

many wanderings and adventures, he arrived at the *Great River*, so called in the narrative, (supposed to be the Mississippi,) and crossed it in June or July, 1541. He died the next year, on the 21st of May; and his followers, under Moscoso, as the story says, constructed brigantines, in which they sailed down the river to its mouth, and, after a voyage of fifty days, they entered the river Panuco, in Mexico, on the 10th of September, 1543.

The first account of Soto's expedition purports to have been written by one of the Portuguese adventurers, who accompanied it throughout, and returned to his native country; and who styles himself, in the titlepage of his narrative, "Fidalgo d'Elvas," rendered by Hakluyt, "*A Gentleman of Elvas*." The name of the writer has never been ascertained. The book was first published at Evora, in 1557, more than fifteen years after the principal events it narrates.\* There is much show of exactness in regard to dates,

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\* The title of this edition is as follows. "*Relacam Verdadeira dos Trabalhos que ho Governador don Fernando de Souto y certos Fidalgos Portugeses passarom no Descobrimeto da Provincia la Frodida. Agora novamente feita per hum Fidalgo d'Elvas*." Copies are extremely rare. The price of one, mentioned in Mr. Rich's "Catalogue of Books relating principally to America," is stated at £31 10s. sterling. It is a small octavo, in black letter.

but the account was evidently drawn up for the most part from memory, being vague in its descriptions, and indefinite as to localities, distances, and other points usually noted by journalists. This account was translated into English by Hakluyt, and published in 1609, with a very long title, beginning, "*Virginia richly valued, by the Description of the Main Land of Florida,*" &c. This little volume is extremely rare, not being included in either of the editions of Hakluyt's celebrated collection, though reprinted in the Supplement to that of 1809. The translator's object was to advance the purposes of the "Virginia Company," which had then recently been formed. Another English translation was published anonymously in the year 1686, entitled "*A Relation of the Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards under the command of Fernando de Soto.*" This was translated from the French version of Citri de la Guette, which appeared in Paris the year before.

The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega completed his work on Florida in the year 1591. It was first printed at Lisbon, in 1605.\* The author's

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\* Entitled, "*La Florida del Ynca ; Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador y Capitan General del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos Cavaleros Españoles é Indios ; escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega.*" The volume is a small quarto. A handsome

style is flowing and agreeable, but his fancy constantly takes the lead of his judgment, and no tale is too marvellous for his pen. It was one of his chief objects, as stated in his Preface, "to render justice to the memory of the brave Ferdinand de Soto, which has been cruelly defamed by certain English, French, and Italian writers." Hence a large portion of his work is taken up with the adventures of Soto. Although he wrote more than forty years after the death of his hero, yet he had no other written materials for his guidance, than those which had been furnished by the "*Gentleman of Elvas*"; and in fact, the narrative of this unknown person is the only authority, which can be considered of any value, respecting the wanderings of Soto. In several points Garcilaso differs from his original. Citri de la Guette says, that he took his account chiefly from the narration of a common soldier, who was in Soto's expedition, and this at least forty years after the events. Little could be gathered from such a source, which is worthy of confidence. Both of the accounts are too romantic and vague for history;

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edition in folio was printed at Madrid, in 1723. It has been twice translated into French, first by Baudoin, and afterwards by Richelet, and several times printed. A German translation was also published, in 1753; but the book has never been translated into English.

yet some of the names of places and of Indian tribes, and descriptions of the country, in the narrative of the anonymous Portuguese writer, could hardly have been given except from personal observation; and they render it in the highest degree probable, that Soto crossed the Mississippi near the thirty-fourth degree of latitude.

It may be doubted, at least, whether either of these works can be trusted, as affording genuine historical materials. They have been cited by respectable writers in default of other authorities; but they border so closely upon the regions of romance, that they may as justly be ranked in this class of compositions, as in that of history. This is generally conceded in regard to Garcilaso.\* His predecessor, the *Gentleman of Elvas*, is thought to have higher claims; and perhaps he has; yet whoever follows him closely will be likely to run into ten errors in

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\* The French biographer of Garcilaso de la Vega, in the *Biographie Universelle*, apologizing for his want of accuracy, as compared with Herrera, says, "Cet écrivain recommandable a composé son histoire du Nouveau-Monde sur un grand nombre de matériaux, tandis que, pour écrire celle du Pérou et de la Florida, Garcilaso n'avait que son patriotisme et son génie." Patriotism and genius are undoubtedly qualities of a high order in a historian; but it is equally certain, that, if he relies only on these, he will write a very indifferent history.

arriving at a single truth, with the additional uncertainty of being able to distinguish the former from the latter. The narrative is moreover disfigured with descriptions of atrocious acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty committed against the natives, as revolting to humanity as they were disgraceful to the adventurers. The thirst for gold, which was the stimulating motive to this enterprise, seems to have absorbed every other passion and every generous sentiment. Robbery, slavery, mutilation, and death were practised, not only without compunction, but apparently as means supposed to be justified by the cause in which they were engaged. In short, if this narrative is worthy of credit, few readers will be inclined to dissent from the remark of Philip Briet, in his *Annales Mundi*, that it is difficult to decide whether cruelty or avarice was the predominant trait in the character of Soto.

British writers have mentioned a subsequent discovery of the Mississippi, in 1654, by an Englishman named Wood. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find any proofs, that the Mississippi was ever seen by this person.\*

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\* Professor Keating says, "This is not the same Colonel Wood of Virginia, whom Coxe mentions as having discovered several branches of the great rivers Ohio and Meschasebe."—LONG'S *Expedition*, Vol. I. p. 236. But he gives us no clue for ascertaining what Wood it was.

In short, the first Europeans, who are certainly known to have discovered and explored this river, were two Frenchmen, Father MARQUETTE and M. Joliet, in the year 1673. Marquette was a native of Picardy, and Charlevoix calls him "one of the most illustrious missionaries of New France," adding, that he travelled widely, and made many discoveries besides that of the Mississippi. He had resided some time in Canada, and attained a proficiency in the languages of the principal native tribes, who resided in the regions bordering on the Upper Lakes. The first settlement of the old town of Michillimackinac, in 1671, is ascribed to his exertions and influence.

The Indians had given many accounts of a great river at the West, which flowed southwardly, and which they called *Mississipy*, as the word is written by Marquette. It became a matter of curious speculation, what course this river pursued, and at what place it disembogued itself into the sea. There were three opinions on this subject. First, that it ran towards the southwest, and entered the Gulf of California; secondly, that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico; and thirdly, that it found its way in a more easterly direction, and discharged itself into the Atlantic Ocean somewhere on the coast of Virginia. The question was not less

important in a commercial and political view, than interesting as a geographical problem.

To establish the point, and to make such other discoveries as opportunities would admit, M. de Frontenac, the governor of Canada, encouraged an expedition to be undertaken. The persons, to whom it was intrusted, were M. Joliet, then residing at Quebec, and Father Marquette, who was at Michillimackinac, or in the vicinity of that place. Marquette wrote an account of his tour, and voyage down the Mississippi, which was sent to France, and published eight years afterwards in Paris. From this account the following particulars are chiefly taken. In some parts the translation is nearly literal, and all the prominent facts are retained.

On the 13th of May, 1673, Father Marquette and M. Joliet, with five other Frenchmen, embarked in two canoes, with a small provision of Indian corn and smoked meat, having previously acquired from the Indians all the intelligence they could afford respecting their proposed route.

The first nation through which they passed, was the *Folles Avoines*, (Wild Rice,) so called from the grain of that name, which abounds in the rivers and marshy lands. This plant is described as growing about two feet above the water, resembling European oats, and gathered by the savages during the month of September. The



ears are dried, separated from the chaff, and prepared for food either by pounding into meal, or simply boiling the grain in water.\*

The natives, having been made acquainted by Father Marquette with his design of visiting the most remote nations, and preaching to them the Gospel, did their utmost to dissuade him from it, representing the cruelty of some of the tribes, and their warlike state, the dangerous navigation of the river, the dreadful monsters that were found in it, and, finally, the excessive heat of the climate.

He thanked them for their good advice, but declined following it; assuring them, that, to secure the success of his undertaking, he would gladly give his life; that he felt no fear of the monsters they described; and that their information would only oblige him to keep more on his guard against surprise. After having prayed, and given them some instructions, he parted from them, and arrived at the *Bay of Puans*, now called Green Bay, where considerable progress had been made by the French priests in the conversion of the Indians.

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\* Charlevoix mentions the *Folles Avoines* as residing on a small river, which flows into the Bay of Puans from the west. *Malhomines* was the name by which they were known among the Indians, and they were supposed to be a branch of the Pottowattomies. — *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Tom. III. p. 291.

The name of this bay has a less unpleasant meaning in the Indian, than in the French language, signifying also *salt bay*, which induced Father Marquette to make strict researches for salt springs in this vicinity, but without success. He concluded, therefore, that the name was given to it in consequence of the ooze and mud, deposited there, from whence, as he thought, arise vapors, that produce frequent and violent thunder storms. He speaks of this bay as about thirty leagues long, and eight leagues wide at its entrance, gradually contracting towards its head, where the flux and reflux of the tides, much like those of the sea, may be easily observed.\*

Leaving this bay, they ascended the river, since known as Fox River, that empties into it. At its mouth, he says, the river is broad and deep, and flows gently; but, as you advance, its course is interrupted by rapids and rocks; which he passed, however, in safety. It abounds with bustards, ducks, and teal, attracted by the wild rice, which grows there. Approaching the village of *Maskoutins*, or *nation of fire*, he had the curiosity to taste the mineral water

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\*The appearance of these tides has attracted the notice of travellers from the earliest times, and has recently engaged the attention of scientific observers. Mr. Schoolcraft has collected many facts on the subject. — *Journal of the Expedition under Governor Cass*, p. 373.

of a stream in its vicinity. The village consisted of three several nations, namely, *Miamis*, *Maskoutins*, and *Kikabeaux*. The first were the most friendly and liberal, and the finest looking men. Their hair was long over their ears. They were good warriors, successful in their expeditions, docile, and fond of instruction. They were so eager to listen to Father Allouez, when he was among them, that they allowed him no repose, even in the night.\* The Maskoutins and Kikabeaux were coarser, and less civilized; their wigwams were constructed of rushes, (birch bark being scarce in this country,) and might be rolled up in bundles and carried where they pleased.

In visiting these people, Father Marquette was much gratified at seeing a large cross erected in the centre of the village, decorated with thank-offerings to the Great Spirit, for their success during the last winter. The situation of the village was striking and beautiful, it being built on an eminence, whence the eye overlooked on all sides a boundless extent of prairie, interspersed with groves and forests. The soil was good,

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\* Father Allouez was an enterprising and successful missionary. He arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie in 1668, and traversed the country between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. Charlevoix speaks of his having visited the *Miamis* and *Maskoutins* the year before Marquette's expedition. — *Histoire, &c.* Tom. I. p. 448.

producing abundantly Indian corn, grapes, and plums.

Immediately on their arrival, Father Marquette and M. Joliet assembled the chiefs, and explained to them the objects of their expedition, expressing their determination to proceed at all risks, and making them some presents. They requested the assistance of two guides, to put them in their way; which request the natives readily granted, returning for their presents a mat, which served them as a bed during the voyage. The next day, being the 10th of June, the two Miamis, their guides, embarked with them in sight of all the inhabitants of the village, who looked with astonishment on the hardihood of seven Frenchmen in undertaking such an expedition.

They knew, that within three leagues of the Maskoutins was a river, which discharged itself into the Mississippi; and further, that their course must be west southwest; but so many marshes and small lakes intervened, that the route was intricate; the more so, as the river was overgrown with wild rice, which obstructed the channel to such a degree, that it was difficult to follow it. On this account their guides were necessary, who conducted them safely to a portage, which was about two thousand seven hundred paces across. The guides aided them in transporting their canoes over the portage to the

river, which ran towards the west, and then they left them and returned.\*

The travellers quitted the waters, which flow towards Quebec, five or six hundred leagues from that place, and embarked on an unknown stream. This river was called *Mescousin* (Wisconsin). It was very broad, but its bottom was sandy, and the navigation was rendered difficult by the shoals. It was full of islands, overgrown with vines; and the fertile banks through which it flowed were interspersed with woods, prairies, and groves of nut, oak, and other trees. Numbers of bucks and buffaloes were seen, but no other animals. Within thirty leagues of their place of embarkation, they found iron mines, which appeared abundant and of a good quality. After continuing their route for forty leagues, they arrived at the mouth of the river, in forty-two degrees and a half of latitude; † and on the 17th of June,

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\* This description of the wild rice in the river, and of the portage, agrees very exactly with that of Mr. Schoolcraft. He says the portage is a mile and a half, being equal to two thousand six hundred and forty paces. And of the river he tells us, "It is filled with wild rice, which so chokes up the channel, that it is difficult to find a passage through it." — *Journal, &c.* pp. 363, 364.

† Father Marquette's estimate of the latitude approaches very near the truth. By a series of observations, Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, four or five miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin, has been ascertained to be 43° 3' 31". — *Long's Expedition*, p. 245.

they entered with great joy the waters of the Mississippi.

This river derives its source from several lakes in the north. At the mouth of the *Mescousin* its channel was narrow, and it flowed onwards with a gentle current. On the right was seen a chain of high mountains, and on the left fertile fields interrupted by islands in many places. They slowly followed the course of the stream to the south and southwest, until, in forty-two degrees of latitude, they perceived a sensible change in the surrounding country. There were but few hills and forests. The islands were covered with beautiful trees.

From the time of leaving their guides, they descended the two rivers more than one hundred leagues, without discovering any other inhabitants of the forests, than birds and beasts. They were always on their guard, kindling a fire on the shore towards evening, to cook their food, and afterwards anchoring their canoes in the middle of the stream during the night. They proceeded thus for more than sixty leagues from the place where they entered the Mississippi, when, on the 25th of June, they perceived on the bank of the river the footsteps of men, and a well beaten path leading into a beautiful prairie. They landed, and, leaving the canoes under the guard of their boatmen, Father Marquette and M. Joliet set

forth to make discoveries. After silently following the path for about two leagues, they perceived a village, situate on the margin of a river, and two others on a hill, within half a league of the first. As they approached nearer, they gave notice of their arrival by a loud call. Hearing the noise, the Indians came out of their cabins, and, having looked at the strangers for a while, they deputed four of their elders to talk with them, who slowly advanced. Two of them brought pipes ornamented with feathers, which, without speaking, they elevated towards the sun, as a token of friendship. Gaining assurance from this ceremony, Father Marquette addressed them, inquiring of what nation they were. They answered, that they were Illinois, and, offering their pipes, invited the strangers to enter the village; where they were received with every mark of attention, conducted to the cabin of the chief, and complimented on their arrival by the natives, who gathered round them, gazing in silence.

After they were seated, the *calumet* was presented to them, and, while the old men were smoking for their entertainment, the chief of all the Illinois tribes sent them an invitation to attend a council at his village. They were treated by him with great kindness, and Father Marquette, having explained to him the motives of this voyage, enforcing each part of his speech

with a present, the chief in reply expressed his approbation; but urged him, in the name of the whole nation, not to incur the risks of a further voyage, and rewarded his presents by the gift of a *calumet*.

The council was followed by a feast, consisting of four courses, from each of which they were fed with much ceremony; and afterwards they were conducted in state through the village, receiving many presents of girdles and garters from the natives. The following day, they took leave of the chief, promising to return in four moons, and were accompanied to their canoes, with every demonstration of joy, by more than six hundred savages.

Before leaving this nation, Father Marquette remarked some of their peculiarities. The name *Illinois*, in the native language, signifies *men*, as if implying thereby, that other tribes are brutes in comparison, which in some sense Father Marquette thought to be true, as they were more civilized than most of the tribes. Their language, on the borders of the river, was a dialect of the *Algonquin*, and was understood by Father Marquette. In the form of their bodies the Illinois were light and active. They were skilful in the use of arms, brave, but mild and tractable in disposition. They were entirely ignorant of the use



of leather, and iron tools, their weapons being made of stone, and their clothing of the skins of wild beasts. The soil was rich and productive, and game abundant.

After this peaceful interview with the natives, the voyagers embarked again, and passed down the stream, looking out for the river *Pekitanoni* (Missouri), which empties into the Mississippi from the northwest. They observed high and steep rocks, on the face of which were the figures of two monsters, which appeared as if painted in green, red, and blue colors; frightful in appearance, but so well executed, as to leave Father Marquette in doubt, whether they could be the work of savages, they being also at so great a height on the rocks as to be inaccessible to a painter.

As they floated quietly down a clear and placid stream, conversing about the figures they had just passed, they were interrupted by the sound of rapids before them; and a mass of floating timber, trunks and branches of trees, was swept from the mouth of the *Pekitanoni* with such a degree of violence, as to render the passage dangerous. So great was the agitation, that the water was thereby made very muddy, and it did not again become clear. The *Pekitanoni* is described as a large river flowing into the

Mississippi from the northwest, with several villages on its banks.\*

At this place Father Marquette decided, that, unless the Mississippi altered its previous course, it must empty its waters into the Gulf of Mexico; and he conjectured from the accounts of the natives, that, by following the stream of the Pekitanoni, a river would be discovered, which flowed into the Gulf of California.

About twenty leagues south of the Pekitanoni, and a little more to the southeast, they discovered the mouth of another river, called *Ouabouiskigou* (Ohio), in the latitude of thirty-six degrees; a short distance above which, they came to a place formidable to the savages, who, believing it the residence of a demon, had warned Father Marquette of its dangers. It proved nothing more than a ledge of rocks, thirty feet high, against which the waves, being contracted by an island, ran with violence, and, being thrown back with a loud noise, flowed rapidly on through a narrow and unsafe channel.

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\* This relation agrees with facts, although the mudiness of the waters of the Missouri has been found to be produced by a different cause. "The painted monsters," says Stoddard, "on the side of a high perpendicular rock, apparently inaccessible to man, between the Missouri and Illinois, and known to the moderns by the name of *Piesa*, still remain in a good degree of preservation."—*History of Louisiana*, p. 17.

The Ouabouskigou came from the eastward, where the country was thickly inhabited by the tribe of *Chuouanons*, a harmless and peaceful people, much annoyed by the Iroquois, who were said to capture them as slaves, and kill and torture them cruelly.

A little above the entrance of this river were steep banks, in which the boatmen discovered iron ore, several veins of which were visible, about a foot in thickness, portions of it adhering to the flint-stones; and also a species of rich earth, of three different colors, namely, purple, violet, and red, and a very heavy red sand, some of which, being laid on an oar, left a stain during fifteen days. They here first saw tall reeds, or canes, growing on the shores, and began to find the *maringouins* (mosquitoes) very troublesome; the attacks of which, with the heat of the weather, obliged the voyagers to construct an awning of the sails of their canoes.

Shortly afterwards they saw savages armed with muskets, waiting their approach on the bank of the river. While the boatmen prepared for a defence, Father Marquette presented his *calumet*, and addressed them in Huron, to which they gave no answer, but made signals to them to land, and accept some food. They consequently disembarked, and, entering their cabins, were presented with buffalo's meat, bear's oil, and fine plums.

These savages had guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, and glass bottles for their gunpowder. They informed Father Marquette, that he was within ten days' journey of the sea; that they purchased their goods of Europeans, who came from the east; that these Europeans had images and beads, played on many instruments, and were dressed like himself; and that they had treated them with much kindness.\* As they had no knowledge of Christianity, the worthy Father gave them what instruction he could, and made them a present of some medals. Encouraged by the information received from these savages, the party proceeded with renewed ardor on their voyage, between banks covered with thick forests, that intercepted their view of the prairies; in which, however, they heard at no great distance the bellowing of buffaloes. They also saw quails upon the shores, and shot a small parrot.

They had nearly reached the thirty-third degree of latitude, steering towards the south, when they discovered a village on the river's side, called *Metchigamea*. The natives, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and tomahawks, prepared to

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\* Channels of trade had been opened with the Spaniards in Florida, and other Europeans in Carolina and Virginia. Colonel Wood is said to have crossed the Alleganies from Virginia, in 1670; doubtless for this object.

attack them; some in canoes, trying to intercept their course, others remaining on shore. Father Marquette in vain presented his *calumet* of peace. They were ready to attack, when the elders, perceiving at last the *calumet*, commanded the young warriors to stop, and, throwing their arms at the feet of the strangers, as a sign of peace, entered their canoes, and constrained them to land, though not without some uneasiness.

As the savages were not acquainted with any of the six languages spoken by Father Marquette, he addressed them by signs, until an old man was found, who understood a little Illinois. Through this interpreter, he explained their intention of going to the borders of the sea, and gave the natives some religious instruction. In reply they answered, that whatever information he desired might be obtained at *Akamsca* (Arkansas), a village ten leagues lower down the river; and presented them with food. After passing a night of some anxiety, they embarked the following morning with their interpreter; a canoe with ten savages preceding them. About half a league from Akamsca, they were met by two canoes full of Indians, the chief of whom presented his *calumet*, and conducted them to the shore, where they were hospitably received and supplied with provisions. Here they found a young man well acquainted with the Illinois lan-

guage, and through him Father Marquette addressed the natives, making them the usual presents, and requesting information from them respecting the sea. They answered, that it was within five days' journey of Akamsca, that they knew nothing of the inhabitants on its borders, being prevented by their enemies from holding intercourse with these Europeans; that their knives and other weapons were purchased partly from the eastern nations, and partly from a tribe of Illinois, four days' journey to the westward; that the armed savages, whom the travelers had met, were their enemies; that they were continually on the river between that place and the sea; and that, if the voyagers proceeded further, great danger might be apprehended from them. After this communication, food was offered, and the rest of the day was spent in feasting.

These people were friendly and hospitable, but poor, although their Indian corn produced three abundant crops in a year, which Father Marquette saw in its different stages of growth. It was prepared for food in pots, which, with plates and other utensils, were neatly made of baked earth by the Indians. Their language was so very difficult, that Father Marquette despaired of being able to pronounce a word of it. Their climate in winter was rainy, but they had no snow, and the soil was extremely fertile.

During the evening the old men held a secret council. Some of them proposed to murder the strangers, and seize their effects. The chief, however, overruled this advice, and, sending for Father Marquette and M. Joliet, invited them to attend a dance of the *calumet*, which he afterwards presented to them as a sign of peace.

The good Father and his companion began now to consider what further course they should pursue. As it was supposed, that the Gulf of Mexico extended as far north as thirty-one degrees and forty minutes,\* they believed themselves not to be more than two or three days' journey from it; and it appeared to them certain, that the Mississippi must empty itself into that gulf, and not into the sea through Virginia, at the eastward, because the coast of Virginia was in the latitude of thirty-four degrees, at which they had already arrived; nor yet into the Gulf of California, at the southwest, because they had found the course of the river to be invariably south. Being thus persuaded, that the main object of their expedition was attained; and considering, moreover, that they were unable to resist the armed savages, who infested the lower parts of the river, and

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\* It is hardly necessary to say, that, although this is nearly accurate, in regard to the most northerly part of the Gulf of Mexico, it is an error as to the mouth of the Mississippi, which is below twenty-nine degrees.

that, should they fall into the hands of the Spaniards, the fruits of their voyage and discoveries would be lost, they resolved to proceed no further, and, having informed the natives of their determination and rested another day, they prepared for their return.

After a month's navigation on the Mississippi, having followed its course from the forty-second to the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, they left the village of Akamsca, on the 17th of July, to return up the river. They retraced their way, slowly ascending the stream, until, in about the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, they turned into another river (Illinois), which abridged their route and brought them directly to Lake *Illinois* (Michigan). They were struck with the fertility of the country through which that river flowed, the beauty of the forests and prairies, the variety of the game, and the numerous small lakes and streams which they saw. The river was broad and deep, and navigable for sixty-five leagues, there being, in the season of spring and part of the summer, only half a league of portage between its waters and those flowing into Lake Illinois. On its banks they found a village, the inhabitants of which received them kindly, and, on their departure, extorted a promise from Father Marquette to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs, accompanied by the



young men, conducted them as far as the Lake; whence they proceeded to the *Bay of Puans*, where they arrived near the end of September, having been absent about four months.\*

Such is the substance of Father Marquette's narrative; and the whole of it accords so remarkably with the descriptions of subsequent travellers, and with the actual features of the country through which he passed, as to remove every doubt of its genuineness. The melancholy fate of the author, which followed soon afterwards, was probably the reason why his expedition was not in a more conspicuous manner brought before the public.

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\* The following distances have been communicated by General Wool, Inspector General of the Army of the United States, who is personally acquainted with the route, and has had the best means of forming an accurate estimate.

	Miles.
From Green Bay up Fox River to the portage, . . . . .	175
From the portage down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, . . . . .	175
From the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas, . . . . .	1087
From the Arkansas to the Illinois River, . . . . .	547
From the mouth of the Illinois to Chicago, . . . . .	305
From Chicago to Green Bay by the Lake shore, . . . . .	260
Total, . . . . .	2549

General Wool observes, that some persons estimate the route about fifty miles more, but he thinks it will

In addition to this narrative, nothing is known of Marquette, except what is said of him by Charlevoix.\* After returning from this last expedition, he took up his residence, and pursued the vocation of a missionary, among the Miamis in the neighborhood of Chicago. While passing by water along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan towards Michillimackinac, he entered a small river, on the 18th of May, 1675. Having landed, he constructed an altar, performed mass, and then retired a short distance into the wood, requesting the two men, who had charge of his

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rather fall short than exceed the above result. It would appear, therefore, that the whole distance, passed over by Marquette and Joliet in this tour, was at least two thousand five hundred miles.

Considering the manner in which Father Marquette travelled, being conveyed in boats up and down rivers, through an unknown country, it cannot be supposed that his estimate of distances would be exact, particularly as he had no means of deciding the velocity with which he was carried along by the currents of the streams. Deceived by the rapid motion of the water, he reckoned the distance from the portage to the mouth of the Wisconsin to be forty leagues, or one hundred and twenty miles, whereas General Wool states it to be one hundred and seventy-five; and Mr. Schoolcraft, who ascended the river, estimates the distance at one hundred and eighty-two miles from Prairie du Chien to the portage.

\* *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, Tom. III. p. 314.

canoe, to leave him alone for half an hour. When the time had elapsed, the men went to seek for him and found him dead. They were greatly surprised, as they had not discovered any symptoms of illness; but they remembered, that, when he was entering the river, he expressed a presentiment that his voyage would end there. To this day the river retains the name of *Marquette*. The place of his grave, near its bank, is still pointed out to the traveller; but his remains were removed the year after his death to Michillimackinac.

The manuscript of Father Marquette, containing the particulars of his voyage, was sent to France, where it fell into the hands of Thevenot, who had recently published a large collection of miscellaneous pieces, entitled, "*Relations de divers Voyages Curieux*," &c. in two large folio volumes. Having subsequently collected a few other curious tracts, he gave these to the public, under the title of "*Recueil de Voyages*," a small duodecimo volume, printed at Paris in 1681. In this work the Narrative of Marquette first appeared, under the title of "*Découverte de quelques Pays et Nations de l'Amérique Septentrionale*," accompanied with a map. It occupies forty-three pages. •

A very defective and erroneous translation was published at London, in 1698, as a supplement to

an edition of Hennepin; but it was here thrown into the shade by the pretended discoveries of that mendacious traveller, who, several years after the death of La Salle, falsely assumed to himself the merit of having descended the Mississippi to its mouth. Hennepin was never below the confluence of the Illinois with the Mississippi. By the order of La Salle, and in company with M. Dacan, he went down the former river, and up the latter as high at least as the *Falls of St. Anthony*. This was in 1680, seven years after Marquette's expedition. All the discoveries made by Hennepin were above the mouth of the Wisconsin. He claimed nothing more in the first edition of his work; but, after La Salle's death, he fabricated the tale of his voyage down the Mississippi, and mingled so much falsehood with truth, that it is now difficult to separate the one from the other. To him belongs the honor, however, of naming the Falls of St. Anthony and the country of Louisiana. It is said by Charlevoix,\* that the name of *Louisiana* was given by La Salle, who descended the Mississippi in the year 1682; but it is doubtful whether it can be found in any printed work before Hennepin's "*Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683." This contains a dedication to Louis the Fourteenth, adulatory in the

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\* *Histoire*, &c. Tom. I. p. 571.

extreme, and it is believed the name was given for the same end. In his second edition, which was prepared in Holland, he complains of being neglected by the King of France, and changes the title of his book to "*Nouvelle Découverte d'un très Grand Pays situé dans l'Amérique, &c. Utrecht, 1697.*" To this edition is prefixed a dedication to William the Third, King of Great Britain, more laudatory if possible than the one to Louis. In the Preface he utters bitter invectives against his enemies, who, from his own account, were very numerous; and he endeavors to explain, by a series of puerile and improbable statements, the reasons why he did not claim the discovery of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico, before the death of La Salle.

The publications of Hennepin, the descriptions of the enterprising adventures and discoveries of La Salle, and the premature death of Marquette, were among the principal causes why the services and the *Narrative* of the last were overlooked, and in a measure forgotten. Indeed, they would hardly have escaped from oblivion, had not Charlevoix brought them to light, in his great work on Canada, nearly seventy years after the events.\*

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\*There is a curious passage relating to this subject in a volume, entitled "A Description of the English

The narrative itself is written in a terse, simple, and unpretending style. The author relates what occurs, and describes what he sees, without embellishment or display. He writes as a scholar, and as a man of careful observation and practical sense. There is no tendency to

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Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane; by Daniel Coxe." This volume was printed at London in 1722, and contains a full description of the country bordering on the Mississippi. The author's father claimed a large territory in Louisiana by virtue of a charter, which had been granted to Sir Robert Heath by King Charles the First. He endeavors to prove, that the English discovered the country before the French, and among other proofs he adduces the following.

"In the year 1678, a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded as far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river Mississippi; and at their return rendered an account to the government of Boston, as will be attested, among others, by Colonel Dudley, then one of the magistrates, afterwards Governor of New England, and at present Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight, under the Honorable the Lord Cutts. The war soon after breaking out between the English and the Indians, many of the Indians, who were in that expedition, retreated to Canada, from whom Monsieur La Salle received most of his information concerning that country, by him afterwards more fully discovered. And they served him for guides and interpreters, as is attested by Monsieur Le Tonty; who accompanied Monsieur La Salle; as also by Mon-

exaggeration, nor any attempt to magnify the difficulties he had to encounter, or the importance of his discoveries. In every point of view this tract is one of the most interesting among those, which illustrate the early history of America.

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sieur Le Clerc, in a book published by order of the French King."—p. 117.

This extract is from a memorial presented to King William, in favor of Coxe's claim, in the year 1699. The Attorney-General reported that Coxe's title was good in law.

The substance of the above paragraph is repeated in a pamphlet, published in the year 1762, after the preliminaries of peace between England and France had been made known, and entitled "An impartial Inquiry into the Right of the French King to the Territory west of the Great River Misissippi, in North America, not ceded by the Preliminaries; including a Summary Account of the River and the Country adjacent." It is stated in this pamphlet, that, "in the year 1678, some New England men went on discovery, and proceeded the whole length of the southern coast of the continent as far as Mexico; at their return rendering an account of their proceedings to the government of Boston."—p. 53. How far these statements are borne out by other testimony, I have not had the means of ascertaining; but, if they are correct, the lower waters of the Mississippi were discovered and crossed by these adventurers from Massachusetts, four years before the river was descended by La Salle, and five years after the upper waters had been discovered by Marquette.

Marquette's map, attached to the *Narrative* in Thevenot's "*Recueil*," is unquestionably the first that was ever published of the Mississippi River. In this light it is extremely curious; but it is also valuable as confirming the genuineness of the *Narrative*. It was impossible to construct it, without having seen the principal objects delineated. The five great rivers, Arkansas, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Wisconsin, in regard to their relative positions and general courses, are placed with a considerable degree of accuracy. Several names are entered on the map, which are still retained, and near the same places, with slight differences in the orthography. The Wisconsin (or, as the French write it, *Ouisconsin*) is written "*Missiousing*" in the map. It is "*Mescousin*" in the *Narrative*, perhaps by a typographical mistake for "*Mesconsin*." The Missouri, it is true, is named in the *Narrative* "*Pekitanoni*," which it may at that time have been called by the natives; but in the map a village is placed on the bank of that river, called "*Oumissouri*."

The Ohio River is named "*Ouabouquigou*," in which we may see the elements of *Ouabache*, which name it retains in all the early French maps, the river itself being denominated by what is now regarded as one of its principal branches.

The Arkansas is not named on the map, but



in the Narrative we are told of the village of "*Akamsea*," near the banks of that river, which is evidently the same name.

To the northward of the Arkansas is a place on the map called "*Metchigamea*." The same name is found to this day on French maps, applied to a lake very near the same place, and a little to the northward of the River St. Francis.

It should be kept in mind, that this map was published at Paris in the year 1681, and consequently the year before the discoveries of La Salle on the Mississippi, and that no intelligence respecting the country it represents could then have been obtained from any source subsequently to the voyage of Marquette. There is a slight error in the map in regard to the dotted line marked "*Chemin du retour*," because the Narrative is very explicit in stating, that the voyagers returned up a river, which, from the description given of it, could be no other than the Illinois. This dotted line, therefore, must have been a conjectural addition.

M. Joliet separated from Marquette at Green Bay, and returned to Montreal. In passing the rapids, just before he reached that city, his canoe was upset, and his journal and all his other papers were lost. He dictated a few particulars relative to his voyage down the Mississip-

pi, amounting to no more than three or four pages, which were published, and which agree, as far as they extend, with Father Marquette's Narrative.

In Francis de Creux's *Historia Canadensis* is a map of Canada, which purports to have been drawn in 1660. It includes the Island of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England, extending to the westward so far as to take in a small part of Lakes Superior and Michigan. The latter is called *Lacus Magnus Algonquiorum*. The river St. Lawrence and its branches, and the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, are well delineated on this map; but it does not cover any part of the territory embraced in the one, which accompanies the Narrative of Marquette. As before said, this map is manifestly original, and the first that was sketched of the Mississippi and its great tributary streams.

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# GENERAL INDEX

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