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**LAFAYETTE**

**IN AMERICA,**

**IN 1824 AND 1825;**

**OR,**

**JOURNAL OF TRAVELS,**

**IN THE**

**UNITED STATES.**

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**BY A. LEVASSEUR,**

SECRETARY OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE, DURING HIS TRAVELS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

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**NEW-YORK:**

WHITE, GALLAHER & WHITE; COLLINS & HANNAY; E. BLISS; W. B.  
GILLEY; COLLINS & CO.; J. LEAVITT; AND W. BURGESS, JR.

Sleight & Robinson, Printers.

.....  
1829.



**SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, ss.**

**BE IT REMEMBERED**, That on the Sixteenth day of November, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Sleight & Robinson, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

“Lafayette in America, in 1824 and 1825 ; or, Journal of Travels in the United States. By A. Levasseur, Secretary of General Lafayette, during his Travels. Translated from the French. In 2 Vols.”

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, “An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned;” and also, to an Act, entitled, “An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

**FREDERICK I. BETTS,**

*Clerk of the Southern District of New York.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN publishing, at this late period, the Journal of the travels I performed in the United States, with General Lafayette, in 1824 and 1825, I think I ought to give an account of the circumstances which so long retarded its appearance.

The duties of private secretary which I performed for General Lafayette, were prolonged for more than three years after our return. During all that time I thought that the intimate relations I sustained with regard to him, bound me in delicacy, not to send out from his closet a narrative in which he must necessarily be the principal object. Governed by this sentiment, I resisted all the urgency of my friends, and awaited the period when I should be able to publish my journal, after becoming entirely independent, by engaging in an active employment, without exposing any other person to responsibility for opinions or facts it contains. That period has now arrived, and I no longer perceive any obstacle to my laying before the public, the details to which they are not entirely strangers; but which are nowhere to be found so complete as in this journal: which, besides, offers a character of authenticity which it would be difficult to deny it; for, besides that I could call the testimony of several millions of witnesses, I can still say, *That what I relate, I have also seen.*

There is no need of my saying, that in offering to my friends and the public the details of a triumph, which honours as well the nation which bestowed it, as the man who was the object of it, and the recital of which will at some future time, I hope, be the greatest encouragement that

can be offered to those who are sincere friends of rational liberty. I have been less careful to beautify my narrative, than to preserve that character of truth which will constitute its greatest, perhaps its only merit.

Drawn along, during fourteen months, in the midst of a whirl of popular fetes, which followed, without interruption, the steps of Lafayette in the twenty-four states of the Union, it was only during the short hours of night, and so to speak in presence of the very events of the day, that I was able to write my journal. It must necessarily betray that extreme agitation; yet I have not thought it necessary to subject it to any other attention, than that of a division into a certain number of Chapters, each of which contains a series of facts more particularly relating to one period or one locality. This division appeared to me the more convenient, because it permitted me to suppress all the dates which embarrassed the narrative; and a crowd of details, which could have possessed interest only for a small number of individuals.

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# LAFAYETTE IN AMERICA.

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## CHAPTER I.

Invitation of the Congress of the United States to General Lafayette—Departure from Havre—Passage—Arrival at Staten Island—Entrance into New York—Review of the Militia—Fetes given to Lafayette—Statistics of New York—Its Constitution, &c.

NEARLY half a century had passed, since Lafayette, inspired by the love of glory and liberty, had torn himself from the fond embraces of his family, and the dangerous seductions of the court, to go and offer the aid of an illustrious name and a powerful fortune to a nation gloriously combatting, it is true, for independence, but whose weakness seemed to threaten complete ruin in a contest apparently so unequal. After his return to France, Lafayette, although entirely occupied with the French Revolution, for the success of which he sacrificed both fortune and repose, and sometimes exposed his life and popularity, often extended his recollections to America, the theatre of his first exploits; and in the chains of Olmutz, as under the imperial despotism, he consoled himself with the thought that there, at least, the tree of liberty which he had assisted to plant, yielded fruits both rich and abundant; and that a people, both happy and worthy to be so, preserved towards him a lively sentiment of gratitude. But, detained by motives of different descriptions, he could only cherish the desire of seeing America again, without being able to foresee that he should ever be able to revisit it. The confidence of his fellow citizens, which, after the events of 1815, recalled him to the political scene, seemed another reason to detain him in France: however, in 1824, the intrigues of a minority, no less corrupt than corrupting, having removed him from the national representation, he found himself at liberty at the time, when the President of the United States addressed him the following letter.

“ *Washington City, 7th Feb. 1824.* .

“ **MY DEAR GENERAL.**—I wrote you, about a fortnight ago, a letter which I entrusted to Mr. Brown, in which I expressed to you the desire of sending you, to any port in France you might choose, a frigate to bring you, if it should be convenient and agreeable to you, at the present time, to visit the United States. Congress have since passed a resolution on the subject, in which they express to you the sincere attachment of the whole nation, who ardently desire to see you again among them. The period for complying with this invitation, is left entirely at your choice; but be convinced, that whatever may be your decision, it will be enough if you will have the goodness to inform me, so that I may immediately give orders for a public ship to go for you to the port you may wish, and bring you to the adopted country of your youth, which has ever preserved the most grateful remembrance of your important services. I send you herewith the resolution of Congress; and add the assurance of my high consideration, and sentiments of attachment.

**JAMES MONROE.”**

Lafayette could not reject an invitation so honourable and so pressing; and his departure was fixed for the month of July. He had refused the offers of Congress, who wished to send him a public ship, to transport him with more safety and convenience. He was also obliged to repulse a multitude of questions from his fellow citizens, who imagining perhaps, that there was another expedition in favour of liberty, desired to partake of both the danger and the glory with him; and, with no other companions than his son and the author of this journal, he left Paris on the 11th of July, and on the 12th arrived at Havre, where he had been waited for during several weeks by the *Cadmus*, an American merchant vessel.

The patriotism of the citizens of Havre had prepared for him a reception in that town, a reception well calculated to touch his heart: but the ridiculously foreboding character of the authorities, interrupted the fete, and would have changed it into a scene of disorder, perhaps of blood, if the inhabitants had been less *considerate*. Agents of the police, gendarmes and Swiss soldiers, rivalled each other in zeal

to suppress the noble sentiments of the citizens during the short time that General Lafayette remained among them. However, it was in the presence of the whole population, and amidst the most lively demonstrations of public feeling, that he embarked at noon on the 13th.

The sky and the sea being perfectly calm, allowed us to pass with facility on board our ship, which was in the road. All the crew, ranged on deck, awaited the arrival of the General, with an expression of joy mingled with manly pride. At the moment when he passed under that American flag, which owed to him so large a share of its glory and independence, the sailors gave three cheers, to which all the ships in the harbour replied, and the crowd that remained on the shore. Several private friends of the General who had accompanied him on board the *Cadmus*, received his last farewell. Almost at the same instant, a fresh breeze, filling our sails, took us off to sea, and removed from our sight that beloved country, in which, whatever is said or done, virtue and patriotism will ever find brave defenders.

In a good vessel so skilfully commanded and manœuvred as the *Cadmus*, we could not but make a pleasant voyage. The gale of wind which struck us on the following morning, and carried away two top masts, served only to give us occasion to admire the calmness of our excellent captain Allyn in the command, and the vigour of his crew in the performance of their duty.

On the 1st of August, the wind suddenly fell; the sea became motionless, and our progress was suspended. Assembled on deck, around the General, with four young American passengers, we were contemplating with pleasure the uniform surface of the sea, which was agitated by no wind; when on a sudden we perceived a black spot near the horizon, which seemed to approach us. During more than half an hour we lost ourselves in forming conjectures of what that object could be, which was evidently coming nearer to us with considerable rapidity. In a short time, the motion of oars proved it to be a boat, and the sound of a bugle led us to suppose it contained soldiers. We were not deceived: within a few minutes, a light skiff bringing seven men dressed in uniform, two of whom were armed with muskets, came up near our vessel. The chief of this adventurous party, measuring the height of our deck with a bold eye, asked for the rope-ladder that he might come on board. It was thrown to him, and immediately he and his



companions were on our deck. In rather a cavalier tone they announced that they were British officers; that a transport vessel, which they pointed out to us on the horizon, and which, like our own, was detained by the cahn, was conducting them to Halifax, (Nova Scotia,) where they were to go into garrison; and finally, that the beauty of the sea, ennui, and curiosity, had determined them to come and pay us a visit. Our captain received them with cold politeness; our sailors turned aside a little from their occupations: but their aspect, as well as their accent, seemed to remind our younger American passengers of the burning of the Capitol. In spite of this rather discouraging reception, the English officers immediately began to multiply questions, when Captain Allyn, to answer all at once, pointed out and named to them General Lafayette. At this name, so unexpected, their manners became entirely changed. They took off their hats, and grasped with respect, the hand which he cordially offered them. They were then invited to descend into the dining cabin, where refreshments were presented to them. Conversation began: but often as it proceeded they cast their eyes about, now upon the General, now on the admirable furniture of the vessel and the people; and the examination seemed to give them displeasure. What recollections, indeed, must not the sight of these Americans have awakened in them: yesterday their tributaries, to-day redoubtable rivals, conducting to the midst of them the man who had so powerfully seconded them, in their just and courageous contest for liberty against oppression.

After an interview of half an hour, as the sun had begun to sink, they left us, accepting, with very good grace, a few bottles of Bordeaux wine, which the captain had ordered to be placed in their boat.

We continued our route, without any important occurrence, until the 14th day, when we, at length, discovered the land. On the 15th, at day break, the pilot was on board; and half an hour later we could easily perceive the fresh verdure with which Staten Island is adorned, and the delightful little white houses that enliven it, with the movements of its inhabitants, whom the expectation of a great event brought down in great haste to the shore.

The water was now covered with a crowd of boats, long, short, and light, directed by vigorous and active boatmen, whose cleanness of dress and decency of language made a

singular contrast with the ideas generally produced in Europe by the sight of mere sailors. As soon as one of these boats came near our ship, it stopped its course; and the rowers, casting an anxious look at our deck, inquired of our seamen if they had Lafayette on board. When they were answered in the affirmative, joy brightened in all their features; they threw themselves over each other, clasping their hands, felicitating themselves on the happiness they were to enjoy, and then returning towards the ship, they asked a thousand questions about the health of the General, how he had borne the voyage, &c. but without cries, without disorder, without impatience. We heard them rejoicing among themselves because Lafayette's voyage had been so short and pleasant, that his health had not been impaired, and that, in short, the wishes of their countrymen were to be gratified:—all seemed like what would have occurred in a family, rejoicing at the return of a beloved father, who had been long expected. While I contemplated this scene, so interesting and so new to me, the sound of cannon drew my attention another way. It was the artillery of Fort Lafayette, which announced to the city of New York the arrival of the Cadmus. At the same moment a steamboat came alongside; and we received on board a deputation, at the head of which was young Tompkins, son of the Vice President of the United States. He came to announce to the General that, as it was the Sabbath, the city of New York, which was desirous of giving him a brilliant reception, but would not violate the Lord's day, and where besides some preparations were yet to be made, desired him to postpone his entrance until the next day; and in the mean time the Vice President invited him to visit him on Staten Island. The General accepted the invitation, and in a few moments we were upon the shore, where we found the second magistrate of a great republic, on foot, in a cap and common dress, cordially receiving his old friend—the man who on the following day was to commence among twelve millions of freemen, the most pure and brilliant triumph. Mr. Tompkins led us up to his house, where we were affectionately received by Mrs. Tompkins and her daughters. But the report of the arrival of Lafayette had been promptly circulated in the vast city of New York, and the bay was already covered with vessels, bringing crowds of inhabitants, who hastened towards Staten Island, to address him the first salute: that

welcome which was afterwards repeated with such enthusiasm by the whole nation.

On the following day, the 16th, early in the morning, the preparations in New York were completed for the reception of the General; and at the same time he received a deputation from the city, at Staten Island; several members of the municipal body, and the commanding General in Chief of the Militia, who came to announce to him the arrival of the steamboat Chancellor Livingston, which was to conduct him to New York. At one o'clock the cannon of Fort Lafayette gave the signal for his departure. We immediately went down to the shore, where we found several steamboats, all resembling floating palaces. On board the Chancellor Livingston which received us, were the different deputations from the city, generals and officers of the Militia, the Army, and the Navy, a detachment of infantry, and more than two hundred citizens of New York, among whom the General recognized several of his old companions in arms, who came to embrace him, rejoicing to see him again, after so many years and dangers past. During these touching scenes of recognition and pleasure, a fine band played the French air: "*Ou peut'on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille;*" and the flotilla began to proceed. It is impossible to describe the majesty of this procession towards the city. The water was covered with vessels of all descriptions, elegantly decorated, and filled with an innumerable multitude. These vessels, all whose movements are inconceivably light and quick, seemed to fly around us. The Cadmus, which followed in our train, seemed rather to be borne in triumph than towed by the two steamboats which accompanied her. In proportion as we advanced, the forts that protect the harbour, and afterwards the houses that line the wharves, presented themselves more distinctly to our eyes. At length we could perceive the crowds which everywhere covered the shore, discover their agitation, and hear their shouts of joy. Finally, at two o'clock, the General landed at the Battery, among the acclamations of two hundred thousand voices, which welcomed and blessed his arrival. The Lafayette Guards, dressed in an uniform at once elegant and simple, and bearing the General's portrait on their breasts, received him among them, and accompanied him in front of a long battle line formed by the militia that awaited him. He passed along the front, attended by a numerous and

brilliant staff. As he proceeded, each corps inclined before him their arms and standard, all decorated with ribbons, imprinted with his portrait and this legend—“*Welcome Lafayette.*” These words were written everywhere, and repeated by every mouth. During this review, the cannon sounded from the shore, in the forts, and in all the ships of war. “Ah! that these welcome-guns might be echoed in Europe!” said to me a young American officer, who accompanied us, “May they inspire the powers who govern you with the love of virtue, and the nations with the love of liberty!”—These wishes, which were also those of my own heart, made my thoughts recur to my country, and I could not restrain a sigh.

At the extremity of the line of battle were elegant coaches awaiting us. The General was placed on a car drawn by four white horses; and in the midst of the crowd that pressed upon us on all sides, we proceeded to the City Hall. On the passage, all the streets were decorated with flags and pictures; and at intervals flowers and crowns were thrown upon him. When we reached the City Hall, he was received by the Municipal Corps, at the head of which was the Mayor, who addressed him the following speech.

#### ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR.

“GENERAL—

“In the name of the municipal authority of the city, I bid you a sincere welcome to the shores of a country, of whose freedom and happiness, you will ever be considered one of the most honoured and beloved founders.

“Your old co-temporaries in arms, of whom, indeed, but few remain, have not forgot, and their posterity will never forget, the young and gallant Frenchman, who consecrated his youth, his talents, his fortune, and his exertions, to their cause—who exposed his life—who shed his blood, that they might become free and happy. They will recollect with profound emotion, so long as they remain worthy of the liberties they enjoy, and of the exertions you made to obtain them, that you came to them in the darkest period of their struggle, that you linked your fortune with theirs when it seemed almost hopeless—that you shared in the dangers, privations, and sufferings of that bitter struggle, nor quitted them for a moment, till it was consummated on the glorious field of Yorktown. Half a century has passed

since that great event, and in that time your name has become as dear to the friends, as inseparably connected with the cause, of Freedom in the old, as in the new world.

“The people of the United States look up to you as one of the irmost honoured Parents, the country cherishes you as one of the most beloved of her sons. I hope and trust, sir, that not only the present, but future conduct of my countrymen, to the latest period of time, will, among other slanders, refute the unjust imputation, that republics are always ungrateful to their benefactors. In behalf of my fellow citizens of New York, and speaking the warm and useful sentiment of the whole people of the United States, I repeat their welcome to our common country.

“Permit me to add, that the moment of my life, to which I shall look back with the greatest pleasure and pride, will be that in which it fell to my lot, to be an organ for expressing, however feebly, a nation’s gratitude.”

After the General had expressed his sentiments of gratitude for the honourable reception he had just received, and for the wonderful displays he had witnessed, we were conducted to the peristyle of the City Hall, to see the same army of militia defile which we had found in line of battle at the Battery. We were able at our leisure to observe its materials and condition. Its composition was that of which every truly national army must be formed: that is to say, of all the young citizens, strong, and capable of bearing arms and sustaining fatigue, without distinction of property or birth. The firm march of the divisions and the martial forms of the men, appeared to me a proof of the care with which each one keeps himself in readiness to become, at need, a firm defender of his country. The artillery, which defiled after the infantry, is formidable for numbers, but I suspect it is far from possessing all the necessary requisites to make good light artillery. The variety of calibre is necessarily a great embarrassment in providing munitions in a campaign. This inconvenience however will speedily be removed, it is said, because the government have undertaken to furnish cannon to every new company of artillery that is organized, and they have adopted but a very small number of calibres.

After the army had defiled, we entered a large chamber of the City Hall, decorated with portraits of many men who, by their talents or their courage, have rendered services to their country. Among them was a portrait of General Lafayette.

related to the general, was requested to report with as little delay as possible. Other committees were appointed to arrange the ceremonial of the general's public reception by congress; and, on the 8th of December the joint committee reported by Mr. Barbour to the house of representatives, that, in order to avoid difficulties, each house of congress should separately receive the nation's guest. The senate then determined upon the manner in which General Lafayette should be received, and the committee was authorized to act as intermediary to the senate and him.

On the 9th Mr. Mitchell, in the name of the committees, proposed resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, that General Lafayette should be publicly gratulated by the house of representatives on account of his accepting the invitation of congress, and assured of the profound respect felt for his eminent services during the revolution, as well as of the pleasure caused by his return, after so long an absence, to the theatre of his exploits.

As soon as these resolutions were made known, the troops wished to parade, to give the reception of the nation's guest by congress all the brilliance of military pomp; but General Lafayette, having learned their intention, requested them to relinquish it, as he considered it inconsistent, both with his character and situation, to appear before the national representatives surrounded by the pomp of arms; the troops, always delighted to do what was most agreeable to him, immediately laid aside their project. At half past twelve we went in carriages with the committee of the senate to the capitol; at ten o'clock precisely the doors of the senate were thrown open, and General Lafayette was led into the midst of the assembly by Mr. Barbour, president of the committee. On arriving at the centre of the hall, Mr. Barbour said, in a loud voice, "We introduce General Lafayette to the senate of the United States." The senators standing uncovered received this annunciation with the most profound silence. The committee then conducted the general to a seat on the right of Mr. Gailliard, president of the senate; a motion to adjourn was made immediately after, that each senator might individually pay his respects to the general. This motion being carried, the senators successively left their seats, and

approached him for that purpose. Thus terminated the business of the day.

The next morning, the general was again conducted to the capitol, by a deputation of twenty-four members of the house of representatives. The procession consisted of merely twelve coaches, but without escort, pomp, or decorations; our progress through the city was slow and silent. At the sight of the first coach, which contained the general, the citizens halted, removed their hats, but uttered no exclamation. This silence, this simplicity, was really impressive. We were conducted into the committee room until the session commenced; the public galleries were crowded from early in the morning; the seats were occupied by foreign diplomatists and most distinguished persons of the city. That part of the hall which is not occupied by the representatives, was, on this occasion, alone filled by ladies.

When the members had taken their seats; Mr. Condict proposed that the senate should be invited to attend, and the motion was carried by a large majority. The speaker then requested the members to pass to the right, in order to give place to the senators. The senate then entered and took their seats; a few minutes after, two members came for Mr. George Lafayette and myself, and conducted us into the hall, to a seat occupied by the public officers. A signal being then given, the doors were thrown open, and General Lafayette entered between Messrs. Mitchell and Livingston, followed by the rest of the deputation: the whole assembly arose and stood uncovered in silence. When the general reached the centre of the hall, the speaker, Mr. Clay, thus addressed him:

“*General*—The house of representatives of the United States, impelled alike by its own feelings, and by those of the whole American people, could not have assigned to me a more gratifying duty, than that of presenting to you cordial congratulations upon the occasion of your recent arrival in the United States, in compliance with the wishes of congress, and to assure you of the very high satisfaction which your presence affords on this early theatre of your glory and renown. Although but few of the members who compose this body shared with you in the war of our revolution, all have, from impartial history or from faithful

tradition, a knowledge of the perils, the sufferings, and the sacrifices which you voluntarily encountered, and the signal services, in America and in Europe, which you performed for an infant, a distant, and an alien people; and all feel and own the very great extent of the obligations under which you have placed our country. But the relations in which you have ever stood to the United States, interesting and important as they have been, do not constitute the only motive of the respect and admiration which the house of representatives entertain for you. Your consistency of character, your uniform devotion to regulated liberty, in all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous life, also commands its admiration. During all the recent convulsions of Europe, amidst, as after the dispersion of, every political storm, the people of the United States have beheld you, true to your old principles, firm and erect, cheering and animating, with your well known voice, the votaries of liberty, its faithful and fearless champion, ready to shed the last drop of that blood which here you so freely and nobly spilt, in the same holy cause.

“The vain wish has been sometimes indulged, that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place—to view the forests felled, the cities built, the mountains levelled, the canals cut, the highways constructed, the progress of the arts, the advancement of learning, and the increase of population—General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Every where, you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city, bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forest which then covered its site. In one respect, you behold us unaltered, and this is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the father of his country, and to you, and to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surround us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of



people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigour, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent, to the latest posterity."

The profound emotion experienced by the speaker, which had visibly agitated him throughout his address, rapidly extended to the hearts of the auditors, each of whom waited, with benevolent anxiety, for the answer they expected the general would have ready in writing, for so solemn an occasion. But every one was agreeably surprised, to see him advance a few steps towards the speaker, cast upon the assembly looks of feeling and gratitude, and, after a few instants of recollection, deliver, in a sonorous voice, distinctly audible throughout the house, the following extempore reply:

"*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives*—While the people of the United States, and their honourable representatives in congress, have deigned to make choice of me, one of the American veterans, to signify, in his person, their esteem for our joint services, and their attachment to the principles for which we have had the honour to fight and bleed, I am proud and happy to share those extraordinary favours with my dear revolutionary companions; yet it would be, on my part, uncandid and ungrateful, not to acknowledge my personal share in those testimonies of kindness, as they excite in my breast emotions which no words are adequate to express.

"My obligations to the United States, sir, far exceed any merit I might claim; they date from the time when I have had the happiness to be adopted as a young soldier, a favoured son of America; they have been continued to me during almost a half a century of constant affection and confidence; and now, sir, thanks to your most gratifying invitation, I find myself greeted by a series of welcomes, one hour of which would more than compensate for the public exertions and sufferings of a whole life.

"The approbation of the American people, and their representatives, for my conduct, during the vicissitudes of the European revolution, is the highest reward I could receive. Well may I *stand firm and erect*, when, in their names, and by you, Mr. Speaker, I am declared to have, in every instance, been faithful to those American principles of liberty, equality, and true social order, the devotion to

The doors of this chamber were left open to the public, who crowded into them; and during more than two hours, the General was, so to speak, given up to the gratitude of the people. Mothers of families surrounded him, presenting him their children, for whom they requested his benediction; and after having obtained it, they carried them away, embracing them with renewed tenderness. Old and feeble men seemed to become reanimated, while conversing with him of the numerous battles they had fought with him for the conquest of liberty. Coloured men recalled with feeling his philanthropic efforts, made at different periods, to restore them to the rank from which they are still repelled, in some countries, by inhuman prejudices. Young men, whose hard and blackened hands announced their devotion to labour, stood before him, and said with pride: "We also, we are of the number of the ten millions, who owe you happiness and liberty." Many others also wished to speak with him, but were prevented by tears of feeling. Those who could not approach him, endeavoured to make amends by addressing George Lafayette, whom they took pleasure in taking by the hand, speaking of their admiration of his father. Finally, at 5 o'clock, the General with difficulty withdrew from the embraces of his numerous friends, and was conducted to the City Hotel, which had been magnificently prepared for his reception. The National flag, suspended above the door, showed from afar the habitation of the *Nation's Guest*: that honourable and affecting title by which he was saluted with acclamations on his entrance. A splendid dinner, at which all the civil and military authorities were present, with a great number of citizens, terminated this day, which alone might have been considered a rich recompense for the greatest sacrifices, but which was only the prelude of the unparalleled triumph reserved for Lafayette.

During the four following days, the General had great difficulty in dividing his time in such a manner as to gratify the wishes of the public. He appropriated two hours of every day to the public, in the chamber of the City Hall, where the crowd pressed upon him as on the first day, and where he received the numerous deputations from the neighbouring towns, and from different states, which expressed the desire and the hope of receiving him. The rest of the time was consumed in fetes given him by the literary associations of the city.

The Historical society, assembled in extraordinary meeting under the presidency of Dr. Hosack, received the General and his son as honorary members of the society. The bar, the society of the Cincinnati, the French residents in New-York, complimented him. These last, assembled to the number of more than two hundred, under the presidency of M. Monneron, expressed to him with feeling, the sentiments produced in them by the triumph of their countryman. "General," said they to him, "it is in the name of the Frenchmen established in this city, that we have come to felicitate you on your arrival on this hospitable soil, in this land, the sight of which must have excited in you the most agreeable sentiments; where you cannot take a step without some recollection dear to yourself. For a heart like yours, there is not a purer pleasure than that of seeing the principles which you have defended, in the field of honour, and in the tribune, consecrated by the happiness of a whole nation. The free and spontaneous homage of this generous and enlightened people, is a striking lesson for the powers of the earth: it teaches them, that if a nation forgets its oppressors, or remembers them only with indignation, it bequeaths as an inheritance to the gratitude of its posterity, the names of a Washington and a Lafayette. We will not attempt to express the emotion we feel in seeing the guest of America. We cannot, however, avoid forming a wish worthy of you: it is, that fair France, our common country, which also has laid the foundation of liberal institutions, may ever be a stranger to the intrigues and passions of despotism." At the conclusion of this speech, a little girl, brought by her father, came to embrace the General, and to place a crown of everlasting flowers upon his head. "It is a great happiness for me," he replied, "on my arrival in this land of liberty, to receive the felicitations of my countrymen. At the moment of my departure from France, the kind expressions of the good city of Havre, had already left agreeable subjects of recollection in my heart. I love to participate with you the emotions that I experience in this happy American country, to which I am bound by so many ties. We also, patriots of '89, we also have wished to establish the dignity, the prosperity, the happiness of our fair France, on the sacred basis of liberty and equality; and in spite of our miscalculations and misfortunes, the contemporaries of that epoch, and among them your respectable president, will tell you, that the revolution of '89 has greatly meliorated the condition of the immense majority of the people."

At this recurrence to the best days of our revolution, every one felt affected, and all came up to grasp the General's hand, saying to him—"Yes, the condition of the immense majority of the people is meliorated. May France ever carefully preserve what remains of public liberties obtained by the revolution!"

On the 18th, the national marine were also desirous of giving their fete to the guest of the nation. He crossed the East River in a steamboat, to go to Brooklyn, where are the Navy Yard and the Marine Arsenal. During that short passage, the General was saluted by the artillery of several frigates and ships of the line which were in the harbour. This excursion, which the officers of the navy knew how to render at once agreeable and interesting, afforded us an opportunity to visit the fine steam frigate. That formidable machine resembles a floating fortress. Her sides, supported by a strong construction, are cannon-proof; her motion, necessarily very slow, does not permit her to manœuvre in the open sea, but renders her not less fit for the defence of coasts, whose points she can go to protect at will, when menaced by an enemy, placing herself under the cover of land batteries. The government, it is said, have the intention of completing their system of maritime defence, by the construction of several such frigates.

From Brooklyn we could contemplate the appearance of New York at our leisure, her port and her immense bay. It is difficult, I think, to find any thing more picturesque, and at the same time more imposing. The Hudson and the East River, which is only an arm of the sea, running between Long Island and the continent, wash two sides of the great triangle in which the city is inclosed, and mingle their water in front of the Battery, in the deep bay formed by Long Island and Staten Island. From the wide quais which line these two rivers, a forest of masts is seen at all seasons of the year, which show to the admiring eye the flags of all nations. The city, which in 1615 was only a little fort, built by the Hollanders, is now the most populous, large, rich, and powerful city of the New World. With the exception of the City Hall, there is not a single public edifice in New York that deserves the attention of an artist; but, on the other hand, the breadth of the streets, the beauty of the sidewalks, the cleanliness of the houses, in a word, every thing is designed for the health and convenience of the inhabitants. Its extent and population

increase in a remarkable degree every year. In 1820 it contained 128,916 inhabitants: they now amount to 1170,000. In this number is comprehended the population of Brooklyn, which ought to be regarded as a suburb of New York. In spite of the great advantages of its situation, trade, and power, New York is, however, not the seat of government of the state of that name. In this happy country, where every thing is much more calculated for the advantage and comfort of the citizens, than for the gratification of rulers, the first requisite for a city to be selected for a capital is, that it be the nearest possible centre of the state; and New York is at one of the extremities. In other respects this city unites sufficient advantages without this. The security of her harbour, the immense extent of the bay, which would be able to contain all the fleets in the world, the facility of internal communication by the navigation of the Hudson, and above all, by that of the Grand Canal which connects the waters of Lake Erie with those of the ocean, will always render it one of the most important places of commerce. More than eighty steamboats, ever ready to brave contrary winds, carry in all directions the productions, not only of the state of New York, but also of the neighbouring states. In 1820 the exports from the port of New York were thirty millions, one hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars: of which, seven millions, eight hundred and ninety thousand dollars, were the products of the state. These details, which were given me by a naval officer while I walked on the heights of Brooklyn, with my eyes fixed on the imposing scene around me, excited my curiosity, and made me determine to seize the first favourable opportunity to obtain more ample information concerning a city and a state which presented themselves to me all on a sudden, in such grandeur and prosperity. This opportunity I had not long to wait for: that very evening, after a dinner animated by the presence of a great number of the distinguished inhabitants of New York, I found myself seated by the side of M. M——, an old gentleman, who, in conversation, always interesting and instructive, informed me, that after having devoted his youth to the conquest of the independence of his country, he had never ceased to occupy himself in the means of increasing the happiness of his fellow-citizens. In spite of the circumspection which I guarded in my first questions, he soon saw my wishes, and having made me take a seat in a corner of the hall, “I

hope," said he, "that although our country is still very new, and although it has not yet received, like Europe, the benefits of having been long civilized, you will not take the less pleasure in visiting it. You will not find here, as in France, the arts and sciences carried to that excellence which astonishes all nations; but you will find everywhere, peace, plenty and liberty; everywhere, you will see a numerous and active population, easily procuring what is necessary, by that industry which government has never a right to shackle: and this picture is so rare in Europe, I imagine, that it will attract your attention here. But without entering into details, which it is better that you should collect in your excursions, I wish, by a brief delineation of the history and statistics of this state, to show you those results in which you will probably be forced to recognize the influence of our institutions, which we have never the vanity to regard as perfect, but which we believe to be superior to those of all the nations that have preceded us in the great career of civilization. Our origin is not lost, like yours, in the night of time; and the gods did not take the trouble to express by prodigies, the interest they took in our first establishments. The science of history therefore, is not the monopoly of a few chosen ones. It is a national domain, the limits of which, still very near us, may easily be explored and ascertained by every body. It was in 1609, that the Hudson was discovered by the navigator whose name it bears. As early as 1610, a few Hollanders had built their cabin beside the hut of the Indian; but it was not until 1614, that the settlements began to be of any importance; soon afterwards, the English came to dispute with the Dutch the land which belonged to neither of them; and the soil became dyed with blood and covered with fortresses. At length a treaty, made in 1674, and in which the legitimate proprietors were certainly not consulted, assured the tranquil possession of it to the English. In 1683, the colonies assembled for the first time a representative chamber, to regulate their interests; but three years afterwards, James III. of England became alarmed at the representative system and the publications from the press, and proscribed them both. Queen Mary, who mounted the throne in 1689, allowed the colonies more liberty, and they again assembled their representatives in 1699. The population was considerably increased by emigrants from Germany, who came in great numbers to settle in the province. The first

newspaper ever printed in the colony, was published in 1733; but after the following year, the press was restrained, and the colonists were borne down again by arbitrary power. Notwithstanding the despotism which, during the twenty following years, weighed upon the colony, the people were no less strongly attached to England, and took a very active part in the war carried on by that power against France in 1754. Finally, in 1765, the patience of the people was tried to its utmost. They burnt the law establishing a stamp duty, forbade importations from England, and ardently engaged in the revolutionary war. The state of New York was a theatre of operations, during the whole period it continued, and the city was almost all the time in the power of the enemy; but the ardour of the people was not exhausted. I shall not lead you into any of the details of that glorious campaign which resulted in our independence. Placed as you are, near the man who partook of the labours of our immortal Washington, you have doubtless had opportunity often to collect, from his mouth, more exact and interesting recitals than I should be able to give you. I will therefore revert to our present condition.

“Since the peace of 1783, our state has made surprising progress in every thing; our territory has been considerably enlarged, and our boundaries have been settled by treaties with neighbouring states. We are now bounded on the North by Lower Canada, on the East by Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, on the South by New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and on the West and Northwest by Upper Canada; from which we are separated by Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, the Niagara and the St. Lawrence. Thus marked out, our territory has a surface of 46,200 miles; 800,000 souls, at the extent, covered this immense extent at the commencement of our revolution; in spite of the revolutionary war, which lasted nearly eight years, the number of inhabitants increased, and at the peace of 1783, it was about 200,000; only a little greater than the population of the city at the present time. Since that period, the population has increased in a progression which alone, I think, would be sufficient to prove the superiority of our institutions over the colonial system of which we have disencumbered ourselves. In 1790, the general census showed us a population of 345,120 souls; in 1800, 586,050 souls; in 1810, 959,040 souls; and in 1820, 1,372,812; and finally,

at the present time, we count a population of 1,616,000 souls.

“Our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce, have developed themselves in proportion to the increase of our population. Grain is the principal production of the southern part of the state; and in the west, we raise hemp in great quantities. Two hundred and eighty thousand persons, at least, are occupied in agriculture, and hold 7,160,000 acres of good land in fee simple. We might easily collect in the state, 1,513,421 horned cattle; 3,496,628 horses; and 1,476,143 hogs. Almost every county has its agricultural society, formed of the most enlightened men, and employed with success in the improvement of agriculture and even of the arts and sciences.

“A capital of more than 15 millions of dollars, and about 70,000 persons are employed in our manufactures of all kinds, which are chiefly situated near New York on the banks of the Hudson; near Utica, and in the fertile regions of the west. A late census informs us, that we have 170 forges, 125 oil mills, 2000 manufactories of pot and pearl ashes, 250 manufactories of wool and cotton, 1,222 fulling mills, 1129 distilleries, 1584 carding machines, 2264 flour mills, 5195 saw mills.—“But I see,” said my complaisant Cicerone, interrupting himself, “how much I astonish you by all these details. You think, perhaps, that I exaggerate, or that my memory, enfeebled by age, presents only imaginary numbers. Well, you can easily satisfy yourself of the exactness of my calculations: take the excellent work of Melish, entitled, “*Geographical Description of the United States*,” a book compiled with care, and from authentic documents; and you will find many other tables, which for the moment, escape my memory, and which will further increase your astonishment. “If you knew our institutions,” he added, with more animation, “you would the better understand how every thing, turning to the advantage of the community, necessarily increases, every day, its prosperity and happiness. Our government, simple and economical, does not require, as with you, to take advantage of the necessities of the citizens, to defray expenses which no one has the power or the courage to controul. What each of us gains by his labour in a year, remains with him, and augments his means of industry for the year following; and hence proceeds that rapid increase of riches which so much surprises you.



“It now remains for me to speak to you of the form of our government. I shall be very short, for it is late, and I think it must be necessary for you to refresh, with a few hours of sleep, the strength you will require to endure the fatigue of the entertainments which we know have been long prepared on the route which General Lafayette is to take.

“The Constitution of New York was adopted in 1777 ; was amended in 1801 ; and again amended in 1821. The authors of our first Constitution thought with reason, I believe, that a people ought always to have the right of modifying its laws according as changes occur in its situation and wants. We have thus already twice profited by this right, as I have just remarked ; and it is to be presumed, that our children, benefited by our experience and their own intelligence, will still further improve this work of their ancestors. This Constitution thus received, greatly resembles those of the other states of the union, and establishes three powers in the state. These three powers, emanating from the people, are the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. The legislative power is entrusted to the senate and the assembly of representatives. The senate is composed of thirty-two members, elected for four years ; one quarter of whom are renewed annually. To be a senator, a man must be thirty years old, and a freeholder. The chamber of representatives, is composed of one hundred and twenty-eight members, chosen every year by the different counties, in proportion to their population. The executive power is entrusted to a Governor and Lieutenant Governor, elected by the people every two years. The Governor has the right of nominating to all public employments ; but his choice must be approved by the senate.

“The judiciary power resides in a court of appeal, composed of the senate, the chancellor and judges of the supreme court. The judges of this supreme court, like those of the district courts, cannot be removed ; but are incapable of exercising their duties after the age of sixty years.” “What !” I exclaimed, “at sixty years is a judge pronounced incapable ! Do you believe then that the faculties of man have such narrow limits ; or rather is such a premature incapacity owing to the influence of your climate ?” “Neither one nor the other,” he replied : “it is in fact a great fault committed by the authors of our code : it is, he hoped, it may be corrected on the first revision of our constitution. It is in fact absurd, to turn away a judge,

just when time and experience have enlightened his wit and ripened his judgment. It is cruel also to turn him off at an age when he has neither time nor strength to open for himself a new career, and consequently to expose him to end in misery, that which he had so honourably begun, by serving his country.

“Every white man, who has reached the age of twenty-one years, resided six months in the state, and paid any tax during the electoral year, has the right of suffrage. Every coloured man twenty-one years of age, who has enjoyed the rights of a citizen for three years, who is a freeholder, and pays a tax of 250 dollars, has also the right of suffrage. This distinction between white and coloured men may well surprise you. I will not undertake to justify it : I will content myself with requesting you to wait, before you condemn it, until you shall have passed through all the Union, and judged of the respective situation of the two classes of people.

“This government, which completely satisfies all our wants, does not cost us very dear. For the government and its principal officers we do not expend 300,000 francs a year. The revenue from our salt-works in the west, alone amounts to more than this sum. So that the money received from our national lands, our funds placed in the banks, our reserves for public or private establishments, is laid by in reserve for the expenses of the state ; and for occasions when we have to incur extraordinary expenses, such as the purchase of arms, military equipages, the building of arsenals, the filling of our magazines, &c. &c. We are not obliged to increase our imposts, which have not varied since the year 1800, and are so small, that they do not exceed a thousandth part of the value of property.

“Thanks to its economy and good administration, the government has found means to apply a fund of 1,730,000 dollars to public instruction. This year alone the treasury has disbursed 200,000 dollars for the schools, which have also received from private subscriptions, more than 850,000, 000 dollars : so that at this time, 7,645 public schools, established in the different districts, furnish instruction to 403, 000 children and young persons ; that is to say, one quarter of the population.”

The clock had struck for midnight : every body had deserted the hall and I continued to collect, with avidity, and without dreaming of repose, the precious details given me by Mr. M—, when we were suddenly interrupted by a great

tumult of voices, with which was almost immediately added the sound of bells and the thundering voice of fire engines, rolling rapidly along the pavement. "Here is an opportunity which you must not lose," cried Mr. M—, "fire has broken out in a part of the city: go to it, and what you see will teach you more of our habits of order and police, than all I could tell you in the remainder of the night." This advice was almost superfluous; for, as soon as I had been able to ascertain the cause of the tumult, my first motion had been to press for the door. On the staircase I met Mr. George Lafayette, who was going with as much haste as myself. When we had reached the street, we had only to suffer ourselves to be borne along by the tide of people, to arrive with promptitude at the place we sought. After a pretty long walk, we reached the extremity of a street looking towards the wharves of the East River, where the flames had broken out. The fire had first taken in a shop filled with provisions, and had easily been communicated to some contiguous wooden houses. As it rose with violence it enabled us distinctly to see the neighborhood and the crowd with which it was covered. Five or six thousand persons, ranged along the wharves, or mounted on the masts and yards of the vessels lying at them, stood motionless and almost silent, as if they had been spectators at a theatre. The silence was interrupted only by the dreadful crashing of beams, which were every moment falling among the flames, the monotonous sound of the engines, and the commands of the chiefs of the firemen. In order to reach the houses that were on fire, it was necessary to pass through a great part of the crowd that surrounded them; and that was a difficult undertaking. By the light of the flames, however, we were recognized by several persons who happened to be near us, and who pronounced the name of Lafayette. That name, repeated by every mouth in our progress, was the fortunate talisman which brought us to the point we wished to reach. There, in a wide space left free by the crowd, were more than thirty engines, only a few of which played upon the fire: the others supplied them with long pipes of communication. Each of these engines bore on a sort of platform, its chief, armed with a speaking trumpet and commanding about twenty men, arranged to manœuvre it. When the men belonging to one engine were fatigued, they were instantly replaced by others who came out of the crowd at the command of the chief, who, in a loud voice, cried out: "so many men, from

such a company, advance." Immediately the number of men called upon sprung towards the engine where the assistance was required, and the weary ones retired among the crowd, where they took their places as peaceable spectators. In front of the crowd were several police officers, who were known by the long white staves with which they preserved order, by placing it horizontally before the more impatient ones, allowing none to pass but those called for by the chiefs of the engines. We then discovered that this crowd, so calm and obedient, was only composed of the young men enrolled in the fire companies. One of the police officers, who had dined with us the evening before, recognized us, and addressed us a few kind expressions. "We are very sorry for the misfortune which requires your presence here," said George Lafayette to him; "and we should feel happy if our feeble exertions could be of any service to you." "We thank you," replied he, "you see that they are hardly necessary; but if you wish to go a little nearer, to judge of the effects of our efforts, you may follow me. He conducted us to the midst of the firemen, and there we saw with what courage and dexterity the young volunteers exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, to preserve the property of their fellow-citizens. We stopped a moment at the engine that was nearest the burning buildings, and offered them the assistance of our arms, which was accepted, but in a manner which showed that it was done only from politeness. In about five minutes the young men who had given us their places, came to resume them, after having in a friendly manner shaken hands with us. The fire, in spite of its violence, had been forced to yield to the efforts of so many engines, so dexterously directed, and we soon learned that the danger was entirely over. When about to retire, we could not avoid expressing to the police officer our admiration, at the order and quietness which had prevailed the whole time among this crowd, which a few magistrates had been sufficient to restrain and direct, without the aid of a single bayonette or an uniform; and we agreed, on our return to the City Hotel, that the sight of such a scene was sufficient to prove to what point the habit of order exercises empire over a people who make its own laws.

## CHAPTER II.

Departure from New-York—Route from New-York to Boston—Entrance into Boston—Visit to the University of Cambridge—Visit to Charlestown and Bunker's Hill.

ON the 20th of August, in the morning, we left New York to travel to Boston, in the State of Massachusetts. At daylight several corps of militia were drawn up in line before the door of the hotel, waiting for the General to accompany him out of the city, where the farewell salute was given him by a battery of six cannon, two of which had been taken from the English at the siege of Yorktown, in 1781. A great number of citizens on horseback and in carriages accompanied him to New Rochelle, where we stopped a few minutes, to allow him time to receive some of his old companions in arms, who, having been unable to go to New York, had assembled on his way, to receive him and take his hand.

At Saw Pits we met an escort of cavalry that joined the escort from New York, which was desirous of continuing its services to Putnam's Hill, where a triumphal arch had been erected by the attention of the young ladies of the surrounding villages. They had ornamented it with all possible care, and placed upon it an inscription that expressed their gratitude to Lafayette and recalled the audacious escape of Putnam. At the foot of the arch was pointed out the very steep declivity by which that intrepid man precipitated himself with his horse, to escape the Englishmen who were very near making him a prisoner, and were afraid to follow by a path so frightful and dangerous.

Putnam, before he made his appearance on the revolutionary scene, where he performed a glorious part, had but just emerged from the obscurity to which the life of a farmer seemed to have condemned him. When he had scarcely arrived at the age of a young man, he had acquired among his youthful companions a high character for strength and intrepidity, by attacking a she-wolf which had been for several years the terror of the region in which he lived, in the very cavern to which she had retreated. In 1755, at the age of thirty-seven years, he left the plough for the sword, and took the command of a company in a provincial regiment. In the war which broke out between France and England,

he excited the admiration and astonishment of his companions in arms, as a partizan chief. Only a single man was known who could be compared with him, and that was a Frenchman, named Molang. In an encounter between these two chiefs, Putnam was conquered and taken: he owed even his life to Molang, who rescued him from the hands of the Indians, as they were preparing to burn him. But neither his honour nor his character suffered from this check; for he had vigorously disputed for victory with Molang, by prodigies of valour and skill.

The news of the battle of Lexington took him again from the field, to which he had long before returned. His former reputation soon rallied under his orders a great number of his fellow-citizens, at the head of whom he appeared at Bunker's Hill. From that day till the end of the campaign of 1779, an epoch when a paralytic attack obliged him to leave the army, he let no opportunity pass to prove that he had devoted his life to the cause of liberty. His probity became proverbial; and the following anecdote will give an idea of the temper of his mind. In the spring of 1777, he had the command of a particular corps in the state of New York. A man named Palmer, lieutenant among the newly raised tory corps, was found in his camp; the English governor, Tryon, demanded him as an officer in the service of the king, and threatened Putnam with his wrath if he did not send him back immediately. Putnam replied with this note:

"SIR—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in the service of your king, has been taken in my camp as a spy, tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and will be hanged as a spy.

"P. S. He has been hanged."

By the attention of the corporation of New York, three members of which had been appointed to accompany us until our return, numerous and excellent changes of horses had been placed along our route. In spite of these wise precautions our progress was very slow, for we could not pass a hamlet without being detained some minutes by assemblages of people, who had come from more than twenty miles round. Every village had raised its triumphal arch, on which were almost always seen united, the names of Washington and Lafayette, or the dates of the battles of the Brandywine and Yorktown. Everywhere announced by the report of cannon, everywhere received and compli-

mented by the magistrates of the people, everywhere constrained to descend to the ground, to receive expressions of affection from the whole population, it was not until after five days and almost five nights that the General arrived at Boston, which is only about 200 miles from New York. I say almost five nights, and with reason: for we regularly travelled till nearly midnight, and were again on the road by five in the morning. However, in the midst of the touching and sublime scenes produced by the gratitude of a whole people, we could not dream of fatigue: our travels in the very night possessed a charm which made us forget it. The long line of coaches escorted by horsemen armed with flambeaux; the fires kindled at intervals on the summits of the hills, and around which families had assembled who had been kept awake by their wish to see their guest; the somewhat rude sound of the trumpet of our escort, repeated at different intervals by the echoes of the vallies; the sight of the sea, which was occasionally seen on our right; the distant and dying sounds of the bells which had announced our passage: all, in one word, formed around us a delightful and striking picture, worthy of the pen of Cowper. In this manner we passed through Fairfield, New Haven, and New London, in Connecticut; Providence, in Rhode Island; and finally, along the road from Rhode Island to Boston.

“New Haven is the largest city in Connecticut: it is, alternately with Hartford, the seat of Government. Its population is more than 7000; its situation agreeable, on a small bay formed by the East River. The short stay we made permitted us to pay only a hasty visit to the College, which enjoys a high reputation, not only in the state of Connecticut, but even through the whole Union. It was founded in 1801, with the name of Yale College, in honour of Elihu Yale, Esq. of London, its principal benefactor, then governor of the East India Company. The favour which it has constantly received from the people, has made it a large institution; it now contains above 400 students, and has a president, 4 professors, 6 tutors, and a treasurer. This college is under the direction of a corporation composed of the governor, deputy governor, six old members of the council, and ten others, all members of the clergy. The business is managed by a committee of three or four members, who meet four times a year. The studies pursued are, 1st. Theology, of which the President is Pro-

fessor ; 2d. Mathematics and Natural History ; 3d. Chemistry and Mineralogy ; 4th. Languages and Ecclesiastical History ; 5th. Laws.

To enter the first class, the candidate must be able to translate the Testament in ancient Greek, Virgil and Cicero, and to write Latin according to the rules of Clarke ; he must also have acquired Arithmetic. The expence of living is about two dollars a week.

The Library contains more than 6000 volumes, and a fund that yields 200 dollars a year is appropriated to it. The greater part of the classical books, which are of great value, were derived from the gifts of the celebrated Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, amounting to about 1000 volumes, estimated at 400 pounds sterling.

The Chemical Laboratory is remarkable for the number and selection of the apparatus. The mineralogical Cabinet, which originally contained 2500 specimens, has been considerably enriched by General Gibbs, who loaned it 24,000 for the use of the students. These 24,000 specimens are valued at 20,000 dollars.

There is also in Yale College a Medical College, in which the instructions include the following subjects : 1st. The Theory and Practice of Medicine ; 2d. Surgery and Midwifery ; 3d. Anatomy ; 4th. Chemistry, Pharmacy, and Mineralogy.

The President of the College, the Professors, and the attendants, conducted us to all parts of the establishment, and gave information with a politeness and precision that merits all our thanks.

We were informed that there was also at New Haven a fine manufactory of arms ; but the short time which was at the General's disposal did not allow us to visit it.

As in the state of New York, and perhaps in a still greater degree, public instruction in the state of Connecticut is an object of the most constant care of the people and the government. It would indeed be difficult to find, in this state, a child twelve years of age, who does not know how to read and write. The law of the state requires that every township have a grammar school ; and there are everywhere a great number of colleges where the different branches of human knowledge are taught at small expence. The city of New Haven, besides the great Yale College, has sixteen public schools and eight private ones.

The funds appropriated to schools amount to one million,



five hundred thousand dollars, the interest of which, with 12000 dollars received from public taxes, are annually devoted to the expences of education. Every town receives in proportion to the amount of its taxes; and the schools are divided and watched over by a committee appointed by the inhabitants, who would not allow so important a thing as public education, one of the greatest safeguards of liberty, to become the monopoly of a religious sect or an university.

The people of Connecticut rigidly observe religious practices; but they have long been free of that spirit of persecution which animated the founders of the colony, whose first ecclesiastical ordinance, in taking possession of the soil in 1637, denied the rights of citizenship to all those who would not entirely and without reserve, submit to the forms of the established religion. At the present time, when religious liberty is sanctioned by law, reciprocal tolerance of different communions has established a sort of fraternity among them. We had a striking evidence of it during the Sabbath we spent in New London. On arriving in that city, General Lafayette, that he might not in any thing offend the habits of that excellent people, from whom he was receiving such touching expressions of affection, had expressed a desire to be present at divine worship. Immediately the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians, who compose the principal communions of the place, offered him places in their churches. It was difficult to accept the offer of one without disobliging the other; and the General sent them word that he would cheerfully attend both. This reply spread great joy in the city. We first went to the Congregational church, and afterwards to the Episcopal: we found them both surrounded and filled with a crowd without distinction of sects; in both, the sermons included morality, without the discussion of peculiar doctrines, and ended with eulogiums on *him whom God had so many times conducted through the dangers of the ocean, to secure the happiness and liberty of America*. These sermons were listened to with equal attention by all. On leaving church the two ministers cordially shook hands with each other, felicitating themselves at the pleasure of having had the guest of the nation among them.

The state of Connecticut contains within itself all the elements of prosperity: her fertile soil offers at once rich products of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. Iron,

lead, copper, marcasite, antimony, marble, porcelain earth, and pit coal, are found in great quantities in some parts. To give an idea of the number, variety, and activity of the manufactories, it will be sufficient to remark, that in a population of nearly 280,000 souls, they constantly occupy more than 18,000 persons. Manufacturing owes to Connecticut many useful machines: among others, Chittenden's machine for making card teeth, invented in 1784, and since greatly improved. This machine is set in motion by a shaft, twelve inches long and one inch in diameter, at each turn of which a tooth is made: 36,000 are made in an hour. Miller & Whitney's machine for separating cotton from the seed:—before this invention was made, the operation was performed by hand, and so slowly, that one person could clean only a pound in a day: by the new process, more than a thousand pounds are cleaned. The right to the machine has been purchased for 50,000 dollars by the government of this state. The machine of William Humphreys to spin wool by means of water power:—12 spindles, in this machine, do as much work as 40 common ones. The right to manufacture them may be bought for one dollar a spindle. Culver's machine to clear out harbours and remove sand bars formed at the mouths of rivers:—by means of this, the channel of the Thames\* has been considerably deepened.

On entering the state of Rhode Island, Lafayette felt a lively regret at not being able, for a short time, to pause in his triumphal journey; he would have taken pleasure in revisiting the places that recalled so many recollections of his youth.

In 1778 Lafayette had been detached by Washington with two brigades, to support Sullivan, in an attempt to capture Rhode Island, which the English had occupied ever since 1776. The better to secure the success of their operations, they awaited the arrival of Count d'Estaing, who was coming with a French squadron, bringing land troops, which offered the double advantage of cutting off the retreat of the English by sea, and of reinforcing the attacks meditated by Sullivan against Newport. But, unfortunately, a misunderstanding occurred between the Count d'Estaing and Sullivan; the French troops were not landed; and while Lafayette endeavoured, by his mediation, to restore harmony between the two chiefs, the arrival of the English

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\* A small river in Connecticut.

squadron, commanded by Lord Howe, was announced by signal. Immediately, the Count d'Estaing, taking advantage of a favourable wind, went out to fight Lord Howe. Two days were employed by the Admirals in manœuvring, to get the weather-guage : finally, at the moment when they were coming to action, a terrible storm separated, and so much damaged the squadrons, that the one was obliged to return to New York, and the other hastened to re-enter the roads of Newport. After the return of the French fleet, Sullivan hoped to resume his operations ; but the Count d'Estaing declared to him, that after having taken the advice of his officers, he had determined to sail for Boston ; and that his instructions bore, that in case his squadron should suffer any damage, or should be threatened by superior British forces, he must endeavour to return into port.

The injuries which he had experienced from the storm, and the news of the appearance of a very numerous English fleet on the coast, justified his return to Boston : but this retreat threw Sullivan into despair. Without the assistance of the French squadron, it was impossible to calculate on success : it removed with it, all hopes that had been entertained. Generals Green, and Lafayette, were sent to the Count d'Estaing to oppose this unhappy resolution. They spoke to him with warmth of the glorious advantages which the French and American arms would derive from their co-operation against the English garrison of Rhode Island, which could not escape them ; and the lamentable effects which would be produced on the spirits of the American army by the abandonment of an ally, whose presence had at first caused so much joy : they represented to him also, the dangers of his retreat across Nantucket shoals, with his ships in a bad condition ; and the advantages which Newport offered him above those of Boston, as well for repairing his vessels, as for resisting the enterprises of an enemy emboldened by the superiority of his forces ; finally, they ended by beseeching him not to sacrifice to petty quarrels, the glory and interest of two nations, united in the defence of a noble cause. How weighty soever these considerations may have been, however, the Count d'Estaing not the less persisted in his resolution, and immediately set sail. Thus abandoned by the fleet, Sullivan assembled his general officers to ask their advice on the two courses which remained to be chosen : to endeavour to take the place by main force, or to

evacuate the island and carry away all the magazines. The discouragement of the army, who were enraged at the departure of the fleet, rendered the former measure difficult to execute: the latter would fill with despair, men who had seen themselves so near to success. Sullivan's council took a middle course, and separated with a resolution to give up the siege, retire to the northern extremity of the island, and retrench themselves to await the event. This was executed in the following night, with equal success and skill. Sullivan then fixed his hopes on the French fleet, and wished to make a last effort with the Count d'Estaing. Full of confidence in the great influence exercised by Lafayette on all with whom he had acquaintance, he entrusted him with the delicate mission. It was accepted; and Lafayette set out for Boston, though not without testifying how much it cost him to separate himself from his companions in arms, at the moment when there could be no doubt that the enemy would soon attack them. In fact, during his absence, the English made several attempts on the position of the Americans, but without success; and these different engagements contributed to restore confidence to Sullivan's troops. The negotiation of Lafayette, resulted in procuring a promise of the return of the squadron, after all damage should have been repaired; and every thing, in short, seemed to promise Sullivan with the recompense due to his perseverance, when the news of a reinforcement of 4000 men, brought to the English by General Clinton himself, placed him in the sad necessity of evacuating the island as soon as possible, that he might not be blocked up in his turn. He arranged his retreat with the greatest skill. The movement was about to commence, when, to the great astonishment of Sullivan, who supposed Lafayette still in Boston, he presented himself, to take command of the rear guard. He had travelled over the distance between Boston and Rhode-Island, which is about thirty leagues, in eight hours. The zeal he had shown powerfully affected Sullivan, who gave up to him the conduct of the rear guard; and every thing was executed with so much wisdom, that at 2 o'clock in the morning, the movement was entirely effected, and the American troops were placed in safety on the main land, from Providence to Tiverton.

This retreat procured to Sullivan thanks from the Congress, and likewise to Lafayette, "as well for the sacrifices of personal gratification he had made in consenting to

leave the army to serve the interests of the United States, at the moment of battle, as for the vigorous manner in which he had led off the rear guard."

From the warm expressions of joy which surrounded us from all sides, on our entrance into Providence, it was easy to perceive that the people of that country had not lost the recollection of the conduct of Lafayette in that period of glorious reverses. It appeared to me that the expression of gratitude by Congress was no less remembered; for I heard it repeated by every mouth, I believed it to be written on every heart. In spite of the persuasion of the people and the magistrates, the General could stop no longer than the time necessary to take some refreshments; and we hastened to reach the frontier of Massachusetts, where two aids-de-camp of the governor of that state awaited Lafayette, with new coaches and a new escort. We joined them at sun-set. Colonel Harris, first aid-de-camp of the Governor, hastened our journey to such a degree, that at 11 o'clock, we were at Dedham, and at two hours after midnight, we entered Roxbury, by the light of torches; a very pleasant village, two miles from Boston, where is the mansion of Governor Eustis, who awaited the General with great impatience. Notwithstanding the advanced hour of the night, every body was up in the house, the windows of which, the garden, and avenues, were illuminated. The reception given by the Governor to the General, was frank, simple, and friendly; such as ought to be that of an old companion in arms, whose toils he had shared. Two hours of sleep made us forget the fatigues of the day, and prepared us for making our entrance into Boston on the following day. At day-break we were awakened by the sound of martial music, which was made by the light infantry, that had already begun to present their manœuvres under our windows. The sight of the uniform of this band produced a strong effect on the heart of the General: he could not turn his eyes away from it, and cried out every moment: "My brave light infantry, it was dressed very much in that manner! What courage! What patience! How much I loved them!" At that moment, an aid-de-camp of the Governor, brought into the chamber, and introduced to him, a young man with a melancholy countenance, who carried in his hand a sword, which he presented to the General: "Do you know that sword?" said he. "I see," replied he, "at least, that it resembles those I had brought from France,

to arm the subalterns of my light infantry." "It is, in fact, one of them," said he—"my father received it from your hands; he used it gloriously for the conquest of our independence; he carefully preserved it in memory of his General; and he would have rejoiced to present it to you himself: day before yesterday he still hoped to do it, and this hope comforted his last moments: but the day before yesterday he died. He was poor, and left me no wealth: but he has left me this sword, which will be the most precious possession to me, if you sanction the gift he has made me." While he spoke, the General had taken the sword from his hands, and examined it with interest: he returned it to him saying—"Take it, keep it carefully, that it may serve in your hands to preserve the rights, to the acquisition of which, it so valiantly contributed in the hands of your father." The American received the sword with transport, and departed, pronouncing with tenderness, the names of his father, and Lafayette.

A few moments afterwards, the procession arrived which was to attend the General; the cannon gave the signal of departure, and we took up our march. The concourse of people who had come from the city was so great, that the road was obstructed by them, and it took us two hours to go two miles. The whole route was lined with militia on foot and on horseback; the cartmen of Boston, dressed in frocks of remarkable whiteness, formed a numerous corps of cavalry, extremely well mounted. About sixty little boys twelve or fourteen years of age, organized as a company of artillery, with two pieces of cannon, whose calibre was proportioned to their strength, moved at the head of our possession, and occasionally stopped to salute it with a fire from this battery; and set off again with speed to take a new position and give another salute. At noon we were in the suburbs of Boston. At the gate of the city, under a triumphal arch, we met the municipal corps. The Mayor, alone in an uncovered carriage, stopped beside that of the General's which was also uncovered; both rose and saluted, and the Mayor addressing him said: "You see this people, for whom you have fought; they are happy beyond all hope; their liberty is secured, it now rests on its own strength, without fear as well as without reproach. You have shed your blood for three millions of men; and now twelve millions approach you, led by their gratitude. This movement is not that of a turbulent populace, excited by the view of new laurels freshly

won by a young conqueror : it is that of a great people yielding to a powerful impulse, moral and intellectual." The calm and modest mein of the General during this address, the fine physiognomy of Mr. Quincy, who became animated as he spoke, the triumphal arch erected above us, the attitude and religious silence of the several thousands of citizens, offered at that moment to my gratified view the agreeable idea of a popular festival, a republican triumph. After the General's reply, we crossed the city, to reach the State House. During the passage the testimonies of affection which the inhabitants of Boston profusely bestowed on the General, were so affecting that we could not restrain tears of feeling. In front of the State House, on an immense lawn, from which is seen at a distance the sea scattered with little islands, was a long double line of little girls and boys from the public schools, all decorated with the Lafayette ribbon, and raising their hands towards the sky with cries of joy. One of the little girls came forward to offer a compliment to Lafayette. She was raised near the General's carriage, placed a crown of evergreen on his head, and embraced him, calling him *father*. At length we entered the Senate Chamber, where all the public functionaries were assembled, with the members of the Cincinnati Society, the literary societies, and as many of the citizens as the hall could contain. At the moment when the General appeared before Governor Eustis, who received him at the door, the national flag was displayed on the cupola of the State House, and all the military fired a volley. After the speech at the reception, pronounced in the name of the government, and in the presence of the citizens of the state of Massachusetts, the scene at the City Hall in New York was renewed ; that is to say, the General was detained for more than two hours by the expressions of friendship he received from all those who were able to approach him. We were then conducted to the entrance of Park Street, into a hotel which had been prepared to receive us, the Mayor himself showing us our apartments, which were richly furnished. " You are at home here," said he ; " you will find, I hope, every thing necessary for you ; if you find nothing superfluous, remember that you are among republicans." These words of Mr. Quincy were no doubt very kind : but, I declare, they gave us reason to think a great deal about what is *necessary* to the republicans of Boston, especially when we learned that very fine coaches and excellent horses had been placed at our disposal for the whole time of our stay in that city.

In the evening we met at the Exchange Coffee House, to dine with the Governor, his staff, the municipal corps and all the other constituted corps of the city. The hall was decorated and embellished with devices which recalled the deeds of Lafayette, and the gratitude entertained by the Americans for the assistance lent by France, at a time when fortune, still undetermined, held her balance even between Liberty and Oppression. The French and American flags hung in union above the head of the President, of the entertainment; and Mr. Parker, the Chief Justice, gave a toast to the memory of Louis 16th, adding, that all those who had favoured liberty ought not to be forgotten even if they had worn a crown.

On the 25th, at noon, we went to the University of Cambridge, to witness the distribution of prizes, which was performed with a degree of splendour, greatly increased by the presence of many ladies attracted by a desire to see Lafayette who, it was known, was to be present.

Cambridge is one of the most beautiful and wealthy of the villages of New England. It is situated at about the distance of a league from Boston, and contains more than 3000 inhabitants. The University, known by the name of Harvard College, in honour of its founder, has furnished a great number of men distinguished in literature and the sciences. The citizens of Massachusetts, proud of its success, support it therefore with a liberality, which proves how much the advantages of instruction are favoured in that state. Beside the professorships of theology, anatomy and surgery, medical science and chemistry, theoretical and experimental physics, mathematics and natural philosophy, logic and metaphysics, the Latin, Greek and Oriental languages, which have long been in existence, six new professorships and three faculties have been founded within twelve years; as follows.\*

1st. A professorship of natural history, founded by a private subscription for the establishment of a botanic garden under the care of a professor.

2d. A professorship of rhetoric and eloquence, founded by a donation from Ward Nicholas Boylston.

3d. A professorship of Greek literature, founded in 1814, by a donation from an *unknown benefactor* of Boston.

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\* *Description Statistique, historique et politique des Etats, Unis* par Warden,



4th. A professorship of the Spanish and French languages, founded by a rich merchant of Boston, who for this purpose, bequeathed a sum of 30,000 dollars.

5th. A professorship founded in 1816, by Count Rumford, which has for its object the application of the physical and mathematical sciences to the useful arts. The capital of the foundation amounts to 40,000 dollars.

6th. A professorship, established in 1817, of natural theology and moral philosophy.

The three faculties, which complete the means of instruction, are 1st. A medical school ; 2d. A theological school, in which provision is made by the aid of a subscription, for the necessities and the whole instruction of students. This subscription is scrupulously filled by persons animated with a love of the public good ; 3d. A law school or those who are destined for the bar.

The library, which contains nearly twenty thousand volumes of choice works, is increased every year by private contributions.

In short, the University, by its revenues, the riches of its library and cabinets, the merits of its professors, and the means it furnishes for acquiring all sorts of instruction, has no equal, not only in the rest of the Union, but perhaps in all Europe.

General Lafayette was received at the door of the chapel, where the distribution of prizes was going on, by the President, Mr. Kirkland, who addressed him with an eloquence that had its source in a heart strongly affected. When the General appeared in the hall, the acclamations and transports of the whole assembly, and particularly of the ladies, were such that for a long time it was impossible to begin the exercise. It was truly a delightful picture : that large hall filled with ladies crowned with flowers, waving their handkerchiefs above their heads, to salute him they called their father, their friend, their defender, the companion of their great Washington. In vain the President repeatedly called for silence, without which it was impossible for him to be heard : his voice was every time drowned by plaudits and cries of "Welcome Lafayette." At length, in about half an hour, quiet was restored, and they were able to begin the exercises, which were frequently interrupted by the ardour with which all the allusions made in the addresses pronounced before the assembly were received.

On the following day, we returned to the University of

Cambridge, to attend a meeting of the Greek Society, in the same hall, and in the presence of the same assembly, animated by the same spirit. The introductory speech was delivered by Mr. Everett, a young professor, whose forward talents and eloquence, promise to the national tribune a very distinguished orator. If my pen were more experienced, I would attempt to repeat that speech, which, in spite of its length, was heard to the end with a lively interest by the audience, and was often interrupted with well merited applause.

The orator proposed to inquire into *the particular causes which most contribute to the development of intelligence in the United States*. He easily proved to us that they are to be found in the democracy of the institutions. "Our popular institutions," said he, "are favourable to the development of intelligence, because they are based upon the laws of nature; they do not condemn the social band to inaction and degradation; they attach to every member of society that vital nerve by which every great and general impression reacts with electrical rapidity on the whole. They extend the benefits of education to all, they press forward unknown and timid talents into the happy career of emulation; by a thousand different means they prepare auditories for lips which nature has endowed with the art of persuasion; they place the lyre in the hands of genius; they grant, to all who seek or merit it, the only patronage worthy of envy, the *patronage of services rendered to society*."

After having at length, but ably, proved the superiority of the republican government as it is understood and practised in the United States, over the monarchical system, which having divided a part of the nation into nobles, privileged priests, ever armed soldiers and inquisitorial police, makes of the rest a class of political *parias*; the orator concluded by paying to Lafayette his tribute of gratitude.

"This year," said he, "will complete the first half century of the most important era of human history: the era of the revolution. Since that epoch, time has seen the chief part of the great men to whom we owe our national existence, sink into that dust they had watered with their blood. Few of them still enjoy among us the rich fruits of their toils and their sacrifices: but there is one, who yielding to the voice of the people, comes, at the close of his career, to receive the thanks of a nation to which he devoted his youth. American history has not forgotten, that

when this friend of our country addressed himself to our commissioners sent to Paris in 1775, to ask of them the means to go to America, they were obliged to reply, that they, (so poor and unfortunate was our dear country at that time,) that they had neither the means nor the credit for equipping a single ship in the ports of France: "Well!" cried the young hero, "I will equip one myself." And it is a fact literally true: that although America was too poor to be able to transport him to her shores, he hesitated not, at a still tender age, to leave family, happiness, wealth and dignities, to engage in the bloody and doubtful contest of our revolution.

"Hail! friend of our fathers: welcome to our shores! Happy are our eyes to see your venerable features! Enjoy a triumph, which is reserved neither for conquerors nor monarchs: the assurance that there is not here, in all America, a heart that does not beat with joy and gratitude at the sound of your name. You have already received, or you will soon receive, the salute of that little band of ardent patriots, sage counsellors, and intrepid warriors, with whom you were associated for the acquisition of our liberty: but you would look around you in vain for all those who would have preferred to years of life a day like this, spent with their old companion in arms. Lincoln, Greene, Knox, Hamilton, are dead: the heroes of Saratoga and Yorktown, have fallen before the only enemy who was able to fight them; and the greatest of all, the first of heroes and of men, the friend of your youth, the saviour of the country, reposes in the bosom of that land which he freed. On the shores of the Potomac he rests in peace and in glory. You will visit again the hospitable mansion of Mount Vernon; but he whom you would venerate, will no more stand at the door to receive you: his voice, that consoling voice which penetrated even the dungeons of Austria, will not again break silence to invite you to his fire-side: but the children of America will receive you in his name, crying, welcome Lafayette! thrice welcome to our shores, friend of our fathers and of our country!"

On the 27th, early in the morning, coaches, an escort of cavalry, the civil and military authorities, and a great number of citizens, came to take the General and conduct him to the marine establishment at Charlestown, which is separated from Boston only by an arm of the sea, which is crossed on a very fine bridge, more than a mile in length.

We were received at the marine Arsenal by Commodore Bainbridge, whose name recalls a glorious battle against the English marine. After having visited the works, we ascended Bunker's Hill.

Bunker's Hill is one of those glorious monuments unhappily still too rare on the surface of the earth, which will remind the latest posterity of the noble efforts of liberty against tyranny and oppression. It was at Bunker's Hill that the Americans dared, for the first time, to brave the arms of their oppressors in a regular combat: it was there that men, almost without arms or discipline, and much inferior in numbers to their enemies, but encouraged by the presence of their wives, their children and their fellow-citizens, who, from the heights of Boston, made them hear the magical words: *Independence, Posterity*—with a courage worthy of heroic times, sustained three successive attacks made by numerous battalions, which, it would have seemed, must have been led, by their experience and science in war, to an easy victory. The Americans, forced at length to yield to numbers, retired, but in good order, leaving behind them bloody proofs of their courage and of their vigorous resistance. It was at a moment before the retreat, which revealed to the friends of liberty, their strength and their hopes—of this retreat which availed as a victory—that the young and interesting General Warren fell. Respecting his courage, death had not dared to strike him in the face during the battle; but on re-entering the entrenchments he had left, to pursue the English, who had failed the third time in their attack, he received a ball in his reins.—He now reposes under a simple pyramid, raised exactly in the place where his blood stained the earth. It was at the base of this simple pyramid, that General Lafayette was received by some old soldiers, glorious relics of that war of Independence. In their presence, Dr. A. M. Thompson addressed the General, in a speech of felicitation, in the name of the inhabitants of Charlestown. "In the midst of the joy caused by your visit," said he, "we cannot deny ourselves a personal emotion on receiving you upon the memorable heights of Bunker's Hill. On this sacred ground, immortalized by the death of the heroes of our revolution, and consecrated to their generous manes, liberty formerly appeared in blood, and bathed in tears; her car was borne on wheels of fire: to day, she shows herself between peace and glory, led by the soft affections of a happy people, to

offer the civic crown to her favourite son, who consecrated his first efforts to her defence.

“Permit me, well-beloved General, yet to express our ardent wishes, that your precious life may be prolonged beyond the limits usually granted to humanity, that this land, which you enriched by the sacrifice of your early youth, may be devoted to you as an asylum for your later years; that the country, which now takes delight in mingling your glory with Washington’s, may see you, during the remainder of your long life, enjoying the care and attentions of a nation which has ever maintained for you, a feeling so full of gratitude and admiration.”

General Lafayette was greatly affected by this discourse, and his feelings were communicated to those around him. “It is with deep respect,” replied he, “that I tread this sacred ground, where the blood of the American patriots, the blood of Warren and his companions, gloriously shed, excited the energy of three millions of people, secured the happiness of ten millions now alive, and of so many millions yet to be born. His blood has called the two American continents, to liberty, to republican independence; and has awakened the nations of Europe, to the necessity, and secured, I hope, for the future, the exercise of their rights. Such have been the effects of this resistance to oppression, which some of the pretended sages of that period pronounced *imprudence*, although it was a duty and a virtue, and has been the signal of the emancipation of the human race.”

This reply was received with applause by the assembly, and salutes from the artillery. Immediately afterwards, several battalions of young militia, led by Governor Eustis and Generals Brooks and Dearborn, defiled before the General, to the sound of cannon and martial music, which made to resound that march dear to the French patriots, and which will ever remind them, that they also have had their Warren, whose generous blood watered the tree of liberty, under the shadow of which, we might now have gloriously reposed, if it had not been lopped away by anarchy, and struck to the heart by the sacrilegious stab of an audacious soldier.

A frugal repast, served under a tent, followed this ceremony; after which, we returned to the city, to visit the depot of the arms of the militia: the old state house, from which the assembly of people once separated to go to the harbour, to destroy the cargoes of tea sent by the English

East India Company, and in which is the hall where was signed the Declaration of Independence by Massachusetts. During the course of our visits, I collected the details of the history and condition of that state, which I have thought worthy to be given in the following chapter.

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### CHAPTER III.

First settlements in Massachusetts—Notice of the events of the Revolution in that Province—Its present condition.

THE first settlements formed in this part of North America, called Massachusetts, owe their origin to the religious persecutions in England under the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. The history of the earliest emigrants, who came to seek, among the savages of the New World, that liberty of conscience which was refused them by the *European Philosophy* of the 17th century, presents only a sad picture of their continual contests against the climate, disease and famine. It was not before 1630, that an expedition more numerous and better directed, came to reinforce and assist them to found the towns of Salem, Charlestown and Boston. Cromwell, Hampden and many others of those who exercised so terrible an influence in the revolution of 1640, were to have belonged to this expedition. They had already embarked and weighed anchor, to seek in the New World, aliment for their ardent dispositions, which perhaps might have been less developed there, than in the presence of tyranny, when Charles I. as if pushed on by a fatality, had them seized and sent back to land.

A fact worthy of remark is, that the principal part of the emigrants who at that time left their country, their friends and families, only to avoid persecution, and who therefore, must have borne in their hearts, the hatred of their persecutors, still continued attached to the British government, in spite of the distance to which they had removed, and perpetuated the names of their kings in the land of their exile, by giving them to the rivers they discovered, the cities they built, and the monuments they erected. Was this from respect to royalty, which in spite of its evils still appeared

to them as sacred, under the influence which habit exercises over the human mind? Or was it only for the purpose of hiding and protecting the weakness of their settlements, by the name of a powerful authority, and at the same time to pay a kind of tribute to the English government, which had constituted itself proprietor of those vast countries by the *right of discovery*, and which would not have allowed the colonists to remain in quiet, if they had at first shown a disposition to break all bonds, and all attachments, between themselves and the mother country? This latter reason appears to me the more probable, and is sufficiently strengthened by the following piece, drawn up and signed by the emigrants who landed at Plymouth in 1620.

[Here is copied the well-known declaration made by the New England forefathers, while at Cape Cod, November 11th, 1620, which it is not necessary to republish.]

This act, as it is to be seen, while it in appearance recognized the authority of England, yet gave to the colonists the direct administration of their affairs, and laid the foundation of that spirit of independence, which, more than a century afterwards, threw off the yoke of the mother-country, when she made an attempt to return to the exercise of a despotism which she claimed a right to enforce.

In 1692, under the reign of William and Mary, the English government, to secure its right of sovereignty over Massachusetts, usurped the nomination of the governor of that province: but failed in a great measure of their object, by leaving to the provincial legislature, the right of regulating and paying, the officers appointed by that governor, who by that means became powerless and without influence. The English soon discovered their error, and were desirous to correct it; and from that time began that misunderstanding between the mother-country and the colony, during which the latter increased its resistance in proportion as the former became more grasping.

The attributes of the different authorities soon became entirely confounded: the governor was invested by the crown, with the right of organizing the courts, and naming the judges; and these privileges were actively contested by the people, who reclaimed them as a part of the prerogatives of the legislature. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of the attempts of the crown, the colony, all the while she was thrusting it from power, continued not the less attached to the mother-country, and did not hesitate to se-

cond it in the colonial war, which it had to sustain in 1754, against France. After that war, which during sixteen years, had been suspended and resumed with different success, and which terminated, at length, in 1760, by the ruin of the French colonies; the colonists hoped that the gratitude of the mother-country, for the services they had rendered her, would for ever insure to them the enjoyment of their liberty and their rights, acquired by so many sacrifices of all kinds. But two years had hardly passed away after the conclusion of peace, when they were forced to give up their hopes.

England was then triumphant by land and sea. Her commercial preponderance was felt in all points of the globe, and excited the envy of all the nations of Europe: but this glory, by which she had become intoxicated, she had acquired only by draining her treasury, and contracting immense debts. To pay those debts, to re-establish those finances, it was necessary to create other revenues; and her attention was turned towards her colonies.

By their commerce with the West Indies, the colonies had enjoyed an immense benefit; and by the aid of a good administration, had found means of getting a treasure in reserve, which would enable them to pay their debts, and gradually to increase their importations of English manufactures. It was this prosperity which tempted the cupidity of the crown; and from that moment all the arts of the ministry were employed in contriving various means for wresting money from the colonists. The commanders on the coast, were afterwards converted into Custom House officers, charged with *repressing illicit commerce, and preventing contraband trade*; and, assured of impunity, because the only appeal lay in the courts of Great Britain, were not afraid of making frequent illegal seizures for their own profit. The duties on the importation of English goods were so much increased, that they were almost equivalent to a prohibition. It was also ordered, that those duties should be paid only in silver or gold, and the paper put in circulation by the colonies was rendered of no value. At length the whole new system introduced by the English ministry, became as tyrannical as ruinous; for, while they demanded enormous imposts, they removed the means for furnishing them. Hardened by the long endurance of the colonists, the English government did not know where to stop; and in the year 1765, produced that fatal law called *the Stamp Act*, which required, for the future, that all con-



tracts, wills, civil acts, &c. should be made on stamped paper, under penalty of being considered void; and imposing on that paper a tax, designed to defray *the expenses of the last war in America*. That law excited general indignation as soon as it was known. It became the subject of every conversation and discussion, in private societies, as well as public meetings; every one recurred to the past, and commented with bitterness on the outrages he had suffered from England; and from that moment, it may be said, the fire of the revolution was kindled. From petitions and remonstrances, to which they had until that time restricted themselves, the colonists passed to threats. The people of Massachusetts particularly, forcibly expressed their resentment; and it was at their instigation that a congress, formed of deputies from the different provinces, assembled at New York, on the 7th of October. That congress, composed of men respectable for their character and intelligence, and which afterward served as a model to that which conducted the war of the revolution with so much glory, published at the time an energetic declaration of the rights of the colonies, a list of the offences committed by England, a petition to the king, and a memoir to parliament. The acts of the congress, produced in the English parliament an effect which was still further increased by the writings and presence of Benjamin Franklin, who was at that time in London, and who was called before the House of Commons to examine the claims of his fellow-citizens. He presented himself with the modesty which characterized him; and a republican simplicity, which singularly contrasted with the insolent luxury of the supporters of power, collected in a crowd at that session, with the base hope of seeing one humiliated whom they regarded as a rebel, because he dared to talk of the rights of men, in the presence of royalty. The calmness of his replies, the depth of his arguments, produced a strong impression upon the assembly, turned the hearts of the friends of the Stamp Act, and made them renounce that monument of their tyranny and ignorance.

According to the degree to which the indignation of the Americans had arisen when that law was passed, was the joy expressed at its repeal. The English government, however, did not profit by this return of the public feeling to a milder tone: they not only allowed all the odious restrictions which they had imposed upon the trade of the

colonies, to continue in force, but soon followed the Stamp Act with a tax not less intolerable, upon paper, paints, glass, and tea, which the colonies received from England. But what irritated the colonists above all, was, that the preamble of those acts announced, that the product of those taxes, would be placed at the disposition of parliament, to defray the expense of the administration of the colonies, and particularly to pay the governors and judges, who by this measure, found themselves withdrawn from the authority of the provincial legislature, and made dependant on the ministry. To receive this impost, a permanent administration was created, and established at Boston by an act of parliament. The people of Massachusetts could not be deceived with regard to the views of the ministry. Long accustomed to discuss and administer their own affairs, they resolved not to submit voluntarily to the disgrace of being governed by an illegal authority, established at the distance of more than 1000 leagues. They therefore appealed to their chamber of representatives, which being assembled, protested against the taxes, and the appropriation which was to be made of their proceeds, and addressed to the other provincial assemblies a circular, in which, after recapitulating their rights, and setting forth the encroachments of England, they concluded by requesting their co-operation, in resisting that tyranny which was every day pressing more heavily upon the colonies. This proceeding of the assembly was regarded as infamous and rebellious by the servants of the crown, who redoubled their activity in vexing them. Two English regiments arrived in the port, and on the refusal by the council to prepare accommodations for them in the town, they landed under the protection of their ships, with fixed bayonets, and established a guard house, with two pieces of cannon before the assembly house, which was thus converted into barracks. From that moment the town was in the power of the soldiers, who ran about the streets, insulting the citizens, depriving them of rest and their business, and disturbing them even in the exercise of their religious practices, by the uninterrupted noise of instruments of war.

In these circumstances the Chamber was convoked at Boston, but they were not disposed to meet there, declaring that they did not consider themselves free in the presence of an armed force. The session was consequently opened at Cambridge, where the Governor had the impudence to

present himself, and demand funds for the payment of the soldiers. This demand having been refused him, the Chamber was dissolved.

A change in the English administration, however, had made the Parliament determine to suppress all the duties, except that imposed upon tea : but a merely apparent return to a moderate system did not in any degree soften the resentment of the citizens of Massachusetts, who saw, in this measure, nothing but a capricious turn, or new means resorted to by Parliament to establish its claim of right in the affairs of the Colonies, and took a firm resolution not to abandon this point of dispute.

An event soon occurred in Boston, which threatened important results. The English soldiers were accustomed to regard the citizens as rebels, and treat them with rudeness. The latter irritated by the injuries they continually received, nourished in their hearts a violent hatred against the former, and rarely allowed an occasion for expressing it to escape. At length, on the 5th of March, 1770, a detachment under the orders of Captain Preston was insulted by some young persons who, it is said, threw snow balls at them, accompanied with harsh words. In their blind resentment the soldiers replied by firing upon the crowd, among which five persons were wounded severely, others slightly, and three killed on the spot. On the following day the troops were withdrawn from the city, at the demand of the inhabitants, and Captain Preston and his soldiers were brought to trial ; but such were the sentiments of justice which ever animated the citizens of Boston, that becoming convinced that the soldiers had suffered provocation, they abandoned the prosecution brought against them.

The event completely convinced the popular party that a contest was now irresistible, and that it was necessary to prepare for it. Committees of correspondence were consequently every where organized in secret, in order to regulate the plans which it might be necessary to form. The utility of this organization, then called the League, was speedily evident.

When the tax was laid upon tea, the inhabitants of Boston determined that they would not use it, at least not receive it from the English, and from that time the East India Company had received no more orders. Regretting, however, the loss of the market, they determined to send a few cargoes to their agents in Boston, who were to pay the tax

themselves, and thus avoid the difficulty. But the arrival of these cargoes was no sooner known, than the feelings of the people were thrown into great agitation. On the following morning the following notice was extensively circulated through the town.

“ Friends, brethren, companions.”

The cursed tea sent to our port by the East India Company has arrived. The hour of destruction or of a vigorous resistance to the machinations of tyranny has come. All who love the country, are jealous of their own honor and wish to merit the thanks of posterity, are desired to assemble at Faneuil Hall this evening at 9 o'clock (the bells will ring at that hour) to concert an effectual resistance to this infamous and destructive measure of the administration.

Boston, November 29th 1773.”

The citizens appeared with readiness at this patriotic appeal. The crowd was so great that the hall could not contain it all, and it was necessary to choose a more spacious place. The deliberations which were opened and continued at this first meeting, prevented any determinations from being made at that time. They adjourned until the next day; and twenty-men were appointed, under the command of Captain Proctor, to see that the tea was not landed during the night. The meeting of the 30th was more numerous still; and the ardour of those who were present was increased by the proclamation of the Governor, which urged them to renounce their project of resistance to the law, and to disperse, if they did not wish to increase the risk of their lives. These injunctions of the Governor, were unanimously rejected with disdain; and the assembly afterwards proceeded calmly to the preparation of a number of resolutions, which were adopted. It was decided that such as had immediately received tea from England since the tax was imposed, should be censured; and that those who should thereafter receive it should be declared enemies of the country. The members of the assembly bound themselves by an oath, to carry into effect their resolutions, at the peril of their lives and property; after which they voted thanks to their friends in the vicinity of Boston, for the readiness with which they had joined them, and to Mr. Jonah Williams, for the manner in which he had performed the duties of moderator. The assembly dispersed, after having appointed a committee, to take care that the vessels which were in port laden with tea should sail as soon as possible. A few days

were then occupied in communications between this committee and the authorities, without obtaining the departure of the vessels. Finally, on the 15th of September, a meeting of citizens was held, still more numerous than the preceding ; more than two thousand persons were present from the country. Samuel Philips Savage of Weston, was nominated moderator, and Mr. Rotch, owner of one of the vessels, was ordered before the meeting, to account for its presence in the harbor. He declared that the Collector of the Custom House had refused, up to that time, to clear her. He was commanded to hold her in readiness to depart that day, at his risk and peril ; to *protest* immediately against the Custom House ; and to address himself directly to the Governor to obtain permission for her to sail ; and the meeting adjourned at three o'clock in the afternoon. Having assembled again at three, they patiently waited till five, without seeing Mr. Rotch return. They then were going to break up, to meet again the next day ; but Mr. Josiah Quincy, junior, a man of influence with the popular party, and possessing great energy, stopped his fellow-citizens, by reminding them of the resolution they had taken in the evening : “ *to carry into effect all their resolutions at the peril of their lives and property.*” At a quarter before six o'clock, Mr. Rotch reappeared. The reply of the Governor, was : “ that for the honour of the laws and respect to the King, he would not allow the vessels to depart, until all the formalities at the Custom House should have been freely and legally performed.” The reply excited a great agitation in the assembly, immediately a man in the galleries, dressed after the manner of the Mohawk Indians, gave the war-whoop. About thirty persons standing ready at the door, replied to this cry in a similar manner, and the meeting was dissolved as by enchantment. The crowd rushed towards the harbour ; the men dressed like Indians sprang on board the vessels loaded with tea ; and in less than two hours all the boxes containing it were broken and thrown into the sea ; but every thing else was respected that was found on board. After this expedition the multitude retired in order and silence. This scene took place in the presence of several vessels of war ; and, so to speak, under the cannon and the eyes of the garrison in the fort, without the authorities daring to attempt the least resistance, so great, so imposing is the anger of a people which throws off the yoke of tyranny.

The names of the citizens who were disguised as Indians were never made public. Several of them are still alive, it is said, and enjoy in humility that happiness for which they struck the first blows that lopped away royal authority on the American continent.

The national pride of Great Britain was enraged at this new act of resistance, which was there called an outrage on Royal Majesty! Rulers and subjects all raised the same cry: vengeance! war with the rebellious colonies! And this cry was followed by a host of laws of the most tyrannical nature, by the aid of which they expected to overwhelm and reduce the province of Massachusetts. The port of Boston was interdicted for an unlimited time; the provincial charter was destroyed; the citizens were removed from their natural jurisdiction; the appointment of magistrates was left at the good pleasure of the crown, which arrogated also the right of quartering soldiers in the houses of the inhabitants. A new assembly of the people was called at Boston, in which an appeal was made to God and the world against the injustice and tyranny of England. An exhortation was sent to the other colonies, to combine with Massachusetts, for the maintenance and defence of their common liberties: the other colonies were not deaf to this prayer; most of the legislatures declared that the 11th of June, the day from which the interdict on the port of Boston was to go into operation, should be considered among the number of unlucky days; and on the 1st of June all the bells were rung, muffled, the people assembled in crowds in the churches, to beseech God's protection against those who meditated civil war and the destruction of their liberty.

The assembly of Massachusetts had adjourned to Salem, but Governor Gage forbade them to meet. The members of that assembly then joined themselves in a private society, under the name of the League, in which they engaged reciprocally, and in the presence of God, to suspend all relations with Great Britain, until all the unjust laws should be repealed. This league was declared by the governor criminal and contrary to the rights of the king; and this declaration was treated in its turn as tyrannical, because it was opposed to the people occupying themselves about their own interests; and the indignant people, after having compelled the magistrates appointed by the crown to renounce their functions, swore never to obey any other au-

thorities than those which should be created by themselves, and to recognize no laws but the ancient laws of the colony.

The cessation of all commerce in Boston soon plunged the inhabitants into the deepest distress. Every day their wants multiplied and were more sensibly felt; yet nobody dreamt of compounding with tyranny. The citizens of Marblehead and Salem, in despite of the injunctions of the English authority, exerted themselves to relieve their brethren in Boston. They sent them provisions and money, and offered them the free use of their harbours, wharves, and stores, that they might resume the commerce they could no longer pursue at home, and without which it was almost impossible for them to subsist. Encouraged by such proofs of the approbation of their countrymen, the Bostonians became more and more firm in the resolution they had taken, to sustain the justice of their cause by force of arms.

This they prepared to do without delay. Companies of *minute-men* were organized in the town, and throughout the province. At the first sound of the tocsin, at the first call from the league, or the first report of any new act of violence by Englishmen, those minute-men were to take arms, and fall on the aggressors wherever they might meet them. Magazines of arms and munitions were also collected with skill and activity. For several months about thirty young labourers had voluntarily organized themselves in a company, with the intention of watching the movements of the English, and giving their fellow-citizens information. Towards the spring of 1775, they redoubled their activity, and every night made frequent patrols through the streets, two by two. On the 15th of April, near midnight, they observed that all the transport boats were afloat, and ready, in the rear of the ships of war, and the grenadiers and light-infantry were making preparations. They gave notice to Dr. Warren, who immediately sent a messenger to carry the news to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who had left the city, to escape the governor, he, it was said, having given orders to have them arrested. On the 18th, new indications were perceived of an intended movement. The light infantry and grenadiers were collected on the common; and at ten o'clock in the evening eight hundred men, under the orders of Colonel Smith, embarked, and went to land at Lechmere's Point, near Cambridge, whence, after taking provisions for one day, they took up their march at midnight. The object of this movement was to destroy the

magazines formed by the League at Concord. The secret kept in the camp, the silence observed on the march, left the English to suppose that no one in Boston suspected their departure. By the light of the moon they hastened their march, and arrived, without noise, at Lexington, six miles from Concord, by day-break. But there the tranquility which had reigned around them until that time, was interrupted by the noise of drums, which sounded in the country, and seemed to call the citizens to arms; and a company of about sixty armed Americans suddenly appeared before them. The English immediately stopped, closed their ranks, and loaded their arms. The Lexington company did the same, and received the command of their leader not to leave the ground without orders, and not to fire first. These arrangements had hardly been made on both sides, when Major Pitcairn, commander of the English advance-guard, moved towards the Americans, and with an insulting tone called out: "Down with your arms! you rebels! Disperse! you rascals!" This insolent summons received no answer; and Pitcairn turned towards his men, and ordered them to fire. They readily obeyed; and eight hundred Englishmen were not ashamed to raise shouts of joy on beginning so unequal a combat—a combat in which sixty citizens devotedly exposed their lives a sacrifice to the sacred cause of liberty.

The Americans received the first fire with firmness. One of them, seeing a friend fall by his side, cried out: "You shall be revenged! discharged his musket at the Englishmen, and the war of independence was begun.

The Americans could not long hold out against so disproportionate a force; and abandoned the ground, leaving eight dead, and several wounded, about whom the English proudly defiled, insulting them with cries of victory.

After having rested for some time after this terrible battle, the proud defenders of the crown took up their march for Concord, where they arrived at 9 o'clock. They there found the inhabitants in great agitation, but still ignorant of the assassination of their brothers at Lexington. The bridge was guarded by a company of citizens. On this occasion the English made their attack without summoning. The citizens of Concord vigorously returned their fire, and killed several of the king's soldiers and officers: after which, being too feeble to sustain a contest, they dispersed, and left the magazines to the English, so that they were destroyed in a few hours.



The alarm was soon general through the country : the tocsin called to arms all who were able to bear them ; and in a short time the English were so surrounded, that they began to think their retreat would be more difficult than their two victories. From Concord to Lexington their march was but a disordered flight. The fire of the rebels, well directed and well supported, from their ambushments all along the road, in barns, in gardens, behind trees, in ditches, did not allow them to stop for a moment to defend themselves. On arriving at Lexington, they found Lord Percy, who, at the head of sixteen companies of infantry, a corps of marines and two pieces of artillery, had come to save them from entire destruction, though not from disgrace. In spite of this reinforcement they had still much difficulty in getting to Charlestown, where they passed the night under the protection of the cannon of their ships ; and on the following day they re-entered Boston, after having lost, in this unfortunate enterprize, nearly two hundred men, in killed and wounded.

It would be difficult to describe the astonishment and humiliation of the English, when they saw themselves thus beaten by the rebels, and shut up in their entrenchments by an undisciplined multitude.

The royal army was, however, soon reinforced by 12,000 men, who arrived from England, under the orders of Generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe. General Gage, to wipe off the disgrace of the rout at Lexington, determined to strike a great blow against the revolutionary spirit. He began with a proclamation, which announced that martial law was in force, and promised pardon to all who would lay down their arms. John Hancock and Samuel Adams had the honour to be excepted in the general amnesty. Their ardent love of liberty, their intelligence, their patriotic virtues, and the immense influence they exercised over the feelings of the people, in truth deserved this distinction.

The proclamation was received by the citizens of Massachusetts, as the threats and promises of despotism, beginning to tremble for its own existence, ought always to be : that is to say, they took no notice of it, and closed their ranks.

The English army was now shut up in Boston, and on the tongue of land which connects the city with the continent. Thirty thousand Americans kept it closely besieged. Their right was opposite the Dedham causeway, their cen-

tre at Cambridge, and their left wing, chiefly composed of the militia of Massachusetts, rested on Charlestown, a village separated from Boston by a narrow stream of water, crossed by a bridge. It was by this way that the English general determined to escape from his unfavourable position: but the Americans sounded his intentions, and exerted themselves to oppose its accomplishment. During the night, 1000 men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, established and intrrenched themselves on Breed's Hill: a small eminence which commands the city of Boston and the Charlestown bridge. When the English discovered, at day break, the little redoubt, which had been thrown up with such diligence by the small corps of Colonel Prescott, they attempted, but in vain, to destroy it. General Gage thought it would be of great importance to the safety of his army to dislodge the Americans from this formidable position, and he consequently made his arrangements. Major General Howe, at the head of ten companies of grenadiers, ten companies of light infantry, and several pieces of field artillery, went to land at Morton's Point, and formed his troops in order of battle; but perceiving that the Americans were not intimidated by that hostile movement, he thought proper to await the arrival of a reinforcement, which was sent on demand from Boston. This delay gave the Americans time to obtain more troops, which were brought them by General Warren, and to complete their system of defence. The English commenced their attack by burning Charlestown. In a few moments, that village, which contained more than seven hundred houses built of wood, was devoured by the flames.

The inhabitants of Boston, and the reserve of the English army, were assembled as in an amphitheatre, on the heights of the town, beholding with equal anxiety the terrible combat, on the result of which their destinies were alike dependant. It was on the 17th of June, 1775, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The English line formed, and marched on gaily to the engagement, with shouldered arms, and that calmness which is the result of long familiarity with military discipline. The Americans awaited them with a firm foot, cool blood, and that resolution always inspired by the love of liberty. The English had already got within thirty paces of the entrenchments of their adversaries; and yet the sound of a musket had not broken the portentous silence

which had presided over their movements ; when on a sudden they received a volley of musketry, so skilfully aimed, that their ranks were cut down and broken, and they fled in disorder to the shore, leaving behind them a great number of their officers killed and wounded. A second attack had the same result, and the English soldiers were at that time struck with so much terror, that many of them sought for safety in their boats. Their officers were able to stop and rally them, only by resorting to the most energetic means of military discipline. Finally, a third attack, supported by several pieces of artillery, and the fire of a number of ships and men of war and two floating batteries, was completely successful. The Americans, charged in their entrenchments, still defended themselves a long time, fighting man to man, and returning blows with the butts of their muskets, for thrusts of the enemies' bayonets. Their retreat was more calm and orderly than could have been expected from inexperienced militia-men. In this last attack the royal troops exhibited great intrepidity, and a courage worthy of a better cause. They lost nearly 1100 men, killed and wounded ; among whom were included more than ninety officers. The patriot army, which had long fought under cover, did not lose 510 men ; but had to lament the death of one of their most valued chiefs : that of the brave General Warren.

The English had paid too dearly for this victory, to think of pursuing their advantages on that day. They contented themselves with the possession of the bloody field of battle.

The unnecessary burning of Charlestown, which preceded the combat, appeared to all the Americans as an act of the most disgraceful barbarity ; and excited a general feeling of horror and indignation. It was at Charlestown that the English after their defeat at Lexington, had found assistance for their wounded men, and all the attentions of the most generous hospitality for those who fled.

The loss of the position of Bunker's Hill did not prevent the Americans from keeping the royal army still closely besieged in Boston. Every day the besiegers found their forces increasing, and Washington came to take the command on the 2d of June, in the name of the Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Nothing of importance, however, was undertaken against the place during all the rest of that year. The following winter rendered the situation of the besieged

dreadful ; the cold was intense, fuel was scarce, and the English were supplied with it only at the expence of the inhabitants, whose houses they demolished to obtain wood. The situation of the latter greatly affected Washington, who was desirous of taking advantage of several days of severe cold, which would have allowed him to cross on the ice the water which separated him from the town, and make a general attack : but his council of war unanimously opposed it.

Having received some reinforcements towards the end of April 1776, he determined to obtain possession of the height of Dorchester, from which he could annoy the vessels which were in the harbor, and even the garrison of the town. Beside this, he hoped that such an attempt, by forcing the enemy into some active measure, would afford an opportunity for a general engagement ; and he made skilful arrangements to make as much of it as possible. The occupation of Dorchester Heights was conducted with so much diligence, during the night of March 2d, that the return of day showed to the English the beseigers perfectly established, and capable of sustaining an attack in their new position.

General Howe perceived immediately, that his situation was critical, in consequence of this daring movement by the Americans ; and after several unsuccessful attempts to dislodge them, he formed the determination to leave Boston, while the sea remained open to him. It was on the 17th of March that he set sail, with his whole army ; and his rear guard must have heard the cries of joy with which Washington was welcomed, at his entrance into the town.

From that day, Boston, which has a good right to claim the glorious title of the "*Cradle of the Revolution*," ceased to be a theatre of the events of the war. The town and the province were forever delivered from the presence of the enemies of liberty. But the citizens of Massachusetts did not on that account show themselves less ardent in the achievement of the great work of enfranchising the colonies ; their contingents for the continental army, were always punctually furnished with exactness, and their militia sustained to the end of the war their high reputation for courage and patriotism.

The news of peace arrived at Boston on the 23d of April, 1783, and diffused among the people an intoxicating joy. The entire abolition of the slavery of the blacks was

proclaimed; commerce and manufactures were resumed on a greater scale than before, under the protection of liberty.

Massachusetts had already established a state constitution that secured the rights and interests of the people. Five years afterwards they accepted, after a long debate, the federal constitution. This acceptance was published on the 6th Feb. 1788, and was welcomed with transports by the people, who celebrated the event by brilliant rejoicings, and crowded to the house of each of the representatives to express their gratitude.

The state of Massachusetts since that period,<sup>b</sup> has not ceased to increase in riches and happiness; it has regulated and fixed its boundaries on amicable terms with its neighbours; at present, it is bounded on the north by the states of Vermont and New Hampshire, on the east by the ocean, on the south by the states of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and on the west by the state of New York. The aspect of its soil is endlessly varied, and its shores are rich in commodious bays, ornamented with beautiful little islands. The shores of the sea are generally arid; but the land in the interior is very productive, and so well cultivated, that the whole country appears like a beautiful garden. Elegant country houses, handsome villages, and great cities, attest at every step, that the population is numerous. In fact, about 530,000 souls cover a surface of 7,800 square miles (2,700 leagues.) In 1790 the population amounted to only 370,787 souls. The increase has no doubt been very rapid; but we find it still more astonishing in the neighbouring states.

Sixty-five thousand persons are employed in agriculture; 36,000 in the various manufactures of cotton, wool, linen, glass ware, paper, soap, the foundries, &c. and about 14,000 in commerce. The number of those who are employed in the fisheries is also very great; but I was not able to procure exact information on the subject. This sketch, will, I think, serve to show how far useful labour is carried in that state; for if we were to extend it to those who are employed in the different offices of the government, public instruction, and the exercise of particular trades, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, &c. and then to subtract from the total amount of population, the children too young to labour, and those whose age or infirmities do not permit them, it would be still farther seen how small is the number of idle hands in that state. From this industrious activity,

results a general easy condition in families, which strikes an European with astonishment, who visits this region for the first time.

This universal happy condition of the people, contributes to increase among all classes of the society, that equality which the constitution establishes between individuals in the eye of the law. On Sundays, at church, or in public assemblies, it is impossible to distinguish by appearance, and I might almost say by their manners, an artizan from one they call in society "a gentleman;" the great number of schools, and the *right* which each man possesses of engaging in public affairs, extend among that class of artizans, a knowledge and rectitude of judgment that would be sought for in vain among the middling classes in France. In Boston, what is called the higher society, that is to say, that of men of letters, rich merchants, officers of government, and persons employed in the liberal professions, the astonishing contrast is presented of uncommon education with a great simplicity of manners. The extreme severity of character which distinguished the first inhabitants of New England, has been gradually effaced by contact with other nations, and above all by the introduction of toleration in religious opinions. The rigour of the puritans has given place to an agreeable harmony between the numerous sects which divide among themselves not only New England, but the whole Union. It is not however to be concluded that zeal has given way to indifference. Religious practices are observed with scrupulous exactness. It would be difficult to find in Boston a party devoted to amusement on the Sabbath. The chains which were formerly stretched before the churches during the celebration of solemn services, have by degrees disappeared. The government is not permitted to interfere in any manner in religious concerns; the pastors of the different churches are paid by their parishioners. If in public particular respect is shown for those who frequent the churches, no one ever pretends to persecute those who never make their appearance in them. Finally, there remains not more than a single trace of the religious tyranny of the first colonists; and this trace is unfortunately found in the constitution. The first article of the sixth chapter, excludes from the offices of the government, every candidate who does not belong to the Christian religion, and who does not swear that he is convinced of its truth. "I, A. B. do declare, that I believe the Christian Religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth."

It is difficult to understand how, in a society so enlightened, so free, where every day the improvements in knowledge are marked by new advances, they still deny to the state the services of a virtuous and learned man, because that man is a Jew or a Mahometan.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Camp of Savin Hill—Visit to John Adams—Militia Review—Regulations concerning the Militia of Massachusetts.

*August 28th.*—General Lafayette was invited by the Governor to visit the Camp at Savin Hill, a few miles from Boston. He accepted; and we reached there at noon. Savin Hill is a very picturesque situation, on the sea-shore. It is there that the volunteer companies of Boston, in the pleasant season of the year, go by turns, to employ themselves in military exercises. The camp was at that time occupied by a company of the New England Guards. At our arrival we found them under arms. Their young commander came forward to receive the General; and after a short speech returned to the head of his band, which he manœuvred with much precision. After different movements by the infantry, the artillery began to practise in firing. Most of the shots were directed with great precision at a floating target placed at a considerable distance. The artillerists invited the General to aim one of the pieces himself: he did so, and the shot broke the target. This successful experiment, which no one expected from a man of his age, excited the applause of all the young militiamen, and the ladies, who usually go to the camp to visit their brothers and husbands: and who on that day had gone in greater numbers to see Lafayette.

The *materiel* of the artillery which was before our eyes, had attracted my attention from the first moment of our arrival in the camp. After the manœuvres were finished, I approached to examine it more particularly; and was not a little surprized to recognize our French models perfectly imitated. These were the first I had seen in the hands of militiamen. The officers who remarked the interest I took in the examination, informed me that they owed this int-

provement to General Lallemand, whom the proscriptions of 1815 compelled to seek a refuge among the Americans, and who died a few years after at New York, regretting that he could not turn his last looks upon his country. During his abode in the United States, where his talents and character had conciliated the public esteem, he devoted himself with ardour to his desire of being useful to the nation which extended to him such generous hospitality. The militia of Massachusetts owe to him great improvements in their artillery; and he has left a treatise on that arm, in two volumes, in which he has, it is true, repeated the regulations already known and practised in France; but which he has perfectly adapted to the wants of those for whom he laboured. He married, in Philadelphia, the niece of a Frenchman who had lived more than forty years in that city, where he has amassed one of the greatest estates in Pennsylvania, by his skill in commerce. This marriage did not, however, improve the condition of General Lallemand, who died poor. His widow remains in Philadelphia under the care of her uncle.

After the visit to the camp at Savin Hill, the Governor took us to dine at his country house; and we returned to the city, to attend a very brilliant ball, which Mr. Lloyd, a Senator of the United States, gave to General Lafayette.

John Adams, whose name is so gloriously connected with all the epochs of the American revolution, and who had the honour to succeed Washington in the direction of the chief magistracy of the republic, was at that time confined to his residence by the weight of eighty-nine years. General Lafayette who had formerly been acquainted with him, and had even been united with him by a close friendship, was unwilling to depart without having paid him a visit. A sentiment of delicacy, easy to be comprehended, made him desire that the visit might be made without any of that triumphal train which usually surrounded him, even in his most unimportant movements. In a carriage, therefore, without an escort, accompanied only by two conspicuous personages of the city, and followed by his son and the author of this journal, he arrived at Quincy, about two o'clock. Our coaches stopped at the gate of a small and very plain house, built of brick and wood, and having but a single story. I was a little surprized to learn that it was the residence of the old President of the United States. We found the venerable John Adams in the midst of his family. He



received and embraced us with affecting kindness. The sight of his old friend gave him a gratification and an excitement that seemed to reinvigorate. During all dinner-time, he entered freely into conversation, with a degree of ease and freshness of memory which made us forget his eighty-nine years.

The long life of John Adams has been entirely devoted to the service of his country and liberty, which he passionately loved from his early youth.

He was born at Quincy, on the 19th of October, 1735 ; and studied at Cambridge, whence he went in 1755, to give lessons in grammar in the school at Worcester, where he pursued for some time the study of law, under James Putnam. In 1758 he was admitted to the bar. In 1770 he was chosen as a representative of the city of Boston, in the assembly of Massachusetts. When the quarrels between the citizens of Boston and the English soldiers proceeded to bloodshed, he exhibited the force of his character by presenting himself with Josiah Quincy, jun'r. and S. Blowers, to defend Captain Preston and his soldiers, who had fired upon the people. He did not wish that the love of liberty should prevail over the love of justice ; and his eloquence procured the deliverance of the unfortunate men, who were but the blind and ignorant instruments of English tyranny.

In 1774 he was elected a member of the council of Massachusetts : but his political opinions, which he had already loudly and energetically expressed, on different occasions, caused his rejection by Governor Gage. A few months afterwards, he was sent to the continental congress, where he proved himself one of the most skillful defenders of liberty.

In 1776 he and Jefferson were each charged with producing a draft of a declaration of independence. That of Jefferson was preferred to his by congress, it is true ; but he was not the less regarded, in regard to his eloquence and patriotism, as the soul and light of that immortal assembly. A short time afterwards he was entrusted, conjointly with Dr. Franklin and Edward Rutledge, to treat on the pacification of the colonies, with Lord Howe.

In 1777 he was appointed commissioner to the court of France, in the place of Silas Dean.

In the month of April, 1779, when the congress censured all their commissioners in Europe, an honourable exoap-

tion was made in favour of John Adams. In 1779, on his return from Europe, he was chosen a member of the convention assembled to draw up a constitution for Massachusetts. In the month of August of the same year, he was sent to Europe, with powers to treat for a general peace. In December, 1780, the congress voted him public thanks for the services he had rendered in Europe. In 1781 he concluded with the Dutch provinces a treaty very advantageous to his country.

In 1785, he was sent, as minister plenipotentiary, to the British Government. It was during that honourable mission that he published at London, in 1787, his learned summary of all ancient and modern constitutions, under the title of "Defence of the American Constitutions." This profoundly erudite work seems to show, in more than one passage, a predilection in the author for the English institutions; and drew upon him vigorous attacks from a great number of patriotic writers, and particularly from Philip Livingston,\* then governor of New Jersey, who opposed him with talent in an excellent work which he published, under the title of "Examination of the English Constitution." Being recalled from England at his own request, he was received in his country with the thanks of his fellow-citizens and congress.

In 1789, after the adoption of the new constitution, John Adams was chosen president of the Republic, in the place of Washington, who had refused a third election. The circumstances of the country, at that time, were very difficult. The French Revolution, which had at first met with general approbation in the United States, had then become, through the intrigues of royalists and foreigners, an object of horror, even to those who had been its warmest partizans. The French question agitated every mind, and had become a subject of lively discussion and sometimes of violent attacks to the two parties, Federalists and Democrats. The unskillful, and often dishonest, proceedings of our diplomatic agents, in the United States, in attempting to take advantage of those divisions, alarmed the president, John Adams, and induced him to propose to congress, as a restraining measure, the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*.

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\* William Livingston was Governor of New Jersey; and it is not known that he ever wrote such a work as is here mentioned. [Trans.]

This proposition was in too direct opposition to the sentiments of liberty entertained by the American people, not to be rejected with resolution, I may say with indignation. The House of Representatives would not even deliberate on the bill ; and the popularity of John Adams, at that time, received such a check, that at the expiration of the fourth year of his administration he was not re-elected.

In 1801 he retired to his residence at Quincy. His fellow-citizens soon forgot the cause of his retirement, and preserved only a recollection of the great and numerous services he had rendered during his long career. They did not delay in offering him the office of Governor of Massachusetts ; and they afterwards invited him to preside in the committee appointed to revise the constitution of their state. But he began to feel the want of repose : and he thanked them, saying, that he besought theologians, philosophers, and politicians to let him die in peace. Notwithstanding this refusal, he had not become insensible to the great interests of his country ; and when, in 1811, it was threatend with the odious vexations of England, his patriotic voice was raised, in the shades of his retreat, declaring that the national honour could be satisfied only by war. His eloquence revived, in a letter he wrote to arouse to this feeling those who were most estranged from it by the spirit of party. Finally, he made so general a sacrifice of his private opinions to the dangers of that period, that his most ardent adversaries could not refuse him the expression of their esteem and gratitude.

Now, although it is impossible for him to leave his chamber, though he can hardly rise from his arm-chair, and his hands refuse to carry his food to his mouth without the filial assistance of his children or grand-children, his heart and head have no less warmth in regard to every thing good ; and the concerns of his country, above all, furnish his favourite occupation. He could not help repeating, how much joy it gave him, that his countrymen expressed gratitude to Lafayette. We left him deeply effected with admiration, at the fortitude with which he supports the pains and infirmities, which a century, nearly accomplished, had accumulated upon his frame.

A great review had been ordered and prepared for the 30th. From the morning, the militia from the environs of Boston had been coming in, under the orders of General Appleton. Those of the city had pitched their tents on the

Common at dawn, in front of the State-house ; and when we rose our eyes were struck with the sight of an unexpected encampment. At noon, about 8,000 men were drawn up in line of battle on that vast square. A large collection of ladies graced all the streets that look upon it, and filled the neighbouring cross streets. A few moments after General Lafayette made his appearance, accompanied by the Governor and his staff, before the line, where he was received by the acclamations of the militia, to which the sound of martial instruments replied, and the shouts of numerous spectators. After having passed along the ranks of those young citizen soldiers, whose excellent discipline and fine appearance under arms might have charmed even eyes accustomed to the regularity of the hired troops of Europe, the General was conducted to the most elevated part of the square, that he might, with more facility, observe the military movements which were to be exhibited to him. We did not find, in their management of their arms, that minute precision to which European officers attach so much importance, and which can be acquired only by subjecting the poor soldier to the miserable life of a puppet, for at least four hours of the day : but we were compelled to admire the promptitude of the charges, the mingling and the liveliness of the firing. Line movements no doubt require more calmness and precision ; but, on the other hand, I think it is impossible that the movements of light troops should be conducted with more rapidity or intelligence. This kind of service seems to be well adapted to the American character ; it is very appropriate also to the militia, called out more particularly for local defence, where all the resources are known, and which are singularly favourable to a war of detail. This sort of petty warfare, which was performed under our eyes, lasted nearly three hours, and greatly interested us. When it was terminated we entered an immense tent, where the principal citizens were assembled, at a table of two hundred covers, to take leave of Lafayette, who was to leave the city the next day. In the centre of the table, opposite the places we occupied, was a large silver basin, filled with arms, shot, military buttons, &c. collected on Bunker's-hill, a long time after the memorable battle of the 17th of June. The Governor had the goodness to offer some of those relics ; and I accepted, with thanks, a button with which he presented me. In spite of the rust which covered it, the number 42, was still easily to be seen. It is known the English

regiment which bore this number was one of those which suffered most in the attack on the American entrenchments. The care with which the Americans preserve and regard all the monuments of their revolution is very remarkable. Every thing that recalls that glorious epoch, is a precious relic to them, which they honour, so to speak, with religious regard. This sort of devotion is of a worthy kind : because it contributes to feed the sacred fire with which they are animated by the love of liberty. I think it is worth quite as much as that *profound veneration* we feel in Europe for the decorations conferred by royalty.

During the grand review, I had remarked with surprize, the variety of uniforms among the numerous corps which defiled before us ; having hardly been able to find two companies much alike. Some were dressed with a degree of needless expense, perhaps little appropriate to the profession of arms ; while those from the country, were of so contrary a character, that they had hardly any thing of the military about them, except the cartridge box and musket. The difference was explained to me by an account of what they call *Volunteer Companies*. These Companies are composed of young men, collected by neighbourhood or friendship, under the authority of the Governor, in a private association. They choose the colour and form of their dress, elect their officers, and select some name by which their Company may be designated. Thus organized and constituted, they still remain subject to the general regulations, which govern all the militia ; but they assemble more frequently for military exercise ; and as many of the young men belong to the affluent classes, they are able to go to some expense for the beauty of their dress, and the variety which I noticed. If from this species of rivalry in luxury among the volunteer companies, there results emulation in the service, as the officers supposed who had the goodness to give me some details on this subject, it is undoubtedly well. But is it not to be feared, that this benefit will be followed by weighty evils ? Will not the embroidery and bunches of feathers, which now serve only to distinguish one company from another, hereafter serve to distinguish the son of the wealthy merchant from the son of the humble artizan ; and will not this distinction between the rich militia-man and the poor militia-man open a door to the aristocracy of wealth—no less inimical to equality than the aristocracy of parchments ? I know that American man-

ners, and above all American institutions greatly diminish the danger: but, because a danger is still at a distance, ought it to be entirely despised? I do not believe it.

The costume, the organization, the duties and the bases of the discipline of the militia of the Union, are determined by general laws emanating from Congress. As the differences in situation and manners however, which distinguish the aspect of the different states which compose the great confederation, require modifications in the application of those laws, each state has arranged, on its own account, the formation of militia corps, their interior discipline, the appointment of officers, &c. &c. taking care not to transgress the great principles laid down by Congress.

As all these particular regulations of the states, differ a little from each other, and it would besides require too much time to present them all in detail, I think I shall sufficiently satisfy the curiosity of the reader, by giving here only an extract from the ordinances concerning the militia of the state of Massachusetts.

The law of the Congress of the United States calls into the ranks of the militia, all citizens capable of bearing arms, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, inclusively.

[Here follows an extract from the militia laws of Massachusetts, which it has been thought expedient to omit in this translation.]

On these very same principles, was created and organized the worthy National Guard of Paris, whose conduct was so honourable during the storms of our revolution; and which so often made the anarchists to recoil, and the counter-revolutionists to turn pale. It will also be remarked, that there is an endless number of points of resemblance between the formation of the American militia, and that of the French National Guard, organized by the law of September 29th, 1791. The fate of that wise institution, protectress of the freedom whose daughter it was, has been very different in America and France. On one side of the Atlantic it has been upheld and fortified under the protection of popular institutions, which leave to man all his dignity and secure all his rights; there, first perverted by anarchy, it has disappeared under the despotism which has deprived us of all our liberties.

## CHAPTER V.

Route from Boston to Portsmouth—Stay at Portsmouth—History, Constitution and Statistics of New Hampshire—Route from Portsmouth to New York—Description of Long Island.

THE state of New Hampshire had sent a deputation to General Lafayette to invite him to go to Portsmouth, and visit the marine establishment. We set out on the 31st of August, to go thither, pursuing the course through Lexington, Concord, Salem, Marblehead and Newburyport. We stopped at Lexington only a few minutes; but we left there much impressed by the affecting scenes which we witnessed, and the historical recollections that were brought to mind. It will be remembered, that in 1775, a number of peasants were assassinated on the spot in Lexington, by an English battalion: it was on that very place that General Lafayette was received by the happy population, who assembled there to receive him with festivity. After passing two handsome lines of militia, we arrived at the foot of the pyramid which shows the place where the first martyrs of liberty fell, and now repose. There, two old men related to us, the first scene in the great revolutionary drama. They had been actors in it, and this circumstance gave their recital a powerful charm, which captivated our attention. They took pleasure in recalling the smallest particulars of that action; they repeated with warm indignation, the insulting and threatening words with which the ferocious Major Pitcairn addressed them, in calling on them to disperse; and a smile of pity and disdain moved their lips, when they showed us how the English fired on a few peasants. They then named to us, with emotion, those of their companions and friends who were killed at their side, and in mentioning them, their eyes filled with tears, were turned to the rising ground where we stood; and ours also involuntarily moved to that last asylum of those citizen heroes, and paid them a tribute of gratitude and admiration. After a silence of a few minutes, one of the old men exclaimed: "We still weep for our brothers, but we do not complain: they died for their country and liberty." At these words, "country and liberty," the crowd, greatly affected, replied with shouts of "Huzza for Lafayette!" and for a long time, it was difficult to moderate that expression of public joy. All the militia of the county (*Canton*) were assembled on

the square in Lexington. They defiled before the pyramid and Lafayette, waving towards those two monuments of the revolution, their standards on which was represented the murder of their fathers, whose memory perpetuates among these young citizen soldiers, the hatred of despotism, and of English domination.

At the moment when we were about to remove from the pyramid, to regain our carriages, a young man appeared before us, carrying a long gun of a heavy mould and covered with rust. He presented it to the General, with a degree of solemnity which made us presume that the instrument of death had acquired, by some peculiar circumstance, claims to the veneration of him who possessed it. In truth we learned that the musket was the one which had first replied to the fire of the English on the Lexington Square. "My father carried it on the 19th of April, 1775," said the young man: "in his hands it began the undertaking which you and Washington so gloriously finished. I am happy to have it make your acquaintance." The General took it and examined it with pleasure: each of us also had a desire to touch it. In returning it to him the General advised him to have the date of April 19th inscribed on the lock, with the name of the brave citizen who had made such good use of it, and then to place it in a case, that it might be preserved from injury by time. He was affected by this council and promised to obey it.

Although the distance from Lexington to Concord is very short, we were obliged to stop again at the latter town. The people had assembled from the environs in the public square, where had been erected a tent of leaves and flowers, under which a party of young ladies, brilliantly beautiful, offered refreshments to the Nation's Guest, who was invited to take a seat at the centre of a table, elegantly furnished, where only ladies had been admitted. Young ladies, crowned with flowers, moved about the table, and did the honours of it, with remarkable ease and grace: but they directed their attentions chiefly to the General, and their kindest care. Every thing was gay and graceful in this picture of happiness and joy which was spread before our eyes; but at the same moment our attention was attracted by a singular contrast. Opposite the tent, on the other side of the green, we observed a collection of funereal monuments on a hill which bounded it; and were informed that it was the spot consecrated to the last repose. Among these



monuments there were a number already blackened by time; but others were still conspicuous from their whiteness. Near one of the latter were prostrated a woman and two children, dressed in black, whose mournful attitude seemed to tell us, that festivals are not days of rest for the dead: but not one of the company appeared attentive to this suggestion, all being too happy to reflect on the narrow space that separates every one from dissolution.

At Marblehead I was awakened from a deep reverie, into which the scenes at Concord had plunged me, by the sound of cannon and the cries of the people, who were running together to meet General Lafayette. Splendid preparations had been made to receive him in that town, where it was well known however, that he could stop only long enough for breakfast. On ascending *Washington Hill*, he met the pupils of eleven public schools, and twenty private ones, under the direction of their teachers and a president of the Council of instruction. They were nine hundred in all, girls and boys. A deputation, consisting of a representative from each school, approached his carriage, and presented him with an address, in which was expressed the gratitude of the children, for the services their fathers had received from him.

Salem is only fourteen miles from Boston; but we did not arrive there until afternoon; for at every step General Lafayette was obliged to stop, to receive expressions of attachment from all those he met on the road. At the entrance of the town he was received by the magistrates, and a numerous cavalcade of citizens. Several militia corps were drawn up in line on his way, and his entrance was announced by salutes of artillery and the ringing of bells. In spite of the rain, which fell in torrents, the streets were entirely filled by the crowd, who forced themselves upon his route, and loaded him with blessings. We rapidly traversed the whole town, that we might pass under a number of triumphal arches, decorated with emblems and inscriptions. On one of them was read: "Honour to Lafayette, Honour to him who fought and shed his blood for the peace and happiness we enjoy!" on another: "Lafayette the friend and defender of liberty, welcome to the land of your choice!" and on another. "In the day of our adversity you helped us; in our prosperity we will remember your services with gratitude." The dinner hall, and the dinner itself had been decorated by the hands of the ladies of the city. Opposite

the seat which the General occupied at the table, in the midst of garlands of flowers and trophies, was this inscription.

“Lafayette in America. Où peut ou être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?”

Old companions in arms, placed on both sides, claimed the right of serving him; gaily reminding him that they had acquired this right at Yorktown, where he had not refused their services. The dinner was ended by a great number of toasts. We drank: “France, the friend of liberty in America: may she never become the friend of oppression in Europe.” And we left Salem to go and sleep at Newburyport. Although the weather continued dreadful, the General could not prevail upon the escort of militia from Salem to leave him. They galloped by the side of his coach for almost three leagues, sword in hand at the risk of being thrown twenty times, the roads were in so bad a state.

In spite of all the diligence we could use, it was not until the night was well advanced that we arrived at Newburyport. The brightness of the illuminations and bonfires lighted in the streets and public squares, the unintermitted sound of cannon and bells, the cries of the citizens, and the sight of a multitude of armed soldiers advancing rapidly, to the music of drums, might have made us suppose we were entering a city taken by assault and given to the flames; if the words “Liberty, Country, Washington, Lafayette,” which continually struck upon our ears, had not aroused us to the recollection that we were beholding a national and truly popular festival. Notwithstanding the advanced hour of the night, the General was obliged to devote a pretty long time to receiving the inhabitants, who pressed in crowds to the door, to express their good wishes. We had stopped at Tracy's inn, which had been prepared for our reception by the town. It was there that Washington alighted in 1789; the chamber he occupied had been kept with the greatest care since that period, the furniture not having been changed; and General Lafayette had the pleasure of reposing in the same bed, where, thirty five years before had rested his paternal friend. By the joy which brightened in the eyes of our host; it was easy to perceive the feelings that animated him, and how difficult it would now be to make him part with furniture that had served both Washington and Lafayette.

We left Newburyport early in the morning; and about

the middle of the day we reached Portsmouth. Numerous corps of infantry, and nearly the whole population, with their magistrates at their head, had come out of the town to receive General Lafayette. A thousand children from the different schools were ranged in a double line along his way, and although those poor little ones had no head-dress but crowns of flowers, and the rain fell abundantly, not one would leave his post. The procession which was formed to accompany the General at his entrance into the town, was more than two miles long. After it had passed through the principal streets, it stopped in Congress-street, where we were led into Franklin Hall. There, the president of the town council pronounced the following speech before the citizens assembled.

“GENERAL—The magistrates of Portsmouth are instructed by their fellow-citizens, to express the gratitude and joy caused by your arrival.

“Enjoying, as we do, the happiness produced by a free government, our gratitude naturally reverts to those whose courage obtained it for us. Those intrepid men among us who in a moment of danger undertook the defence of our rights, have, without doubt, claims to our veneration. It is evident however that in fighting for the liberty of their country, they laboured to ensure their own happiness and the destiny of their children. The feelings of private interest which animated them do not in any thing diminish the value of their services: but admirably exhibit your disinterested zeal which brought you from a foreign land to aid the inhabitants of this. With us the love of liberty was only a sentiment of patriotism: with you it was the result of a still nobler feeling, the love of the human race.

“After an absence of forty years spent at a distance from our country, in the midst of so much trouble and agitation, you are restored to us as you left us, a firm and constant friend of liberal principles. Our hearts have followed you through the numerous events of your life. In whatever situation you were, whether at the head of the national guard, or in the prison of Olmutz, or among the representatives of the nation, you have always shown yourself the firmest friend of America, ever worthy of our esteem. Permit us then to receive you as the guest of the nation and to pay you all the honours in our power. These are the voluntary tribute of hearts warmed with gratitude.

We wish our children to learn that virtue alone has a right to such homage, and that among a free people merit never fails of its reward.

“We beg you to receive our sincere wishes for your health and happiness. We daily address our prayers to heaven that your noble example may encourage the wise men of all nations and support them in the contest which they are carrying on for the liberty of the world.”

In his reply General Lafayette expressed his joy at again seeing America happy after so long an absence, and his thanks for the reception they had given him.

In concluding he said, “I thank you citizens for having thought of me while I was among scenes of which you have desired to preserve the memory. The approbation of a free, virtuous, and enlightened people, is the best recompense which he can receive who values nothing but true glory. This reward is still more welcome when it is offered to an adopted son.”

Numerous plaudits and unanimous acclamations interrupted him, and attested that he was adopted by all their hearts.

The General was afterwards presented to the governor of the state of New Hampshire, Mr. Morill, who had come express from his residence to receive him, which he did in the name of the state. After he had been presented to the governor, he was surrounded by a great number of his companions in arms, among whom he recognized General Smith, who had served three years under his command as captain of light infantry. While they were felicitating each other very cordially on meeting again, they were interrupted by another revolutionary soldier, who with tears of affection, told aloud, how, during the war, the *Marquis* had rendered him many personal services. The General had great difficulty in interrupting this recital which greatly embarrassed him, yet excited a lively interest among the spectators.

On going to take possession of our lodgings, which had been prepared in the house of the late governor of New Hampshire, Mr. Langdon, we met several Indians in the streets. They were the first I had seen; and excited my curiosity so much that I could not conceal it. Some of the members of the committee who accompanied us went out; and I owed it to their politeness that I saw a dozen of those

savage inhabitants of the forests of Canada enter our lodgings almost as soon as ourselves. I heard that they had come from the great lakes to exchange skins for gew-gaws and liquor. I confess I found in them little that corresponded with the idea I had formed of these children of nature. Their clothes presented only an aspect of wretchedness; crosses and chaplets had replaced their beautiful head-dresses of feathers, their furs and arms; their copper-coloured countenances, had no longer that expression of noble pride which is said so remarkably to distinguish man in a savage state; and their manners appeared at first affected, but soon betrayed servility or self-interest. They talked to us of baptism and confession, as their fathers spoke, no doubt, of Manitou. In a word, it seemed to me as if these poor wretches had only changed superstitions, and that civilization had communicated to them only its vices, without counteracting them with its benefits. I was in fact assured that the greater part of them had become indolent, drunkards, and thieves, without losing any of their ignorance. An old man, who seemed to be their chief, and who spoke a little French, informed us that his tribe was settled in Canada. To the question we asked, whether he was pleased to live near the English, he replied, that he liked the French very much. They then told him we were French; when he and his companions immediately shook hands with us very cordially. There were several women with them, some of whom had nursing infants. They appeared very miserable, and none of them good-looking.

While we were conversing with our civilized Indians, a new procession was preparing, to conduct General Lafayette to the marine establishment. He proceeded thither a few minutes after, but his son and myself could not accompany him. The desire of taking advantage of a certain and direct opportunity to send news to our friends in France, made us determine to remain at our lodgings, and write our letters. We however regretted that we were not able to see the marine establishment, which we were told was very fine and quite extensive.

The remainder of the day was occupied by a public dinner, at which all the authorities and a great number of citizens were present, as well as Mr. Salazar, Chargé d'affaires from the republic of Colombia, for the United States.\*

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\* Mr. Salazar, whose conversation proved him to be a man deeply

After dinner we attended a ball, where more than 400 ladies were introduced to General Lafayette. We left the ball at midnight, only to enter our coaches to return to Boston, where the companions of our journey from New York awaited us; but, before I give an account of our route, I must devote a few pages to the history, constitution, and present condition of the State of New Hampshire, of which, Portsmouth is the most considerable town in regard to its population, which is more than 700 souls, and its commerce, which is very extensive.

The state of New Hampshire is situated between  $42^{\circ} 41'$ , and  $45^{\circ} 14'$  of north latitude, and between  $4^{\circ} 29'$  and  $6^{\circ} 10'$  of longitude east of Washington. Its surface is about 9280 square miles; its form is that of a trapezium, whose base is towards the south; it is bounded on the north by Lower Canada, on the south by Massachusetts, east by Maine, and the ocean, and west by Connecticut river, which separates it from Vermont. The coast is only about 18 miles in extent, and is generally sandy and slightly undulated. In the interior are found elevations of considerable altitude: the loftiest are the White mountains. The largest lakes and streams are lakes Unbagog and Winnipiseogee, and Connecticut, Merrimac, and Piscataqua rivers. It may be said that all the soil of New Hampshire is of primitive formation. It is generally fertile; but the most productive parts are on the borders of the streams, which, in their inundations, deposit a very rich loam. On the sea shore great quantities of an herb, called salt-grass, are collected, which is very good for cattle. The most productive mines are those of iron, in the neighbourhood of Franconia, and at Enfield. Native silver is also said to be found, in small fibres, among the mountains in the west, but in very small quantities, and obtained only at great expence. Black lead is quite abundant in the neighbourhood of Sutton, and near Monadnock mountain.

The hot weather in summer is short, but excessive. With regard to the cold it must be severe, as Winnipiseogee lake, which is 24 miles long, is frozen three months of the year, so hard as to bear heavy carriages. The climate is

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instructed in republican institutions, and entirely devoted to them, completely gained our hearts, by giving a toast to Mr. Destutt de Tracy, and by proclaiming the happy influence produced by his writings in both hemispheres.

however very healthful, and examples of longevity are not rare. Persons of above one hundred years of age are often seen.

New Hampshire was discovered in 1614, by Captain Smith; and the first settlements, composed of fishermen and farmers, were made on the Piscataqua, in 1623. They collected under Massachusetts in 1641. Questions concerning titles to the land bought of the Indians led to the separation of those two provinces in 1692. In 1727, New Hampshire adopted her first constitution, and fixed her boundary between her and Massachusetts. In 1765, the people opposed with energy the stamp-act; and subsequently engaged in the revolutionary war, in which they conducted, with perseverance and vigour, to its termination. The state of New Hampshire was the ninth in voting for the adoption of the new federal constitution of the United States, through the channel of her legislature, in which it was carried by a majority of 11: the number of voters being 300. The new constitution was adopted in 1792. It was preceded by a declaration of rights, and recognized three powers: the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary.

The legislative power resides in a senate and a house of representatives, which together compose the general court or assembly; and each branch possesses a negative on the other. Bills for the payment of money originate in the house of representatives, but may be amended by the senate; who try impeachments.

The senate consists of thirteen senators, elected every year by such citizens as pay taxes. The qualifications necessary for a candidate are: first—To be thirty years of age; secondly—To possess in the state property to the amount of £200; thirdly—To have lived in the state for seven years preceding the election, and to reside in the district.

The house of Representatives is composed of deputies from the different towns, the number of which is proportioned to the population, at the rate of one representative to every one hundred and fifty taxable inhabitants, at least twenty-one years of age; and two for every four hundred and fifty, thus increasing three hundred for each additional representative. The election is made by ballot; and no one is qualified to be chosen, who does not possess property of the value of one hundred pounds within his district, half

of which must be personal. He is also required to be an inhabitant of the district at the time of his election, and to have lived in the state two years. Every male inhabitant twenty-one years of age, excepting paupers or persons exempted from taxes at their own request, has a right to vote for senators and representatives.

The Executive power is confided to the Governor and five Counsellors. The Governor is chosen for one year, by all the citizens twenty-one years of age, who pay taxes ; and if two persons have an equal number of votes, the choice is determined in the two Chambers by ballot. To be elected Governor, a man must be thirty years old, have been a resident of the state for seven years before the election, possess property worth five hundred pounds, half of which must be real estate and situated in the state. The Governor is commander in chief of the land and sea forces ; he appoints the Attorney General and other officers of justice, with the consent of the council of state, which he calls together at his pleasure. He has the power of pardoning convicts, excepting such as have been condemned by the senate on an impeachment by the Chamber. He signs all commissions, which are afterwards countersigned by his secretary.

The counsellors are also chosen by all the taxable inhabitants above twenty-one years of age ; and the same qualifications are required of them as for Governor ; with this difference, however, that at least three hundred pounds of the property must be in real estate. The secretary, the treasurer and comptroller general, are chosen by ballot by the senate and representatives. The treasurer of the county, and the register of deeds, are appointed by the inhabitants of the district.

The representatives in Congress are chosen by the inhabitants, assembled in the towns ; and their votes are sent to the secretary, who opens them before the General Court. The candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency are chosen in the same manner. The two senators in Congress are elected by the General Court.

The judiciary power is composed of a superior court of four judges ; who make two circuits annually through the counties ; an inferior court, with the same number of judges, in each county, which sits four times a year ; a court of general sessions ; judges of the peace who sit at the same time ; a court for the verification of acts, composed of a



single judge, which sits every month in each county ; a justices' court. The judges are appointed by the Governor and Council, and continue in office to the age of seventy years. If accused of state crimes, they may be prosecuted, at the demand of the legislature.

The jury, composed of twelve freeholders, whose unanimous opinion determines in all affairs, is chosen by the municipal council from among the inhabitants possessing property of fifty pounds. The names of one third of these members are put into a box, and those of two thirds into another ; from the former are drawn the juries for the interior court, which is held by the register of the town in a public assembly. The general court is authorized to reform the judiciary system, as it judges fit or proper for the public good ; to give to justices of the peace jurisdiction in civil causes not involving real estate, and in which the damages do not exceed four pounds ; with the right of appeal to another court and a jury.

The Chief Justice receives 1500 dollars a year. The judges receive 1200 dollars each. The sheriffs, like the judges, cannot remain in office after seventy years of age, nor act nor receive titles as lawyers or counsel of a party, or make civil prosecution, while in the exercise of their functions.

All civil and military officers take the following oath : " I do solemnly and sincerely swear and affirm, that I will faithfully and impartially discharge and perform all the duties incumbent on me as ———, according to the best of my abilities, agreeably to the rules and regulations of the constitution and the laws of the state of New Hampshire. So help me God."

If the officer be a Quaker, he adds to his oath, " This I do under the pains and penalties of perjury."

The financial organization is no less economical nor liberal. Every town names one or more receivers, to whom are sent the different tax lists, with full powers to seize, in case of necessity, the property and persons of delinquents. If any one refuses to make known the condition of his taxable property, the municipal authority is authorized to fix the sum to be paid the state, according to their judgment. County taxes are apportioned by the judges of the court, which meet four times a year, and the proportion to be paid by each town is specified in the order of the county treasurer. In the month of April of each year, a new census

is made of the taxable property ; all this property is taxed at six per cent, on the value of the income, excepting untill- ed land, and houses, which pay only a half per cent. on their real value. Mills and boats are taxed a twelfth of their annual revenue ; the funds invested in commerce according to their real value ; and money at interest, at three-fourths per cent.

The debt the state contracted in 1814, which amounted with interest, to more than 30,000 dollars, has been paid ; and there are now considerable funds in the bank of the United States.

The wisdom and economy of the administration, and the uprightness of the government, have produced these effects. The happy condition of New Hampshire, is not to be doubted: it is attested by the diffusion of intelligence, by the wealth of commerce, the prosperity of agriculture, and the rapid increase of the population. This increase, in spite of the constant emigration of men from the North to the new countries in the South and West, is still more remarkable. In 1755, the population was about 34,000 souls ; in 1790, it was 141,885 ; in 1800, it was 183,851 ; in 1810, it was 214,460 ; and it now amounts to 244,161. Among this number, there about eight hundred persons of colour : as for slaves, I do not enumerate them. Although there is no special law against slavery, the philanthropic spirit of the inhabitants, and their interest well understood, have operated with justice against that monstrous system ; and it may be said, that there are no slaves in New Hampshire at the present day ; indeed, we might say, that there are no slaves in the states which form what was formerly denominated New England. This population of 244,161 souls, furnishes 52,384 pair of hands for agriculture ; 8,699 for manufactures, and 1,068 to commerce.

The state of New Hampshire can place nearly 25,000 men under arms, by taking them only from the class of citizens between sixteen and forty-five years of age. This armed force may be considerably increased, in case of need, by men not on the alarm list. That list is formed of men between forty-five and sixty years of age, and all who are exempt from ordinary service, by the regulations relating to the formation of the militia. The exemptions are the same as in Massachusetts.

I have remarked that in the state of New Hampshire the diffusion of knowledge is extensive. This advantage of a

good system of general education is due to the care of the government, and the foresight of the constitution, which prescribes to legislators and magistrates always to consider it a sacred duty to watch over the interests of learning and science, and the public schools; to encourage private institutions, to grant rewards and privileges for the promotion of agriculture, the arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and the natural history of the country.

As in all the rest of the Union, absolute liberty in matters of religion is declared by the constitution a natural and inalienable right, no person can be disturbed or troubled on account of his religious opinions, and the law recognizes no dominant sect. All the ministers of the different communions have an equal right to the protection of the government, and receive their salaries from their parishioners, whose esteem they are obliged to seek; and that cannot be enjoyed without setting a virtuous example; manners are therefore naturally pure, marriages common, and celibacy not much esteemed. It is a rare thing in a town to find a bachelor more than thirty years of age. The females generally marry young; and it is not uncommon to see a mother and daughter with young infants at the same time: while the grandfather, the son and the grandson may sometimes be found working together in the field.

It appeared to me that there still remained many things for me to learn concerning the state of New Hampshire: but the General having promised to make a second visit there in the following spring, I shall take advantage of it to collect such information as I have not been able to obtain during so short a stay.

*September 2d.*—On leaving the ball-room, we entered our coaches to return to Boston, where the companions of our journey from New York expected us. Having reached there at two o'clock, we set off again at four, by the way of Lexington, Lancaster, Worcester, Tolland and Hartford. In each of those places the General received from the inhabitants expressions of the affections with which they warmly regarded him, but to which he had hardly time to reply, we travelled at so rapid a rate. We slept the first night at the delightful country house of Mr. Wilder, whose friendly hospitality will never be erased from our memory. On the second night we slept at Stafford, after witnessing brilliant fetes at Worcester; and on the fourth, at ten in the morning, arrived at Hartford, a handsome

commercial town, situated on the western branch of Connecticut river, forty miles from its source.\* Its population is 4,726 souls, and it divides with New Haven the advantages of seat of government of Connecticut.

General Lafayette made his entrance into Hartford, preceded by a numerous escort of militia, and welcomed by the whole population, with the most lively expressions of veneration and tenderness. The municipal corps went to meet him, and the mayor made him a speech. We were then conducted, with great pomp, to the State House, where he was received by Governor Wolcot, who, in welcoming him in the name of the state, said :

“DEAR GENERAL—I am very happy again to salute you in this happy capital of Connecticut, where a virtuous and enlightened people have long enjoyed the republican institutions they have founded, under the mild administration of magistrates elected, every year, by their suffrages. The principles for which you have plead in council, and contested in the field of battle, are here triumphant; and we hope, with the assistance of Heaven, to transmit them, in all their purity, to our latest posterity.

“These principles are now diffused and adopted throughout all that part of our continent which extends from the ocean to the elevated plains of the Missouri, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico: over those vast regions our sons and daughters, the sources of an immense population, are already giving a rapid progress to science, religion, manufactures, and all the arts that perpetuate and embellish powerful nations. Learning and commerce are every day adding to our strength and our resources. We have formed an alliance with all those superior spirits, who have come hither, from all countries of the civilized world, to enjoy that freedom of thought and action, to which we are so much habituated that we should be unable to live without them. Wherever you go, you will be received by patriots who shared your glorious labours, or by their children who appreciate your benefits. You will also meet many brave Frenchmen, whom revocations and proscriptions have sent hither to seek that liberty they were denied in their country. All unite in recognizing in you the benefactor of the United States and humanity, and spontaneously join in blessing you, and praying heaven that, after a long life, it will grant you a glorious immortality.”

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\* This should be forty miles from its *mouth*.—*Translator*.

After this speech, to which the General returned a feeling reply, numerous presentations took place, of all the persons who were able to enter the hall. The assembly were hardly able to restrain their emotion, when they saw approaching the aged General Wadsworth, having on his shoulders the epaulettes that General Lafayette wore at the battle of the Brandywine, where he was wounded, and the sash in which he was removed from the field. The sash still bore some marks of his blood. These articles had been given to General Swift after the peace, and his family has religiously preserved them, in memory of him who once had borne them, and of the cause which he had defended.

At the moment of our leaving the State House, General Lafayette found himself in the midst of eight hundred children from the public schools, who presented him a golden medal, on which was written: "The children of Hartford, to Lafayette. September fourth, 1824."

After having passed through several streets strewed with flowers, we reached the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. About sixty unfortunate young persons ranged in a line, awaited, in the profound and eternal silence to which they had been condemned by a terrible natural calamity, the arrival of General Lafayette. When they saw him, they pointed with a gesture of the hand towards their hearts, where was a legend bearing these words: "What the nation express, we feel." At their head was their instructor, Mr. Clerc, a pupil of the Abbé Sicard, and rival of Massieu. General Lafayette experienced a lively pleasure in seeing that young Frenchman, whom the love of liberty and of humanity has led to that country, where he is rendering the most important services.

When General Lafayette had reviewed the militia, who were assembled under the command of Colonel Johnson, and taken leave of the magistrates and inhabitants of Hartford, he was conducted on board the steamboat *Oliver Ellsworth*, by a detachment of 100 veterans of the revolution preceded by the music of the militia. After receiving the last farewell of his old companions in arms, the boat pushed off, and we began to descend the Connecticut. That river, which takes its rise between Lower Canada and New Hampshire, a little above the 45th parallel of latitude, serves as a boundary between that state and Vermont, and passes through the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

from north to south: its length is about three hundred miles. Although in many places scattered with rocks, it is navigable for boats almost to its source, and large vessels easily go up nearly fifty miles. It receives, in its course, a great number of small tributaries, and empties into Long Island Sound, about thirty miles east of New Haven. The banks are said to be beautiful and fertile, but we had hardly any opportunity to see them. A little after we left Hartford, our vessel stopped opposite Middletown, a pretty little town, where a great deal of manufacturing is carried on, situated on the right bank. The sound of cannon, and the acclamations of numerous people who covered the shore, warned Lafayette of the impatience with which he was awaited by the inhabitants of Middletown. He went on shore to express to them his thanks; and he was not able to return on board the *Oliver Ellsworth* until near 7 o'clock: so that we were soon enveloped in darkness, which concealed from our view the handsome houses which ornament the whole course of the Connecticut. We were able however to judge of their number, by that of the lights which appeared on our right and left like a multitude of stars shining in the obscurity.

When day appeared we had left the river, and we passed through the strait of Long Island, commonly called East River. We had Long Island on our left, and the state of New York on our right. Wherever we turned our eyes they rested pleasantly upon elegant country houses, or on farms whose aspect announced happiness and plenty. Although the sun was still very near the horizon, when I went upon deck, I found a great number of ladies already sitting at the windows of their houses, waiting the passage of the vessel which they knew was to bring General Lafayette to New York. As soon as our flag was known, it was saluted by the most affecting acclamations, and by signals of the most amiable affection.

While I was breathing the fresh air of the morning with pleasure, which is always a little sharp on the borders of the sea, and my eyes were contemplating with delight that delicious harmony of nature in its beauty, and rich and free industry, I was accosted by one of our travelling companions, an old revolutionary soldier, who had come with us from Hartford, and who, as he said, had not been able to close his eyes all night, so much had he been agitated by the happiness of seeing his old General again. I requested of

him some information concerning the most remarkable dwellings that presented themselves to my view, and he replied with much politeness, and in such a manner as convinced me that the navigation of that strait was familiar to him. To the question I put to him, of whether he had ever visited Long Island, he replied, "O certainly! but it is now a long while. It was in 1776; and but for the skill of our worthy General Washington, it is probable that first visit to Long Island would also have been the last, and that my bones would now have been resting there in peace. That would have been a pity however, for I should not have enjoyed the pleasure I have this day, of shaking hands with him who has done so much for the independence of my country,"—and I saw a tear of tenderness and gratitude roll from the eyelashes of the old patriot. After a few moments of silence, encouraged by his frank and heart-felt manners, I inquired of him how that first visit occurred, to which he appeared to attach so many recollections. "It was thus," said he, taking me by the arm, and making me turn towards Long Island which appeared as if rapidly passing from before our eyes like a moving panorama. "In 1776 I was not a child, as you may well suppose on seeing my bald forehead and my grey hairs. I served in the continental army, and my regiment formed a part of the forces sent to defend Long Island.\* On the 17th of August, the English and Hessians, to the number of about 24,000, protected by the artillery of their ships, landed on the island. We were hardly 10,000 fighting men; and so situated that the greater part had no share in the engagement. The action was however warm, and our resistance resolute; although the enemy had all the advantages of discipline and experience. The attack of the English was conducted with science and bravery; but I will venture to say, that if we were less skilful, our courage obtained us the respect of our enemies. We were soon surrounded: some were taken and the rest retired, leaving in their hands the victory and our two generals, Sullivan and Sterling. We lost from 1000 to 1200 men, and the English perhaps more.

After this unfortunate engagement, we went to intrench ourselves in our lines at Brooklyn, where we were not in safety. Fatigued and discouraged by our defeat, having in front of us an army superior in force and emboldened by

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\* Thatcher's Journal.

success, knowing that a numerous squadron was preparing to cut off our retreat by entering the East River, we perceived that we could not escape complete destruction, unless by the care of Providence and the sagacity of our general. Washington determined to withdraw us from this dangerous position. Taking advantage of the darkness of night, he crossed the East River in person, on the 29th of August, and visited us in our lines. His presence reanimated our hopes and our courage; we gave ourselves up to his direction, and our retreat was conducted with a degree of skill alone sufficient to rank him among the first of generals. It is true, that in this circumstance Providence gave us a remarkable evidence of his protection. A thick mist enveloped Long Island during the whole night, so that our motions were entirely concealed from the enemy, although the atmosphere towards New York was clear and bright. We passed so near the enemy that we distinctly heard the noise of their workmen preparing for an attack on the next morning. Before break of day, the report was spread that 9000 men, with their baggage, magazines, horses, and munitions of war, had passed the river at a place where it is more than a mile wide, without the loss of a single man. One hour after we had entered New York the mist was dissipated as if by enchantment, and showed us the English entering our lines with caution, where they were surprised to find no one."

During the recital of the old soldier, almost all his travelling companions had come upon deck, and had collected around us. The conversation soon became general. Much was said of Long-Island, the elegance and richness of its country seats, where the inhabitants of New York are fond of resorting, to enjoy retirement, and the fresh sea air, during the oppressive heat of the summer. I learned that that Island, formerly called by the Indians "Mattawack," (*Warden*, vol. 2d.) is one hundred and forty miles in length, and of a breadth varying from one to fifteen miles. It is the largest island between Florida and Cape Sable. That side which is washed by the ocean is flat, sandy, and encroached upon by a number of bays. The greater part of the surface is level; and the soil is composed of a blackish, spongy earth, with a foundation of sand, which absorbs the rain, and is not favorable to vegetation. Dr. Mitchell, the translator of Cuvier's *Work on the theory of the earth*, has remarked, that a bed of sea-sand extends the



whole length of the island, at the depth of from thirty to fifty feet, in which oyster and clam shells have been found, as well as pieces of wood, in digging wells. A line of hills which crosses the island, from New-Utrecht, on the west end, to Southold on the east, rises, at Harbours Hill to more than three hundred and nineteen feet above the level of the sea. Notwithstanding the bad quality of the soil, it contains perhaps the finest nursery of fruit trees in the United States. It is cultivated by Mr. Prince, a skilful horticulturist and nursery man, whose intelligent zeal renders just services to his country, and will, I doubt not, be very useful in Europe, where many learned men now seek his correspondence.

It was about noon when we arrived in the port of New York. General Lafayette expected to enter the city without parade : but the flags and pendants borne by the *Oliver Ellsworth*, betrayed his approach ; and the *Franklin*, ship of the line, which lay on the route, saluted him with thirteen guns. This was a signal for the citizens of New York ; and when we approached Fulton wharf, we found the whole population, who received him as on the day of his arrival, and accompanied him, with acclamations, to the City Hotel, where we found our lodgings as we had left them.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Festival given by the Cincinnati Society—Origin and Laws of that Society—Visit to the Public Institutions—Sword presented by a Regiment of Militia—Dinner given by the French in New York—Fete at Castle Garden.

On returning to New York General Lafayette had learned, that the members the Cincinnati Society designed, on the following day, to celebrate the sixth of September, the anniversary of their formation ; and he received an invitation to dine with them, which he accepted. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we saw a long file of old men arrive, marching to and fro, holding each other by the arm, to lend a mutual assistance rendered necessary by a weight of years. They were preceded by a military band, which made vain efforts to regulate the cadence of their tottering steps. We descended immediately among them, and they

received us among their ranks, attached to the button hole of Lafayette, a decoration of the order of Cincinnatus which had formerly been borne by Washington, and we took up our march for the hotel where dinner had been prepared. It was truly an affecting sight which was presented by those aged soldiers, glorious reliques of the war of independence, having among them the companion of Washington, the adopted son of America. The crowd of people that filled the streets we passed, expressed by their serious and silent attitudes, the respect inspired by the sight of the procession. The hall prepared for the feast was decorated with trophies of arms, bearing the names of the chief heroes who died for liberty during the revolutionary war. The dinner was animated by the frank and cordial joy of those old soldiers, who took delight in recalling the dangers in which they had participated. I had the pleasure of being seated by the side of Colonel Fish, who commanded, at Yorktown, a battalion of those intrepid militiamen who, under the orders of General Lafayette, entered the English entrenchments with arms in hand. He had the kindness to recount to me the details of that glorious action, and even of those of the whole campaign. The liveliness of his recital made me forget his seventy years; and the interesting traits of patriotism with which he interspersed his narrative highly pleased me. "I know very well," he said to me in closing, "that that campaign cannot be compared with your campaigns in Germany and Italy, any more than our fatigues and privations with your disasters at Moscow." "Neither," said I, "can your results to ours: you have gained by conquest happiness and liberty; and we, we have rivetted our own chains, and those of all Europe." This painful reflection embittered, for an instant, the happiness I enjoyed at that repast of gratitude and patriotism.

Nearly at the close of the dinner, a curtain, suddenly raised, exhibited, at the bottom of the hall, a large transparent painting of Washington and Lafayette, with hands united before the altar of liberty, receiving a civic crown from the hands of America. This sight produced among the company new feelings of joy, the expression of which was suspended by the powerful voice of Colonel Swartwout, who abruptly began to read the order of the day, at Yorktown, of October 17th, 1781. "Honour to the French Division of Baron Viomesnil! They yesterday carried a

redoubt ! Honour to the American Division of General Lafayette ! At the same moment they carried another redoubt, and to-morrow will first commence the assault !” These words were received by prolonged huzzas ; and the hall re-echoed with three cheers. But the assembly was now reduced to sentiments of a different nature, by the enfeebled voice of General Lamb, who read a ballad composed in 1792, during the captivity of Lafayette, in the dungeons of Austria, and which was at that time very popular in America.

TUNE—*Belisarius.*

And beside his cheerful fire,  
 'Midst his happy family,  
 Sat a venerable sire,  
 Tears were starting in his eye—  
 Selfish blessings were forgot,  
 While he thought on Fayette's lot :  
 Once so happy on our plains,  
 Now in poverty and chains.

Fayette ! cried he, honour'd name ;  
 Dear to these far distant shores,  
 Fayette, fir'd by freedom's flame,  
 Bled to make that freedom ours.  
 What, alas ! for thee remains ;  
 What but poverty and chains ?

Soldiers ! in the field of death  
 Was not Fayette foremost there ?  
 Cold and shivering on the heath,  
 Did ye not his bounty share ?  
 What for this your friend remains  
 What but poverty and chains ?

Born to honour, ease and wealth,  
 See him sacrifice them all ;  
 Sacrificing even health  
 At our country's glorious call ;  
 What reward for this remains ;  
 What but poverty and chains ?

Thus with laurels on his brow,  
 Belisarius begged his bread ;  
 Thus from Carthage forc'd to go.

Hannibal an exile fled.  
 Fayette now at once sustains  
 Exile, poverty, and chains.  
 Courage, child of Washington,  
 Though thy fate disastrous seems :  
 We have seen the setting sun  
 Rise and burn with brighter beams.  
 Thy country soon shall break thy chain  
 And take thee to her arms again.

The advanced hour of the night, and the necessity of putting an end to the fatigue necessarily produced by emotions so deep as those which we had experienced during this family festival, obliged us to separate. After returning to the City Hall I recollected that I had often, in Europe, heard the *order of Cincinnatus* spoken of. I even remembered that I had heard it violently attacked by some persons, as tending to destroy republican equality, by creating privileges, and cited by others to justify the existence of orders of chivalry, or those privileged ones which are established by the European monarchies. What I had seen, however, and heard of the Cincinnati society since my arrival in the United States, had not proved to me the existence of an order created or tolerated by the laws, and destructive of equality : but in order to dissipate all my doubts on the subject, I on the following day enquired of one of the party of the preceding evening, who came to visit Lafayette. He replied by presenting me with a little pamphlet containing the origin and rules of the "Society of Cincinnatus." The reading of that little print proved to me that either ignorance or falsehood had misrepresented in Europe, the character of this society, which is no more a privileged society in the United States, than is, in Paris, a benevolent association, or the Bible Society in England. The Cincinnati Society is nothing more than a free association of old officers of the Revolutionary army, who united for the twofold object of perpetuating the memory of their patriotic labours, and to administer to the assistance of those whose age, infirmities or want demand it. As to the ribbon and medal adopted by the society, they are to be regarded only as an ornament worn by the members at their meetings, and not as decorations authorized or sanctioned by the government. Further, in order to enlighten those who seriously seek for truth on this subject, I shall here insert the statutes and regulations of the society.

They were proposed to the officers of the army in 1783. The different regiments assembled or met to take them into consideration, and appointed a council to examine and discuss them anew. On the 13th of May of that year, appeared the declaration, dated at the Cantonments of the American army on the banks of the Hudson.

[Here follow several pages, devoted to this subject which are omitted, as not possessing novelty enough in the United States, to excuse their insertion in this place.]

The Society of Cincinnatus, as is seen in its laws, presents nothing alarming to equal rights, as it lays claim to no privilege. From every part of the Union, however, accusations were raised against it, reproaching the founders of the society with having desired, under the pretence of beneficence and patriotic recollections, to sow the seeds of hereditary nobility. It is difficult at present to determine whether the founders, or at least some of them, had or had not apprehended that some after thought might arise out of this proposition: but it is certain that the article in the regulations which renders the son successor to his father, was such a thing as might give umbrage to republicans, so jealous of their liberties as the Americans. Every one zealously attacked the absurd principle of hereditary descent, which found enemies on all sides. Among the writings which at that time appeared on the subject, was a letter of Franklin's which was read with the greatest attention, and soon became public, although it was addressed to his daughter, who had sent to him in France, papers announcing the formation of the Society of Cincinnatus. This letter, which displays all the tierceness and the originality of its author, contains arguments at once so conclusive and so witty against the hereditary rights of a nobility, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting it.—(omitted.)

The opinion of Franklin and that of the public did not prevent the formation of the Society of Cincinnatus, but reduced it to its proper standard: that is to say, every one regarded it as a benevolent society, and with pleasure paid a tribute of respect to the members, who had acquired the right of belonging to it by their former services, and their personal characters. But the principle of hereditary nobility was condemned to such discredit, that very few of the children of revolutionary officers dare to succeed their fathers: and in some states they are not premitted.

The days succeeding our return were partly devoted to

visiting the public institutions, and the forts which protect the port and roads of New York. The most remarkable among the latter is Fort Lafayette, which is situated at the entrance of the road, near the point of Long Island, and which easily makes a cross fire with the opposite fort, erected on Staten Island. The officers of the garrison, composed of a detachment of the regular army of the United States, gave the General a cordial reception, showed us all the interesting details of the fort, which has the immense advantage of having bomb proofs, without being exposed to the inconvenience of the smoke of the guns, that passes out freely by the galleries, which are open upon the interior and the coast. The rain which fell in abundance, did not allow us to examine the other forts with so much attention.

Among all the public schools visited by General Lafayette, that which excited the most lively interest was the "Free School of Young Africans," founded and directed by the society for the emancipation of the blacks. The General was accompanied to the school, as he had been at the others, by a great number of ladies, who all bestowed assiduous care on those institutions. There it was announced to him, that he had been elected a member of the society at the same time with Mr. Grenville Sharp and Mr. Thomas Clarkson. The appointment too well corresponded with his character and known opinions relating to the slavery of the blacks, not to give him a deep feeling. Immediately afterwards, a young black child approached, and addressed him with spirit in the following manner: "You see, General, several hundreds of poor children of the African race, now before you. They participate here in the benefits of education with the whites, and they like them learn to cherish the memory of the services you have rendered to America. They also revere in you an ardent friend of the emancipation of our race, and a worthy member of the society to which we owe so much gratitude."

It would require much time, and would be very difficult for me, to give precise details concerning the benevolent establishments of New York. They are very numerous; and as every one of them is the production of a society or of a private exertion, it would be necessary, if one wished to make them well known, to give the history of each. It may be said, in general terms, of them all, that they are under the protection, and not under the influence of the government. The greater part of the administration em

ployments are performed without appointments or honours, by men who regard their nomination to these employments as honourable testimonies of public esteem, and who fill them with corresponding zeal and probity. There is generally no salary paid, unless to persons in an inferior employment, or in details which require the sacrifice of the whole time of the person employed. The greater part of these establishments are founded either by societies or by legacies; they are supported by public subscriptions, or by assistance from the government. Thus, for example, in looking through the register of the House or Asylum for orphans, which was founded in 1806, we perceive that this establishment received, in the course of the year 1822, five hundred dollars from the Legislature of the state; two hundred and eighty seven dollars as its part of the funds allowed to public schools throughout the state, and 1430 dollars from private subscriptions: five hundred dollars in interest on a legacy from Mr. Jacob Sherred; twenty five dollars in interest on a legacy made by Mrs. Maria Williams: three hundred and ninety dollars in anonymous subscriptions; one hundred and seventeen dollars given by the Magdalen Society; nineteen dollars in work done by the children, &c., &c., besides a great number of individual presents, such as books, cloths, buttons, clothes, fruit, combs, &c. Whatever be the nature or value of the gifts, they are received by the directors, who scrupulously register them, with the names of the donors. By the aid of those contributions, wisely employed, this Asylum, between 1806 and 1822, received and educated four hundred and forty children, two hundred and forty three of whom are now placed in situations, useful both to themselves and to society.

In the Poor House there are more than 1000 individuals of both sexes and all ages.

The Great Hospital of New York may contain nearly 2000 sick. Foreigners, although under the same treatment, are placed in a separate wing of the building.

In all those establishments we were struck with the cleanliness of the wards, the whiteness of the linen, the good quality of the food, and above all, with the mild and affectionate conduct of those employed in them, towards the persons intrusted to their care. It was easily to be seen, that the directors were animated by something more valuable than salaries; the esteem of the public.

The persons who accompanied us, and who seemed well

informed assured us that there are in the city of New York more than forty charitable and philanthropic societies, whose common zeal greatly contributes to the support of the institutions we had visited, and the assistance of private sufferers.

After having visited the Academy of Arts, where among a great number of casts, engravings, and paintings, there is hardly any thing remarkable except the collection of pictures by Trumbull, and the collection of engravings sent to the Academy by Napoleon. We went to the Public Library; it contains more than 20,000 volumes, the choice of which has been directed by taste, and every thing appeared to us in very good order. The public are admitted every day except Sundays; but no one is allowed to take books home, except the subscribers, who are five hundred in number.

During this second visit to New York, we also went several times to the two theatres: but it would be very difficult for me to express an opinion of them, as every time that General Lafayette appeared, he became the object of attention to such a degree, and the tumult raised by the expressions of joy by the spectators was so great, that it was impossible for the actors to continue their performance. They were not allowed to be heard afterwards, except in singing verses in honour of the "Companion of Washington, the Captive of Olmutz, or the Guest of the Nation." Persons of taste of whom I made inquiries, have informed me, that the representations at those theatres commonly consist of English pieces, and that individuals of distinction are generally to be found among the performers. Those two theatres are evidently too small for a numerous population, and their construction does not correspond with the wealth or beauty of the city of New York. The citizens very reasonably remark, that they ought to provide for necessity before they can think of luxury or pleasure: it has been necessary for them to attend to useful things, and they would have been much mortified if strangers were not more struck with the commodiousness and beauty of their buildings for public utility, than the elegance of their theatres.\*

On the 9th, we were present at a religious concert, given in St. Paul's Church, where the General heard, on his en-

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\* Since that time, they have built a new theatre, which is said to be convenient and elegant.



trance, the piece of music known by the name of the Marseilles Hymn, which was composed, as is well known, for the army of the Rhine, by a nephew of Bailley. The audience assembled, was remarkable for the number and beauty of the ladies. The different pieces we heard performed, were executed with a whole effect which I had never heard, till that time, in the choirs or orchestras of the United States; for, it must be acknowledged, music is there as yet in its infancy. On the one hand, the English language is far from musical; and on the other, the Americans, up to the present time, have had little time to devote to the cultivation of the elegant arts. They have as yet, no schools for music: they have indeed some foreign artists, who exert themselves to diffuse a taste for the art; but they generally obtain access only to very wealthy families, which have given up lucrative occupations; and such are almost as rare as the professors themselves. On leaving St. Paul's church, we went to the Park, in front of the City Hall, where the firemen had ranged themselves with their engines. The General passed them in review; after which, that militia of a new kind, though not less useful than those which are called to the defence of the soil, defiled with as much order as would have been shown by a division of artillery. We saw forty-six engines pass before us, each drawn and escorted by a company of about thirty men, commanded by a chief, armed with a speaking-trumpet. On every engine was placed a flag, with the colours and emblems of the company. Many of the standards displayed portraits of men whose names are dear to the people: above all was remarked an equestrian statue of Washington, and one of Lafayette. After all the engines were passed, we ascended to the balcony of the City Hall, where the General was addressed by the chief engineer in a speech; and from which we witnessed the manœuvring of the engines. They were all collected in a circle, in the middle of which had been formed a high pyramid of the fire-hooks and ladders. On the pyramid was placed a small building filled with combustible materials, which was set on fire, and, at a signal given, all the engines played at the same time, and struck upon it with such exactness, that it was extinguished in less than two minutes. On meeting at one point, all the streams of water formed a liquid dome, beautified with the colours of the rain-bow, which produced a most splendid effect.

On the 10th, we had engaged to dine with Colonel Fish.

We were going to his house at 4 o'clock, when, on stepping out of the hotel, we found the 9th regiment of artillery drawn up in a line, to escort General Lafayette to the residence of his friend. At the moment of our departure, Colonel Muir, the commander of the regiment, approached, and in the name of his comrades offered him a sword, richly wrought, and all the parts of which had been manufactured in New York. In returning his thanks to him, General Lafayette said:—"It is with pleasure and gratitude I receive this valuable present from a corps of citizen soldiers, each of whom knows, that steel was given to man to defend liberty where it exists, or to obtain it by conquest, where it has been destroyed by crowned, and privileged usurpers." This reply was received with applause; and the General was escorted by the regiment, and a numerous crowd of citizens, to the house of Colonel Fish. The day was concluded by a beautiful display of fireworks, given in honour of Lafayette, in a public garden.

On the following day the General was present, with his son, at a Masonic celebration of the Knights Templars, who escorted him to their lodge, and conferred upon him the highest dignities, of which they offered them richly wrought insignia. In the evening we dined with the French residents of New York, who wished to celebrate with their countrymen the 47th anniversary of the Battle of the Brandywine. The dinner was given at Washington Hall; and that patriotic and family fête, was marked with a character at once happy and original. Many Americans who were present, were struck with astonishment: the table, which was extremely wide, presented a plan in relief of the Grand Canal which traversing the state of New York, connects lake Erie with the ocean. That map, of a new species, occupied a length of seventy feet on the table, where it was cut into the thickness of the wood, and lined with lead. The canal was filled with very limpid water, bordered with the brightest verdure, representing meadows, from the midst of which appeared miniature houses, trees, and animals. Bridges, elegantly thrown across from side to side, masses of rock, under which flowed the canal, forests, in which serpentine paths lost themselves, all together formed an original representation of that topographical masterpiece. Above the centre of the table was an immense sun, in a state of constant rotation. Allegorical pictures, trophies, formed of French and American flags, completed this as-

semblage of beautiful decorations. Mr. Monneron presided at the dinner. After the repast, which was animated with frank and heart-felt enjoyment, a great number of toasts were drunk, all characterized by that firm patriotism which characterizes every thing said and done, in a country truly free. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of publishing a few of them here.

*By the Dinner Committee.*—"The United States: their national happiness is imperishable; it is founded on religion, industry and liberty."

*By the President.*—"General Lafayette. We are proud that he is a Frenchman." "Gentlemen! In the 14th century, the Lafayettes improved the condition of those who were then denominated *vassals*. In the 15th century, Marshal Lafayette drove the enemy from the French territory.—In the 16th century, Madmoiselle Lafayette was the image of beauty, virtue and charity.—In the 17th century, Madame Lafayette composed works which will be handed down to the latest posterity.—In the 18th century, General Lafayette was born. He was born the enemy of tyranny, and the devoted friend of liberty.

"During his youth, he contributed to support and defend the cradle of liberty in the United States; at a more advanced age, he appeared at the public tribune: he has spoken of liberty in Europe, as he has fought for it in America. From the tribune, he entered the ranks of his country's defenders. I saw him among the dangers of the revolution; his genius and self-possession never forsook him. Prompt in conceiving, ardent in executing, he ever fought for true liberty. I am an ocular and a faithful historian. Look at these trophies, these flags, these standards; on all of them is written, "Liberty, Victory, Lafayette."

To this toast, the General replied, by the following: "The memory of the Frenchmen who have died for true liberty, since 1789. Their manes require of us that so many sacrifices shall not be lost to their country."

*By Mr. Dias.*—"The memory of Riego, and of other martyrs for freedom."

"Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud."

*By Mr. Chevrolat.*—"France as I wish her to be without factious conspiracies; without corrupting ministers; without mercenary accusers; without that slow oppression which silently undermines her energy and vigour."

Some stanzas to Lafayette, fine, harmonious and patri-

otic, composed by Mr. Pillet, and read by Mr. Chegary, terminated the entertainment, by raising the enthusiasm of the company, who separated with cheers for *Liberty and Lafayette*.

The city of New York had been for several weeks occupied with preparations for a magnificent fete, designed to surpass in taste and splendour, every thing that had yet been done for Lafayette. The place of assembly selected, was a circular fort, about six hundred feet in circumference, called *Castle Garden*, formerly built for the defence of New York, on a mole in advance of the Battery, and now appropriated to public festivals. A bridge, three hundred feet in length, connects this fort with the Battery. We were to leave New York on the 14th, to make a voyage on the Hudson; and the Fete of Castle Garden took place on the 13th. We went there in the evening, lighted by illuminations. We found the bridge covered with rich carpets from one end to the other, and lined with a row of beautiful evergreen trees. From the middle of the bridge was raised a pyramid seventy-five feet high, illuminated with coloured lamps, and surmounted by a brilliant star, in the middle of which was read the name of Lafayette. In spite of all the magnificence of the approach, our astonishment and admiration were still further increased when we entered the fort. The hall which is about six hundred feet round, and about which was formed a vast amphitheatre, contained nearly six thousand persons. The vaulted roof, supported by a column sixty feet in height, was formed of the flags of all nations, mingled with symmetry and elegance. At the principal entrance was a triumphal arch of leaves and flowers, ornamented by a colossal statue of Washington, resting on pieces of cannon. In the middle stood the Genius of America, bearing a shield with these words: "To the Nation's Guest." Opposite the gate, on an alcove, was raised a pavillion richly decorated, ornamented with a bust of Hamilton; and before it were two pieces of cannon taken at Yorktown. That pavillion was intended for Lafayette. Around the hall thirteen columns bore the arms of the thirteen first states of the Confederation. The whole was lighted with more than one thousand lamps, the brilliancy of which was reflected by numerous coats of arms. As soon as the General appeared, Lafayette's march was played; and a burst of admiration and respect attended him to his seat. At the same instant, the curtains which formed

the sides of the hall, were rolled up like sails, and removed as suddenly as the scenes of a theatre, and the interior became visible to the crowd who had come round the mole in vessels and waited for the opportunity. The pure and brilliant moon lighted the bay, on which a thousand vessels and steamboats were moving. A few moments after the General had taken his place on the rich pavilion prepared for him, a large transparency was suddenly discovered opposite, which presented to him an exact picture of his seat at La Grange, with its wide ditches and fine Gothic towers, and the following inscription beneath: "His Home." General Lafayette was greatly affected by this delicate idea of his friends, who wished by presenting that picture, to give the entertainment the character of a family fete. Several times, during the evening, attempts were made to form a dance; but whenever the General made a motion to approach, the quadrilles were broken up in that direction, and were formed about him. The time appeared to us short in the midst of this delightful assembly; and we were very much surprised when we heard the signal for our departure at two o'clock. The steamboat which was to take us to Albany, was brought up to the mole to receive us on our leaving the ball. We embarked with the committee appointed to accompany the General, and a great number of ladies and citizens who were unwilling to be separated from him; and as many were received as the vessel was able to contain, Captain Allyn, who was to sail the next day for France, received our farewell on board, with our letters to our friends, and notwithstanding the darkness of the night, which had succeeded the light of the moon, we weighed anchor. We speedily lost sight of Castle Garden; and in place of the joyful sounds of music, we heard only the monotonous and regular noise of our steam engine, labouring against the rapid tide of the Hudson.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Navigation of the Hudson—Arnold's treachery—Military School of West Point—Newburgh—Poughkeepsie—Clermont—Catskill—Hudson—Albany—Troy—Return to New-York.

The steam boat James Kent, in which we embarked, had been prepared for this voyage with the greatest care, by the

committee appointed by the City of New York, to accompany General Lafayette ; but it had not been foreseen, that so great a number of ladies would be of the party, and it happened that most of the gentlemen were obliged to sleep on the deck, although the James Kent contains above one hundred beds. For ourselves, we sought for repose in vain, in a very handsome cabin which we occupied in company with General Lewis and Colonel Fish. The sound of cannon, which every moment announced our passing by some village, and the cries of the crew in endeavouring to get us off an oyster bank on which we had grounded in the dark, prevented us from sleeping ; and the first light of day invited us upon the deck to enjoy the majestic scenes on the Hudson. In truth, nothing can be more imposing than the aspect of those high mountains, rising one after another, covered with rocks and trees, which line the river almost every where along its course. On entering the "Highlands," for the first time, one is almost disposed to admit the superstitious fears of the Indians ; and is able to understand how phantoms and their ill boding sounds long exercised their influence even over the first Europeans who inhabited those places, where nature exhibits herself only under fantastic forms and sombre hues. To the man who delights in the revolutions or the robberies of the middle ages, and loves to contemplate the ruins of old donjons, the ancient refuge of savage Feudalism, nothing is certainly to be compared to the banks of the Rhine ; but, for one who prefers wild and virgin Nature, nothing is so beautiful as the borders of the Hudson. That river has its source in the most elevated land, between Lakes Ontario and Champlain, and divides the state of New York, from north to south, through a length of two hundred and fifty miles. It is navigable for vessels of eighty tons to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles from its mouth ; and ships of the line may go up as high as Hudson, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles from New York. It would be difficult I imagine, to estimate the number of vessels great and small, engaged in the trade between New York and Albany. The river is continually covered with them, and it is seldom that you proceed for a quarter of an hour without meeting a great number in succession. The tide rises several miles above Albany, where it is twelve hours later than at New York. The water is salt fifty miles above the latter city. At Polyplus Island, north of the Highlands, it rises about four feet ;

and at Kinderhook, which is situated .22 south of Albany, three feet.—*Warden's Statistics.*

Notwithstanding the current and the contrary motion of the waves, we went six miles an hour. A group of revolutionary soldiers collected on the dock about General Lafayette, each of whom took delight in recalling to him particulars of events awakened in their memory by every point of the shores. We passed Tarrytown; and at the sight of that humble village the old citizen soldiers had pronounced with respect the names of the three militiamen, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, who immortalized themselves as much by their noble disinterestedness as by the service they rendered to their country, and to liberty, by arresting Major Andre. Stony Point and Fort Lafayette, which, by the judicious choice of a good position, had been able to break the communications of the English army, were far behind us, and our captain announced to us we were soon to see West Point, and I remarked that the eyes of my companions were suddenly directed, with a look of melancholy, towards a lonely house which appeared not far from the bank, towards which a mountain ascended with an easy declivity; and I soon heard the name of Traitor pronounced, and then that of Arnold. That house which appeared to excite the indignation of the travellers was, in fact, the one in which the infamous Arnold bartered for the blood of his companions in arms, and the humiliation of his country. The history of Arnold's treachery embraces a great lesson. It adds another evidence to prove how important it is, in a well organized state, to entrust offices only to men of acknowledged morality. In a captain, as in a magistrate, courage and talent, without honesty, are only dangerous qualities, which cannot be brought into operation without great risks.

Arnold was born in the state of Connecticut; but nature appeared to have denied him the virtues which so strongly characterize the inhabitants of that state. He however embraced with ardour the sacred cause of his country from the first; military talents, his bravery in battle, his fortitude and patience amidst fatigues and privations; and, above all, his brilliant services in the expedition against Canada, had acquired for him great reputation in the army; and the confidence of Congress, who thought they were not prodigal in their rewards when

they elevated him to the grade of Major General. He had been wounded before Quebec, and was not entirely cured of his wounds when, in 1778, Philadelphia having been evacuated by the enemy, the command of that city was entrusted to him.

Unfortunately, to the courage which he had shown against the enemy, Arnold did not add that firmness of principles, and rectitude of judgement, which alone might have secured him against the numerous seductions which necessarily surrounded him in the brilliant station where he was placed. Pressed on by pride, and a foolish vanity, forgetting that he possessed not the resources of a large fortune, he gave himself up to all the useless expences of a sumptuous table, and a costly train. He was not long in contracting debts much greater than his income; with the hope of discharging them he entered into speculations from which his duties should have withholden him, and which had disastrous results upon himself; pressed by the demands of his creditors, he endeavoured to derive resources by a vicious administration, but congress discovered a considerable deficit. Many citizens of Philadelphia complained of his numerous exactions; the government of Pennsylvania accused him of acts still more serious; finally, in June, 1778, congress had him arrested and tried by a court-martial, which found him guilty, and sentenced him to be reprimanded by the General-in-Chief; and this sentence, approved by Congress, received its execution in the beginning of the year 1779. Enraged at seeing himself thus attacked at once by law, and by public opinion, Arnold broke out in bitter complaints against what he called the ingratitude of his countrymen, and swore to be revenged.

Great importance was at that time attached to the fortress of West Point, for the preservation of which the American army had long been manœuvring, and had often fought. That fortress was considered the key of communication between the eastern and southern states; in fact, its situation on the top of one of the highest mountains on the right bank of the Hudson, and its double range of batteries and redoubts, traced by skilful engineers, made it an excellent defensive post, the occupation of which exercised great influence over the whole state of New York. Arnold well knew this; and on that important point he fixed his eyes, to prepare to execute his revenge. By means of in-



trigues and importunities, he obtained the command of West Point, at the moment when he had just written to Colonel Robinson, that he abjured his revolutionary principles, and greatly desired to regain the esteem of his king by some great deed of repentance. This letter opened an active correspondence between him and Sir Henry Clinton, which was conducted with great secrecy. To proceed in their intrigues with greater security, the English General chose one of his aid-de-camps, Major André, a young man as much distinguished by his amiable qualities, as by his military talents, who had already established a high reputation among his companions in arms. A sloop of war, called the Vulture, took him up the Hudson to Dobb's Ferry, about twelve miles below West Point. From that place his communication with Arnold became more frequent and easy; but that they might have a better understanding with each other, an interview was indispensable, and the latter earnestly pressed it. Andre at first refused, whether because he felt a secret repugnance at coming into contact with a traitor, or because it seemed unworthy of a loyal officer to pass the lines of an enemy under a name and dress which did not belong to him: however, urged by a desire to fulfil the trust reposed in him by his General, he at length accepted the rendezvous which had been offered him for the night in the house of a man named Smith, who had the reputation of being a partizan of the English. Smith himself went to Andre on the night of the 21st. of September, and brought him to the shore, under cover of night, in a boat, the rowers of which were his own servants. Andre was received by Arnold on the bank, and conducted to Smith's house, where he remained concealed until the following night. The conference having terminated, and the plans having been definitively arranged. Andre wished to take advantage of the darkness to return: but when he got to the shore he found that the Vulture had been obliged to remove to a distance, to avoid the fire of a battery which threatened her; the rowers who had brought him to the land refused to accompany him to the sloop, and it was necessary for him to decide on returning to New York by land. To hasten his march Smith furnished him with a horse; and, to ensure it, Arnold gave him a passport, under the name of James Anderson, a man employed in the public service. This passport enabled him to pass

the lines of American posts in safety, and to reach Cram-pound, where Smith, who had accompanied him, left him, after giving him instructions to continue his route. He was approaching the English lines, near Tarrytown, when suddenly a militiaman, who was patrolling between the two armies, with two of his comrades, sprung from behind a bush, and seized his horse by the bridle. At this sudden arrest the major lost his accustomed presence of mind; and, in place of offering his passport, asked the militiaman: "To what party do you belong?" "To the party below," replied he. (Thus the English party which occupied New York was designated.) "So do I," imprudently added Major Andre; but he had hardly communicated this fatal fact, when the arrival of the two other militiamen revealed to him his error and danger. He thought to remedy the one, and avoid the other, by offering his captors a purse-full of gold and his watch, which was very costly, besides promising them, if they would let him go, the protection of the British government and great riches. The more brilliant his promises became, the more the militiamen were convinced that his arrest would be useful to the cause of independence; and they rejected his offers with disdain, declaring to him that although they were poor, all the gold in the world would not make them violate their duty; and they immediately proceeded to a strict examination of the clothes of the unfortunate prisoner, to see whether they could not find some papers that would give them information. Exact plans of the approaches and defences of West Point, which they found in his boots, and different details in the handwriting of Arnold, confirmed their suspicions; and they conducted him to Lieutenant Jamieson, who commanded the advance posts. Andre, for the purpose no doubt of intimating to Arnold that he must think of his own safety, requested that they would immediately inform him of the arrest of his officer Anderson, on the road to New York. At the reception of this news, the traitor took to flight, and went to seek among the ranks of the British army, the reward of his infamy.

As soon as Andre had reason to presume that Arnold was safe, he declared himself an English officer. The almost immediate return of General Washington hastened the summoning of a court martial under General Greene, in which Lafayette and Baron Steuben had seats. Andre appeared at the tribunal under the terrible accusation of being

a spy. His judges treated him with great deference and mildness, and declared to him, from the opening of the debates, that he might consider himself as exonerated by them from answering any question that might wound his conscience; but the unfortunate young man, more jealous of his honour than of his life, frankly avowed his projects, and exposed his conduct without disguise, taking care to exculpate those who had seconded him in the enterprize. His judges were touched by his candour and courage, and could not entirely conceal their emotion in signing his condemnation. For himself, he awaited it with resignation. His last moments were worthy of his noble character.

[Here follows an extract from Thatcher's Journal, which has been often republished in the United States, and therefore need not be inserted here.]

Some time after Arnold had left West Point, and when he had signalized himself by the fury with which he tore the bosom of his country by all the horrors of war, an American grenadier was brought to him, who had just been made prisoner in an engagement. He recognized him as one who had served under his orders at West Point; and interrogated him concerning the impression that was produced on the garrison by his flight. The proud republican grenadier replied with freedom, and made no attempt to disguise the general indignation. "Well!" said he, "and what would you have done with me if you had taken me?" "We should have respected your leg that was broken at Quebec," replied he, "and hung your body on a gibbet."

While the several groups that stood upon our deck were execrating the memory of Arnold, and expressing their regret for the unfortunate Andre, the noise of cannon, a thousand times repeated by the numerous echoes of the Hudson, announced to us that we had reached West Point. Our boats, dropped into the water, bore us rapidly to the shore. General Lafayette was received by Major Thayer, commander of the establishment, and Generals Brown and Scott, accompanied by their staffs. He was taken in an open carriage, and the widow of General Hamilton placed at his side; and then, followed by a long procession formed by the ladies who had accompanied him, and a numerous collection of people, who had assembled to receive him, he slowly surmounted the steep road which leads to the mili-

tary school. During the march, two pieces of cannon, placed on the top of the rock that rose above our heads, roared without ceasing. When we reached the plain on which are erected the buildings of the establishment, we found the Cadets drawn up in line. The General immediately reviewed them, and they afterwards manœuvred before us. After the review, they rendered him, with expressions of the deepest feeling, the honours of the entertainment which they had prepared for him.

The situation of West Point appeared to me very well chosen for a military school; it is a very beautiful flat, elevated above the right bank of the Hudson, and crowned with other high mountains, on the top of which are still seen the ruins of old Fort Putnam. The distance from all large cities, the silence of the forests, the aspect of nature at once imposing and beautiful; all seem, in that place, to invite to meditation and study.

The pupils are about two hundred in number. The vacant places are at the disposition of the President of the United States. To be admitted, one must be at least fourteen years of age, and not above twenty-one; he must know how to read and write and understand arithmetic; he must, with his parents or guardians, sign an engagement to serve for five years, unless he be permitted to withdraw before the expiration of that period. They teach experimental and natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry and mineralogy, drawing and fortification, the theory of war, fencing and the French language. All the expenses of the Academy are paid by the national treasury. Every pupil, or *cadet*, receives sixteen dollars a month, and two rations a day. Being formed in a company, they perform all the services of soldiers or subalterns, and every year spend three months in their tents, to accustom themselves to the labours of a camp. At the conclusion of their course, they are commissioned for different corps of the army, whenever there are vacant offices; but many of them obtain permission to go into civil life. The government rarely refuses this privilege to those who claim it, because its object is less to have a nursery of soldiers in that establishment, than to render citizens capable of filling, at need, the first offices in the militia, which will thus become annually enriched with a good number of young educated officers.

We had the pleasure of finding among the professors

three of our countrymen, Messrs. Berard, Du Commun, and Gimbrede, who took great pains to answer our questions, and who appeared to enjoy much esteem among the heads of the establishment and the pupils.

At six o'clock, we descended again to the shore to re-embark. A great number of our travelling companions, and particularly the ladies, perceiving that they could no longer endure the crowd on board the *James Kent*, gave it up, and entered another steamboat, which was returning to New York, while we continued our route, with the good and amiable members of the New York Committee, appointed to accompany the General.

At 7 o'clock we reached Newburgh. We were to have landed there at three o'clock; but our accident at the oyster bed had retarded us; and 30,000 persons were awaiting the arrival of the Nation's Guest, with the most lively impatience. The tables, as they informed us, had been arranged ever since the morning; and indeed it was easy to perceive it: for the reception there was more tumultuous than I had seen any where else. But even that ferment of feeling gave us a new opportunity to judge of the control of the magistrates over the people, who, even in times of excitement, never lose that respect which citizens owe to the laws which they have freely approved. After a rapid passage through the streets of Newburgh by the light of torches, we were conducted, in an open carriage, to the Orange Hotel, where the principal inhabitants offered us a repast. While we were at table, the report was circulated through the town, that the General was to depart immediately. At this news the whole population assembled in a tumultuous manner under the windows of the hotel, and a thousand confused voices were raised, to declare that it was cruel to tear away from the inhabitants of Newburgh, the friend they had so long and so ardently desired; that the darkness which had enveloped him on his arrival had permitted no one to see him; that they would be greatly disappointed if unable to do him honour by the arrangements they had made for his reception; and finally that they would not allow him to depart before the sun should have shone upon him in their town, and he had bestowed his blessing on the children of Newburgh. This noise was soon increased by a conflict that took place between the militia-men who kept the door of the hotel, and the crowd that wished to get in and greet General Lafayette. For a few

moments the mayor of the town, who was at table with us, seemed to pay little attention to what was passing in the street, but some one coming in to inform him that the disorder seemed likely to become serious, the militia and police officers beginning to be weary of resisting the multitude, he rose, took General Lafayette by the hand, and preceded by two lights, conducted him to a balcony that looked out upon the street. At the sight of General Lafayette, shouts and plaudits were raised on all sides; but a signal from the mayor restored silence, while he addressed the people as follows: "Gentlemen!" (for there all magistrates use polished phrases in addressing the people,) "Gentlemen! Do you wish to give offence to the Guest of the Nation?" "No, no, no!" "Do you wish that Lafayette should be deprived of his liberty, in the land that owes him its emancipation?" "No, no!" "Well then, listen to what I am going to say, and do not oblige me to resort to the law to reduce you to order." There was then a profound silence. "Your friend is expected at Albany. He has promised to be there to-morrow before night. He has already been delayed by an unforeseen accident, by which he lost three hours on his route. If you should keep him here until to-morrow, you deprive him of the pleasure of visiting all the other towns, where also he is looked for, and make him break all his engagements. Do you wish to cause him such chagrin?" "No, no, no!" And the air resounded with cries of applause and huzzas. General Lafayette then addressed to the crowd a few words of thanks, which were received with great enthusiasm. The people, however, who were now silent, still remained crowding the street, but without pressing at the door of the hotel. When the General went down, a few of the citizens advanced, and said that it lay with him to content the inhabitants of Newburgh entirely, and that it would not cost him a quarter of an hour. "Our wives and children are assembled here," said they, "in a hall which was prepared for your reception. Come a moment to show yourselves to them, and we shall be happy." It was impossible to resist such a request. We entered a hall filled with ladies dressed for a ball. They had by that time despaired of seeing him, and his presence produced a very agreeable surprize. In the expression of their joy, they all rushed towards him, and taking off their crowns of flowers with which they were decorated, threw them all over him.

On leaving the hall we found all the men ranged in a double line on the way leading to the shore, and the General could not get to the James Kent but through the midst of the most tender and respectful expressions of those generous people, who, in spite of his assurances, still feared they had caused him some inconvenience. The authorities of Newburgh took leave of him on board; and at a signal given by the Captain we again began our navigation, notwithstanding the darkness that surrounded us.

When the sun rose it found us as high up as Poughkeepsie, where it was impossible for the General not to stop. The wharves and the shore were covered with militia; the citizens, and even a great number of ladies, who had been expecting his arrival the whole night.

Poughkeepsie, like all the other towns bordering on the Hudson, is at once a place of manufactures and trade, so that its population is on a rapid increase. It contained 3400 inhabitants in 1820; and now nearly 5000. It was at Poughkeepsie, in the house of George Clinton, that Washington, Hamilton, Chancellor Livingston, and Mr. Jay were accustomed to meet, to discuss the constitution which was adopted by the United States. This circumstance was eloquently recalled to General Lafayette by Col. Livingston, who was appointed by the citizens to address him.

In proceeding on our course, we visited the family of Governor Lewis, who live in a very handsome house on the left bank of the river; and at 4 o'clock we arrived at Clermont, where we landed in front of the elegant residence of Mr. Robert Livingston. The celebrations which had been prepared, in that delightful place, by the citizens who had assembled from the surrounding towns, and by the Livingston family, detained us until the following morning.

We had hardly left Clermont, when we saw the fine mountains of Catskill, which, rising a few miles from the river, beautifully form the western horizon with their brown bulk, exhibiting an amphitheatre, in the centre of which is the *Pine Orchard House*, situated 2500 feet above the level of the Hudson. That building is an object of curiosity for the traveller; and of pleasure excursions to the inhabitants of the vicinity. The masses of citizens and militiamen which covered the pier at the end of a long point, running into the river, apprised the General by their acclamations, that they also expected a visit from the guest of the nation. We remained among them only a few minutes, during which

the General had the satisfaction of conversing with several of his old revolutionary companions, among whom he recognized one named James Foster, who had been particularly attached to his service, when he was wounded at the battle of the Brandywine.

To approach the small city of Hudson, we had, so to speak, only to cross the river a little obliquely. At the port, which is a very commercial one, General Lafayette was received by the authorities and the whole population, at the head of whom appeared a detachment of about eighty soldiers of the revolution. One came out of their ranks, and showed him a sword which he had received from him in Rhode Island. "After my death," said he, "it will change hands; but it will not change its object; it will always serve for the defence of liberty."

Triumphal arches had been raised; a public dinner prepared; and the ladies were preparing for a ball; but we were obliged to leave all these entertainments, in order that we might reach Albany the same day, where the General was awaited with impatience. The inhabitants of Hudson perfectly understood his situation, and had the goodness to detain him only a very short time.

The wealth of Hudson is daily increasing, by its commerce and manufactures. The population, which in 1820 was not quite 3000, now exceeds 5000. The city is regularly and well built, rising in an amphitheatre about 200 feet above the level of the river. The largest merchant vessels can easily go up to the wharves; and the neighbouring country has bold declivities, with an agreeable aspect, and is well cultivated. Hudson was founded in 1784, and still includes many descendants of the Hollanders, who came to the country in 1636.

Notwithstanding the power of our steam machine, which took us up the river at the rate of more than six miles an hour, we did not reach the Overslaugh (a small place on the left bank, a very short distance from Albany,) until 5 o'clock in the evening. There we were obliged to leave the boat, because it drew too much water. We therefore landed, and in an instant found ourselves in elegant carriages, surrounded by an escort of dragoons, commanded by General Van Rensselaer and Colonel Cooper; and we soon arrived at Greenbush, another village, in the centre of which we found a triumphal arch, where refreshments were offered us, while the town officers made a speech to the General, who replied



to them with that readiness, spirit, and propriety, which four or five times a day, filled those who heard him with astonishment and admiration.

It was not until night that we got opposite Albany, on the borders of the river, which was to be crossed before we could enter the city, which stands upon the right bank. A large flying bridge called a horseboat, received both our carriages at once, although drawn by four horses each, with about 30 of our mounted escort, and more than 150 pedestrians, and carried us with ease to the other shore, which echoed with the acclamations of a multitude, and the uninterrupted sound of artillery. The situation to which we thus found ourselves introduced, was grand and imposing; and the darkness of the night rendered it still more so. Every cannon, by its noise and light, struck with terror the fiery horses which surrounded us, and had no obstacle before them but a slender chain, which could not have prevented them from falling into the river, if they had not been restrained by strong men. George Lafayette, in his tender solicitude for his father, had left the carriage, being unwilling to entrust with any other person the care of the horses that drew the General. At the moment of our landing, the cries of joy from the multitude were redoubled, the escort and the carriages sprung to the shore like lightning, in the midst of a crowd so thick, that it was difficult to imagine, how among so many people as had been pressed by the enthusiasm of gratitude under the wheels of Lafayette's carriage, there should have been none wounded. At the entrance of the suburbs, the assemblage formed with order; a band of musicians led the march, and we proceeded to the Capitol, passing through all the streets, which were lighted by innumerable illuminations, and with high wooden pyramids. At the entrance of the street which leads to the Capitol, was raised a triumphal arch, surmounted by a living eagle, which at the moment when the General passed, clapped his wings, as if to pay him homage.

We entered the capitol, and the senate chamber. The seats were filled with a great number of ladies and the municipal body. The General was received and addressed by the Mayor, who eloquently expressed to him the gratitude felt by the United States, and particularly by the citizens of Albany:—"Those who have partaken of the labours of our revolution," said he, "and who are still living, receive you

as a friend and a brother; the generation which has risen since you left our shores, are animated with the same sentiments; and those who shall be born in future ages will celebrate your name as that of the benefactor of America, and the hero of liberty. In every heart that beats around you, you have the place of friendship; and your praise is in every mouth."

In his reply General Lafayette could not refrain from expressing the astonishment it gave him, to see the numerous changes that had occurred in every thing that met his eyes. "It is not yet half a century," said he, "since this city, then it is true already old, but yet very small, was my head quarters on the borders of a vast desert. I here received, as commander of the Northern Department, renunciations of the royal authority, and the recognition of the more legitimate authority of the United States. I now find Albany a rich and powerful city, the central seat of the government of the state of New York; and the deserts which surrounded it converted into fertile and well cultivated fields. The present generation, already rendered illustrious by two glorious wars, and more still by its sincere attachment to institutions whose excellence ensures an incontestable superiority over the supercilious power, which wished to arrogate the right of controlling it."

From the senate chamber we went into the apartments of Governor Yates, who, surrounded by his staff received the General with much cordiality, and addressed him a speech in the name of the state.

On leaving the Governor's room the General was taken to the principal balcony, to be presented to the assembled people. At the moment when he advanced between the columns, an eagle came down, and placed a crown of laurels and evergreens upon his head. This scene was loudly applauded by the numerous spectators.

Before going to the hotel which had been prepared for us, the General wished to pay a visit to his old companion in arms, Mr. Matthew Gregory, who had mounted one of the first in the assault at Yorktown, with himself and Hamilton. We found there a numerous assembly, composed of Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bar, and the principal officers of the state.

That day, in which we had gone through so many emotions and so much fatigue, and which would have entirely overcome a man less robust than the General, was conclu-

ded by a supper, where they drank to the Guest of the Nation," and "the liberty and sovereignty of the People;" and a splendid ball, which we left at midnight, to take a little repose.

Albany was founded in 1612, by a Dutch colony; and is, after Jamestown in Virginia, the oldest settlement in the United States. Situated on the right bank of the Hudson, one hundred and fifty miles from New York, this city does not present an agreeable appearance; the ground being too uneven. The streets are indeed wide, and strait; but the architecture of the houses is in bad taste, and reminds one very much of the old cities of Germany. With the exception of the capitol, there is nothing that looks like a public building. That produces a pretty good effect, by its situation on an eminence which terminates a very fine street, called State-street. That edifice, which serves at once for the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Courts, the Society of Arts, that of Agriculture, &c. &c. and includes the Library, is built of granite taken from the shores of Hudson river: and the columns, as well as the exterior ornaments, are of beautiful white marble, brought from the quarries of Massachusetts. The principal front is of the Ionic order; most of the halls are ornamented and furnished with luxury at first admired, but which afterward we cannot help blaming, when we learn that it has involved the municipality in debts, which must necessarily be charged upon their constituents.

The City Hall, the Academy, the Lancasterian School, the Arsenal, the Prison, and some edifices of public utility, are properly and commodiously constructed of brick.

The city is governed by a municipality composed of a Mayor, a Recorder, ten Aldermen, and ten Assistant-Aldermen, all appointed by the people. To simplify the administration, and to facilitate the operations of the Police, it is divided into five sections, or wards. Night-watches are especially charged to guard against fires, and an excellently arranged fire department affords assistance in case of such danger. Those precautions are particularly rendered necessary, by the existence of numerous stores of oil and spirits, imprudently established in the midst of the city.

The police regulations are executed with a degree of strictness which does not permit any class of citizens to offend with impunity. Among a thousand proofs of this which have been cited is the following.—The laws express-

ly forbid horsemen to gallop in the streets. A little time since, the mayor was at his country-house, near the city ; when suddenly the sound of bells, and, soon after, the sight of flames, apprised him that a fire had broken out. He sprung on horse-back, set off, passed through the city on a gallop, and reached the spot. He dismounted, placed himself at the head of the firemen, and in a few minutes his example and his judicious advice having contributed to remove the danger, he quietly returned home. On the following day he received a summons to appear before a justice of the peace, who fined him for having violated the law which forbids galloping in the streets. The mayor did not attempt, in any manner, to justify himself on account of the motive which had led him to commit the offence, and submitted, without murmuring, to the sentence, which he himself acknowledged to be right. This submission to the law was a good example ; and, at his departure from the tribunal, he was addressed by a numerous deputation of the citizens, who thanked him for the eminent services he had rendered the evening before, by courageously exposing himself for the preservation of their property.

The expenses of the city annually amount to about 45,000 dollars. The revenues, this year [1824] are estimated at above 49,000 dollars : but the debt is 250,000 dollars. This debt, which necessarily depreciates the value of real estate in Albany, was contracted by the prodigality of former administrations. It is not doubted that it will be speedily liquidated by a sinking fund of above 100,000 dollars, and especially by the resources daily offered by the continually increasing prosperity of commerce.

As a commercial place, Albany is one of the most considerable cities in the union. Ever since its settlement it has been the place of deposit for all merchandize brought from the West. At present the facility of communication lately opened with lake Erie, by the construction of a great navigable canal, is still further extending its commercial preponderance.

Nearly eighty steamboats constantly navigate between Albany and New York ; and the number of sloops which perform the trade between the two cities, is much greater. In 1820, the population of Albany was 12,630 souls. It is now 16,000.

On the following day, September 18th, at one o'clock in

the morning, Mr. Clinton, with a great number of the citizens, was in General Lafayette's apartments, to offer him, in the name of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, a diploma, which constituted him a member. On that occasion Mr. Clinton pronounced an eloquent speech, which affected the General the more, because he saw in the orator the son and nephew of two very distinguished men, with whom he had been intimately connected during the war of independence. While this brief ceremony was proceeding, a numerous procession was formed before our hotel; and at nine o'clock we had embarked, to the sound of cannon, on the canal, which leads to Troy. Five handsome boats, from among the number of those which habitually navigate the canal, had been prepared for our voyage. In the first was a band of musicians. In the second was placed General Lafayette, with Governor Yates, the ex-governors Clinton and Lewis, the mayor and municipal council, and some of the principal citizens of Albany. In the three last followed the escort, commanded by Major Coles, and a company of artillery, and three companies of infantry. We stopped a few moments in our way to visit the arsenal at Gibbonsville, which belongs to the government of the United States. That arsenal which is one of the largest and best provided in the union, was established in 1813, under the direction of colonel Bomford, of the artillery, now attached to the war department, and completed by major Daliba, of the same arm, who has introduced into it a system of administration, remarkable for its order and economy. On entering the court of the arsenal, the General was received by the officers employed at the post, and saluted by the discharge of three pieces of cannon taken at York town. We had pointed to us, in the park of artillery, several French pieces, given to the United States by France, during the revolutionary war, and all the camp equipage taken at Saratoga with General Burgoyne. We visited all the rooms in which arms are deposited. They are kept with remarkable care and elegance; and we found there more than thirty thousand muskets, made after the best European models, as well as a great number of pistols and sabres, very well manufactured. The powder magazine also contains very large supplies.

It was not noon when we arrived at the place where the canal communicates with the Hudson, opposite Troy. At the sight of that city, which now contains more than eight

thousand inhabitants, and which, in commercial importance, occupies the next rank to Albany, in the state of New York, General Lafayette was struck with astonishment. "What!" he exclaimed, "has this city risen from the earth by enchantment?"—"No," replied one near him, with a smile; "but it has been created and peopled, in a few years, by industry, under the protection of liberty." The General then recounted to us, how, in 1778, when he crossed the Hudson at that place, with a corps of troops which he commanded, there were only two or three little cottages, in one of which he with difficulty obtained a cup of milk, and a morsel of Indian bread. While he was giving us these interesting details, our boat was let down into the river, across which it was towed by twelve barks, decorated with flags.

On landing, in the midst of a numerous collection of people which lined the shore, the General was received by a committee appointed to express to him the sentiments of gratitude and attachment of the citizens.— "Your indefatigable devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty," said the speaker, "has rendered your name illustrious, wherever the rights of men are respected and honoured. The freedom of this country was an act worthy of the patriots, by whose councils and arms it was consummated. Their labours, privations, and sacrifices, but more particularly your generous exertions, have engraved on the hearts of the citizens of these states, a profound sentiment of gratitude, which is daily increasing by the development of unexampled prosperity, and the benefits of the most wise institutions.

"May you long enjoy among us the fruits of your glorious labours! Those fruits you will enjoy in our form of government, which secures to us order and liberty; in our system of jurisprudence, which insures at once public peace and private rights; in our public schools, which lavish, upon the poor as well as the rich, the benefits of a wise legislation; in the metamorphosis of our immense deserts into fertile fields; in the formation, increase, and multiplication of our cities and villages; in the creation of numerous means of communication, to facilitate our commercial relations; in the variety and harmony of our different modes of religious worship; finally, you will farther enjoy those fruits of your labours, and those of our revolutionary patriots, in the spirit of enterprize and industry of a

frugal people, contented with their condition, submissive to their laws, in peace with themselves and the whole world; raising the voice of gratitude, first to Heaven, and then to their benefactors, at the head of whom your virtues and generous services have placed you."

This speech was received with unanimous expressions of applause, and cries, a thousand times repeated, of "Welcome, welcome Lafayette!" In an instant he was taken; as it were, in the arms of the spectators, and placed in an open carriage, accompanied by the aged Colonel Lane, who fought with him in the battles of Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown. The procession, led by the members of the Masonic Lodge, and followed by a numerous body of militia, passed through all the streets of the town, amidst the cries of joy of the free and grateful inhabitants.

While we were taking breakfast in the house, from the balcony of which we had seen all the militia of the place and the neighbouring towns march by, the General received a message from the ladies of Troy, inviting him to visit the Female Boarding School, where they had all assembled to receive him; and he set out with pleasure. The avenues to that establishment, which is conducted by Mrs. Willard, were decorated with green branches and flowers, and terminated near the house at a triumphal arch, under which he was received by a committee of ladies, at the head of whom was Mrs. Paulding, who, in few words, expressed to him the patriotic sentiments of the ladies of Troy, and their gratitude to the illustrious benefactor of their beloved country. He was then conducted by that committee into the establishment, where none of the other gentlemen accompanied him; and we soon after heard the pure and angelic voices of a choir of young ladies singing.

The General soon after reappeared on the threshold, his features expressing a deep feeling, his eyes filled with tears. He slowly descended the steps, supported and surrounded by the principal ladies of the academy. Two hundred young ladies, dressed in white, followed him, harmoniously raising the voice of gratitude to Heaven. They conducted him to the outer gate, where they took an affecting leave, in the presence of several thousand spectators, whom the scene had reduced to a solemn silence.

General Lafayette wished not to leave Troy, without making a few private visits to different persons of his inti-

mate acquaintance, and particularly Mrs. Taylor, with whose family he became attached during the revolutionary war. Mrs. Taylor is a young lady much distinguished by her wit, and by the acquisitions she has made in the boarding school we had just visited. We found in her house a handsome cabinet of minerals, remarkable for its order and value. She presented the General, as a memorial of Troy, a *hortus-siccus*, including more than two hundred of the most remarkable plants of that vicinity, collected, arranged, and described by herself.

After paying our visits, we slowly proceeded out of the city, amidst the people who crowded the way we had to take to reach the banks of the Hudson. Every one pressed towards the General's carriage, and was anxious to shake hands with him. At every step, were seen fathers raising their children above the crowd, that they might better see Lafayette, and ask him for his benediction. While we were crossing the river, three cheers and a salute of artillery expressed the farewell and the last good wishes of the inhabitants of that rich and happy town.

The city of Troy is situated on the left bank of the Hudson, six miles from Albany, a little above the point where the tide is perceptible, and on a plain of considerable extent, formed of alluvion, and very fertile. The river is there more than eight hundred feet wide. Sixty sloops, owned by the citizens of the place, are continually employed in the trade, but without preventing other vessels from finding business. The exports in grain are also very considerable.

On all the streams which fall into the river, and on the river itself, are a great number of mills in active operation. They are chiefly for grinding, sawing, and casting iron and lead. The largest establishment is that known under the name of Adamsville. The main body of the building, in which is the nail-shop, contains twenty-four machines, capable of cutting and making nails with the heads. They are set in motion by an enormous wheel, turned by a stream of water. It is said that 1000 tons of iron are worked up there in a year. About two miles from Adamsville is a beautiful manufactory of cotton, which keeps 1700 spindles continually in operation, and thirty looms moved by water. Close beside it is a bleaching establishment, where cotton goods are bleached by a chemical process, at the expense of a cent or two a yard.



Tanneries, potteries, paper mills, soap manufactories, and ship yards, surround this city, which had no existence in 1787, was only a little village in 1801, received the name of a city as late as 1816, and in 1820 was ravaged by a conflagration, which destroyed an amount of property exceeding 360,000 dollars! During the first sixty days after this catastrophe, the insurance company faithfully executed all its engagements, which embraced the sum of ten thousand dollars; and in a short time the buildings rose more elegant, more commodious, and more firmly constructed than before. The city is now increasing on a regular plan; all the streets are wide, straight, and supplied with fine side-walks.

The inhabitants of Troy are no less remarkable for their love of literature and science, than for their manufacturing activity and intelligence. They have three newspapers in their city, four printing offices, five large libraries, and many schools.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

New York.

ON our return from our journey on the Hudson, General Lafayette expressed the desire to return to the calmness of private life, that he might be enabled to devote a little time to the agreeable society of a great number of his old friends. Consequently, public celebrations were suspended; the citizens returned to their customary occupations, and I was enabled more attentively to examine the habits and character of the people of that great city, which, till the present time, I had only seen in its *festive dress*.

My first sally naturally was to see the whole length of Broadway, which is called the *Bazaar of American industry*; and which is also that of the productions of the whole world. Its length, which is about three miles, the breadth of its side-walks, substantially and neatly laid, the elegance of the houses, the neatness and variety of its shops, and the ever active crowd which enlivens them, render that beautiful street one of the most interesting promenades for the traveller, who has time to observe it. A single object ap-

peared to me a deformity : that was the immense burial ground which lies on one side of the street, and from which the passengers are only separated by an iron fence. This sight presents a melancholy contrast with the childish joy of the groups of young ladies who are every moment passing, with a light step, before that sad asylum of the dead. I am astonished that the wisdom of the corporation of New York, who have done so much for the embellishment and health of that city, has never yet led them to remove this source of putrid exhalations, which, at certain seasons of the year, might become so fatal to the whole body of the population. The greater part of the other streets, which enter Broadway, are also very clean and very regular ; but those which are situated near the wharves, ever present a disagreeable aspect. There are seen a great number of wooden houses, very ill built, which serve as a refuge of debauchery and drunkenness. This latter vice here makes extensive ravages : it annually plunges a great number of its victims into prisons and hospitals ; while the greater part of the crimes and diseases there find their source. The low price of spirituous liquors, on which there is no duty paid, and perhaps, also, the excessive heat of the climate, are the principal causes of that fatal vice. We were assured that there were more than 3000 taverns and drinking shops in the city of New York, in which at least \$30,000 are annually expended for wines and spirituous liquors. This appeared to me to be a terrible evil to the inhabitants.

Prostitution is less common here than would be supposed in a commercial city, continually filled with seamen and foreigners ; there are hardly 3000 abandoned women : which is hardly a sixtieth part of the population. This proportion would be very small for Paris, and much more so for London, where that class ordinarily form a twentieth part of the population. If the causes for this great difference are sought for, a principal one is found in the numerous and early marriages of the inhabitants of New York. Ordinarily men are married at between twenty and twenty-five years of age, and the women between sixteen and twenty. Besides, the age is not fixed by law, and there is also no law authorizing the parents to oppose the marriage of their children. A religious act alone constitutes a marriage, and a difference of communion does not prohibit a minister from pronouncing a nuptial benediction, on those

who come to ask it. Always certain of finding the means of subsistence for his family and himself, the young American never hesitates on any considerations of fortune, before he determines in his choice, which is always one of the heart. Hence there are fewer unmarried persons in society, and consequently fewer sources of corruption.

A third calamity, more terrible than either, also produces its ravages in the city of New York, and every day makes wide attacks on the public morals: I refer to those bottomless gulphs, which swallow up, without distinction, both the gains of the rich merchant, and the savings of the poor labourer; which are the wreck of so many good characters, long approved, and which in exchange for the money intrusted to them, give in return nothing but shame and misery: I speak of the lottery offices.

The laws of the state of New York, forbid the establishment of new lotteries; but they consider themselves bound to support those still existing, because they were formed in virtue of privileges ulterior to the formation of the constitution.

Is not this respect for an evil established by time a culpable weakness? Some persons with whom I conversed, replied, that the lotteries of New York, were not as immoral as our own, because their profits, instead of going into the public treasury, were employed for the support of hospitals; and that the danger to the working classes is not so great, because the price of the tickets does not prevent any but the rich from purchasing them. These arguments appeared to be very weak, and did not reconcile me to lotteries.

Of all the cities in the United States, New York ought certainly to be that whose society should have lost most of its national character.

The great number of strangers who are continually flowing in, might be expected continually to wear it away. There are however to be found all the prominent traits which preserve in its aspect, its national character. One of those traits is its hospitality: a single letter of recommendation is sufficient to introduce strangers to all the leading societies; and if their conduct and character correspond with the good will which all are disposed to show them, it will be easy for them, in a short time, to derive gratification and advantage from their intercourse with it.

Unfortunately, many prove themselves unworthy of so friendly a reception; and I can hardly understand how,

after so much unfortunate experience, the inhabitants of New York expose themselves to have their generous hospitality repaid by fraud, treachery and calumny.

It is not uncommon to meet here with Europeans, who, on being interrogated in regard to the character of the Americans, have the effrontery to reply that they are egotists, corrupt and hypocrites.

If one afterwards applies himself to an attentive examination of the conduct of those men who make such bitter accusations, he is surprised to learn that one is afraid to make his appearance in the presence of such a person, because he has been for a long time an insolvent and fraudulent debtor; that another, who was received at first with confidence, into the bosom of such a family, has been expelled from it for attempting the basest misconduct; that another has now become an object of scorn to that public opinion, which he had at first conciliated under the mask of virtues that he has not been capable of exercising.

It would be easy for me, in justification for what I have said, to name several of such men: but it would be much more agreeable to me, if I did not fear to wound their modesty, to name Messrs. P. B. M. G. &c. who, by their intelligence, claim an honourable exception, and for the nobleness of their character, vindicate the French name against the injuries to which so many adventurers have exposed it.

Among so many calumnies circulated by ignorant, or ill designing travellers, there are however some unhappy truths, which cannot be passed over in silence. Ought I not also to pass over the numerous bankrupts, who, in New York, as in all the great commercial cities of the United States, have induced no less dangerous effects on public morals, and on that confidence and security so necessary to commerce as an indispensable basis of its prosperity. The man of bad character is not stopped in his commercial transaction by any precautionary law. However, within a few years, the better and honest part of the merchants of New York, (and that is an immense majority,) have raised their voice with energy, to demand from Congress a law to ensure the creditors of a merchant, who has failed, an equal dividend of the property which he abandons; and to prevent a merchant who finds himself embarrassed in his affairs, from assigning, beforehand, all he possesses to a few confidential friends, who have lent him their names and

money to create factitious credits by the aid of which they have betrayed the confidence of the public.

Congress have not been deaf to the chamber of Commerce of New York, and many other cities; they have already carefully examined, whether it be possible to make a law which shall suppress these abuses, without restricting that absolute liberty which is necessary to commerce. The difficulties appeared great to the Legislature; but not insurmountable. Much is expected from their conscientious and enlightened zeal.

The women here adopt the French fashion in dress, but yet are entirely American in their manners: that is to say, they devote almost their whole life to the management of their household, and the education of their children. They generally live in a very retired manner; and although the greater part of them might exhibit the resources of an agreeable and intelligent conversation, they occupy but a small place at public parties, where the young ladies seem to have a sole right to reign. The latter, it is true, receive from nature and education the power of pleasing. The unrestrained liberty which they enjoy, and never abuse, gives their manners a modest grace, freedom and carèlessness, which we do not always meet in our own society, where, under the name of reserve, our young ladies are reduced to a kind of non-existence.

If the American ladies are remarkable for their strict fidelity to conjugal faith, young ladies are not less so for the constancy of their engagements. I have often been shewn at balls, a number of young persons between eighteen and nineteen years of age, who had been engaged for two or three years, and whose future husbands were, one in Europe, engaged in studying the arts or sciences; another in China, on commercial business; and another occupied in the dangerous whale fishery, in the most distant seas.

Young ladies thus engaged occupy a middle place in society, between their young companions, still free, and the married ladies. They have already lost a little of the childish gaiety of the former, and received a slight tinge of the gravity of the latter. The numerous aspirants, (here designated by the name of beaux,) who at first surrounded them in crowds, and whom they at first received before they had made their choice, have still delicate attentions to pay them, but more restrained; and if one of

them, who have been ill informed, or urged on by hope, to persist in offering his addresses and his heart, the reply : " I am engaged," made with a pleasing frankness and indulgent sigh, soon destroys all his illusions, without wounding his pride. This sort of engagements which precede marriage, are very common, not only in New York, but also in all the other states of the Union, and it is extremely rare that they are not fulfilled with religious fidelity. Public opinion, very severe on this point, would not spare either of the two parties which would break the engagement without the consent of the other.

Those who believe that republican principles are incompatible with the enjoyments produced by riches, would consider the luxury of New York as excessive ; and would suppose that a people who tread under their feet the rich carpets of England, that pour out in plentiful streams the most delicious wines of France, in gold and cut-glass, and who move in elegant coaches, cannot long preserve their independence. Such persons would have reason for apprehension, if luxury were here, as with Princes and Courtiers, born in oppression, and supported by the labours of the people. But let them recall with pleasure, that it is but the product of industry, the rich and fruitful offspring of liberty.

Although New York is a city of a great extent, enclosing a numerous population, and annually receiving at least 30,000 strangers, great disturbances are unknown in it, and lighter offences rarely escape the watchfulness of a police, which is no less astonishing for its activity, than for the quietness with which it proceeds. From the perfect order which prevails, day and night, it seems to be every where, and yet it is no where to be discovered. The security which it offers to strangers, as well as to citizens, is not, as in Paris, the result of an odious combination of Gendarme assassins, with base and disgusting spies. The traveller is not obliged, on entering an inn, to declare his name, quality and plans, to obtain that protection which is due to all ; and after having made some stay in New York, one is forced to confess, that its administration, like a good genius, makes its benign influence to be every where felt, without showing itself any where.

Europeans who have for a long time been accustomed to permit one man, or several men, under the name of government, to usurp at their pleasure the natural rights of other

men under their control, are unable to conceive how a nation can exist, where all individuals, without exception, are permitted to travel, to come, and to go, in every sense of the word ; to pass over the greatest distances, to enter all cities, to sleep peacefully at any inn ; without the necessity of having that tyrannical and ridiculous permission of the government, written on a paper, called a *passport*. This unrestricted liberty of motion in every sense of the word, astonishes them, and renders them almost incredulous. The following anecdote, which I warrant to be correct, is an agreeable illustration.

General ——— who was proscribed in 1815, on the restoration, had been obliged precipitately to leave Paris ; and had sought an asylum with a friend at Havre, whence he hoped to be able to proceed, without danger, to a land less inimical to himself than his own. An opportunity was soon presented. The Captain of an American vessel, affected at his unhappy situation, kindly took him on board, and brought him to the United States. The joy experienced by General ——— on being delivered from the danger which threatened him, absorbed his thoughts : he forgot, that he was flying perhaps forever from his country, his family and his friends. The wide ocean, and the interval of thirty days which separated him from New York, offered him a security which was not disturbed until he saw that new land whither he was going to ask hospitality ; he then recollected, with dismay, that in the haste in which he had left Paris he had not been able to bring with him any of his papers. Without authentic credentials, *without a passport*, what would become of him ? He, however, landed ; and the Custom House officer, who inquired of him, with politeness, concerning the contents of his portmanteau, excited in him a sentiment of fear, which he had not before experienced, since the Emperor Napoleon, his master, had regarded him with a look of discontent. In a few moments, however, the officer allowed him to go, without asking for his passport, which, he had no doubt, had arisen from forgetfulness. He determined to take advantage of it immediately ; and our general officer, more active by half than before, hastily placed his baggage on the shoulders of a porter, and made him conduct him to one of the Hotels in Broadway. There a servant received and introduced him into a chamber, where four or five beds were seen, on several of which articles were placed, which showed that they were already

taken possession of. He enquired, with anxiety, if it were not possible to procure a private chamber? There was yet one with two beds, which they gave him, promising that he should not have a companion. There he remained alone, and began to breathe freely, thanking his good stars which had brought him safely through so many dangers. The next packet from Havre, was to bring him letters of credit; and he then would be able to claim and obtain protection. He had nothing to do to avoid being arrested as an adventurer, a vagabond, or suspicious person, but to pass a fortnight in the retreat which was then offered him. He had passed three long days in his *solitary confinement*, when, on the morning of the fourth, the master of the Hotel presented himself; and with an air of politeness without intrusiveness; interest, without curiosity; said to him: "Sir, I am naturally not an indiscreet man, and am not accustomed to torment my guests with impertinent questions, but I fear that this severe restraint, to which it appears you have condemned yourself, since your entrance into my house, may have been caused by some chagrin or unhappy embarrassment, and I have come to offer my services with frankness, which I hope you will in the same manner accept." The honest and candid tone in which these words were uttered, encouraged the poor recluse. "You appear to me a good man," he replied to his host: "and I will place confidence in you." My situation is unfortunate as you suppose. Then casting an anxious glance around his chamber, and lowering his voice, "I am a French officer."

"Compelled, in consequence of the great events which are no doubt well known to yourself, to leave my country, I have come to seek an asylum against proscription. The Americans and their government are hospitable I know—but here, as every where else, the police who are entrusted with the care of the citizens, no doubt require that strangers should make themselves known: and how can I do it when I have not even a *passport*? on what grounds can I request permission to reside in this city, or go to any other? You offer to assist me: do you stand my security with the police, make them allow me to stay, and to go about the city without being disturbed, and I shall be under the greatest obligations to you." From this speech, and the agitation which accompanied it, the American imagined the French officer was intoxicated; and he would have persisted in that opinion, if the latter had not explained how necessary and



important a passport is to the European traveller. He hastened to relieve him from his anxiety, by saying: "The authority which governs us emanates from ourselves; and we have not been foolish enough absurdly to allow it to exercise the right to paralyze our most natural faculties; as that of going from this to that direction, as far as we please. Strangers who land upon our soil, as well as ourselves, are admitted to the enjoyment of every liberty which does not interfere with the rights of other men. Go then, if you wish, from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico—from the Atlantic to Lake Huron—or remain peaceably an inhabitant of New York; and I promise you the most perfect security, and the most absolute liberty." General ——— could hardly believe this assertion; but experience soon convinced him: and in the first journies which he made, he was less affected by the beauties of nature, and the aspect of the country, though entirely new to him, than at the happiness of not being obliged, at the entrance of every city, or at every change of horses, to show his passport to a gendarme.

The business done in the port of New York, presents one of the most animated and varied pictures which can be imagined. It is uncommon for half an hour to pass without bringing a vessel to or from the wharves, which are covered with numerous groups of travellers, who are either arriving or departing; the variety of whose costumes and languages proves that there are few parts of the world with which the United States have not connection. In the midst of this crowd, animated by the different feelings of surprise and regret, it is easy to recognize the Americans, in the calmness, I had almost said indifference, with which they leave or return to their native country, and the friends who accompany them to the vessel or receive them on shore. Accustomed from his infancy to compare with each other the prodigious distances which separate the points of the country which he inhabits, the American is less affected at the moment of embarking on a voyage from New York to China, than an inhabitant of Paris who sets out to view the sea at Dieppe. An idea may be formed of the facility with which the American travels, by casting a glance at the records which annually present the number of passengers embarking in different ports of the Union: it will be seen that the citizens of the different ports of the United States figure there in an immense proportion, compared with their population.

The following table, which presents the number of passengers who embarked from the port of New York alone, between the 1st March, 1818, and the 11th September, 1819, will enable one to form an approximate judgment of the proportion in which every nation furnishes travellers in the United States.

Americans	16,628	Germans	499	Portuguese	54
English	7,629	Swiss	372	Prussians	48
Irish	6,067	Spanish	217	Swedes	28
Scotch	1,495	Dutch	155	Africans	5
French	930	Italians	103	Sardinians	3
Belgians	590	Danes	97	Norwegians	3

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## CHAPTER IX.

Departure from New York—Route from New York to Trenton—Battles of Trenton and Princeton—Visit to Joseph Buonaparte—State of New York.

ON the 23d of September we left New York for the third time. The profound silence which prevailed among the crowd that filled the streets, the melancholy impressed on every countenance, sufficiently indicated that the third absence of Lafayette was to be of long duration. What a contrast this departure presented to our first arrival! On this day not a cry of joy, not an acclamation; but how much expression was there in the very silence of the people and the militia, who formed a double line from our hotel to the shore, where the vessel awaited us. The General preferred to go on foot the long distance which he had to pass, and sent away the carriage which had been prepared for us. But when he reached the threshold of the door, he was so surrounded and pressed upon, by those who wished to see him once more, that it was impossible for us to disengage him, and clear a passage by which he might proceed. At every step his progress was retarded by the most affecting farewells. At every step men rushed before him, took his hand, and pressed it with tenderness, then hastily left him, and turned away to conceal their tears, which they no longer had power to restrain.

Accompanied by a numerous deputation from the city, we went on board the steamboat Chancellor Kent, which

was to carry us to the territory of New Jersey, from which we were separated only by the North River, in that place of prodigious breadth. At the moment when we were getting under way, a cannon sounded; but how mournful did it seem! It appeared in harmony with the crowd, who were mournfully standing on the shore. We partook of these melancholy feelings, and perhaps should have given ourselves up to our grief, but suddenly a striking contrast appeared, to change the nature of our sensations. On the left bank we had left a sorrowful family mourning the departure of a father. On the right, we heard the cries of joy from freemen who came to hail their deliverer. We were soon among them; and their frank and cordial reception somewhat mitigated the grief of separation.

Mr. Williamson, Governor of New Jersey, had collected at Powles Hook, where we landed, his whole staff, and a detachment of militia, with which he escorted the General through his whole route across the state of New Jersey. Our route lay through Bergen, Rahway, New Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton. In each of those towns, and all the villages between them, General Lafayette was received amidst the most brilliant displays, prepared in the same spirit of enthusiasm and gratitude which had been expressed in every part of New England. At Bergen, a deputation of the town presented him, in the name of the inhabitants, a cane made of the branch of an apple tree, under which he had breakfasted with Washington, when he passed that place with him during the war of the revolution. That apple tree was overturned by a terrible tempest in 1821. These different circumstances were engraved on the golden head of the cane.

At Newark, a pretty town situated on the banks of the Passaic, the Guest of the Nation was saluted by the patriotic songs of numerous choirs of young boys and girls. He slept at Elizabethtown; and on the following morning entered New Brunswick with the sound of bells and cannon. On the 25th he stopped a few moments at Princeton, where the president, at the head of the professors, presented him with a diploma, as a member of the society, which had been conferred upon him with unanimity under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon; and on the same evening he reached Trenton, where a large concourse of people awaited him, at the head of whom the magistrates ex-

pressed to him sentiments of affection and gratitude, with which every citizen was animated.

The whole country through which we passed in those two days, is commonly called the garden of the United States. That name in fact is remarkably applicable to that portion of New Jersey, which is watered by the most beautiful streams, and decorated with the finest farms imaginable. If, in that march of two days, our eyes were continually refreshed by these charming aspects of nature, our imagination was no less gratified by historical recollections, which at every step were awakened by the ground which we trod. It was by the same route that Washington effected his admirable retreat in 1776, after having suffered some checks on the North river. It was at Trenton and Princeton that he resumed the offensive against his presumptuous adversaries, by which confidence was inspired into his drooping troops, and which led them to other victories under his standards.

The details of those glorious days could not but interest me greatly; and I listened to them with avidity, as they were recounted by some of the old members of the Cincinnati Society, with whom we dined on the day of our arrival at Trenton. They reported the facts of which they had been witness in the following manner:—

Washington having learned that a body of 12 or 1500 Hessians and British dragoons, under the order of Colonel Rhall, had taken possession of Trenton, formed a plan for surprising and taking it if possible. To effect his project, he chose the night of Christmas, well presuming that discipline and watchfulness would be a little relaxed on that festival. He had at that time under his order not more than 3000 men, of whom he took 2500, divided them into two divisions, one under the command of General Greene, the other under General Sullivan; and at their head passed the Delaware by the aid of boats, at midnight, on the 25th December, in the midst of a terrible storm of rain and snow. Having landed on the Jersey shore, he directed one of his columns to the left, to gain the great road to Maidenhead, and the other directly to Trenton, following the course of the river. The march was so rapid and secret, that the columns arrived at 7 o'clock in the morning at the advanced posts, which were completely surprised. When the first musket shots were heard, the Brigade ran to arms; and a few men attempted to draw out the artillery.

which was parked in the church, but were prevented by the activity in which the American advanced guard came among them. The Hessians and English, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, gave up the defensive. Colonel Rhal and several other officers, having been dangerously wounded in the commencement of the encounter, the troops surrendered at discretion. This action, which gave the conquerors six pieces of cannon, three standards, one hundred small arms, twelve hundred prisoners, and much baggage, hardly cost him ten men. General Washington determined to send the Hessians into the interior of Pennsylvania with all their baggage. This generous treatment, which they by no means expected, inspired them with a great veneration of the American general, whom they declared to be a *very good and amiable rebel*.

After this success, Washington retired behind the Delaware; whence, after having received considerable reinforcements from the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, he returned anew into New Jersey, and encamped at Trenton. On receiving this news, Lord Cornwallis perceived that he had deceived himself when he thought the war was drawing nigh its termination. He perceived his adversary was not a man at all likely to abandon his cause, so long as it was possible for him to fire a shot; and he therefore resolved to proceed with vigour. In spite of the rigour of the season, he assembled all his troops from their winter quarters, and marched against him in considerable force. On his approach, Washington retired behind the Assumpsick, so that the city of Trenton lay between the two armies, which during the first evening, exchanged a few cannon shot; after which they remained some time observing each other. Cornwallis, however, received reinforcements every day; and waited only for the arrival of two brigades from Brunswick, to attempt the passage of the brook, and make an attack. The situation of Washington was then very critical, his provisions began to fail, and all communication with the Jerseys and the Western States had been cut off; but he did not despair of that sacred cause which he defended. On the second of January, at 1 o'clock in the morning, he ordered the fires to be well supplied, and to leave a few soldiers to attend them, while the army, marching to the right and afterwards wheeling to the left, passed in the rear of the British army, and penetrated into the interior of New Jersey. The movement was a dangerous one, if it could

not be made secretly : for it was necessary to proceed a considerable distance on the right, in order to pass the Assumpsick at its source with more facility, and then to fall on Princeton. It was executed with remarkable success. At about a mile from Kingston, Washington's vanguard, on entering the great road, met the British regiment under Colonel Maywood, who, in the greatest security, without any precaution, was advancing towards Trenton. An engagement immediately commenced. The American vanguard was at first repulsed by the energy of the English fire. General Mercer, who commanded it, wished to renew the attack with the bayonet ; but in leaping over a ditch he fell in the midst of the English, who killed him without mercy, when in the act of presenting his sword as a prisoner. The Americans, discouraged by the loss of their chief, retired into the woods, to await the main body of the army, which soon arrived. The English corps continued their route towards Maidenhead, so that Washington, on his arrival at the scene of action, found only the 48th British regiment, which at the report of the first fire, had proceeded on the great road. He attacked them with much spirit, routed them, and made many prisoners.

During that time, General Sullivan was rapidly advancing, leaving on the left the Princeton road, with the intention of turning that place, and cutting off all hope of retreat to Brunswick, from the troops who held it in possession. A wood through which he had to pass, was occupied by two hundred British troops, whom he dislodged in an instant ; and he continued his pursuit to the great College at Princeton, in which they would have been able to make a strong defence, but they did not think of occupying it, and were obliged to surrender at discretion. Washington, after having at the head of his principal corps, effectually dispersed or taken every thing opposed to him, collected his forces and marched rapidly on towards Middlebrook. He would gladly have pushed on to Brunswick, which at the first moment, he could have captured without much difficulty. But he had marched thirty miles in one day, and his troops were harassed with fatigue, so that it was necessary for him to halt. It would be difficult to paint the astonishment of Cornwallis, when he heard, twelve miles in his rear, the bold attack of an enemy whom he considered in his presence. The fires were still burning on the shores of the Assumpsick. He precipitately retired on Brunswick ; and

from that moment, the Jerseys remained free from the enemy, and Pennsylvania was secured.

We arrived at Trenton on the 25th of September. On the following day, (Sunday,) after divine service, which we attended at the Presbyterian Church, we seated ourselves in a coach, with the governor and his aids, without escort and without parade, and rode to Bordentown, the residence of Joseph Buonaparte. The ex-king appeared sensibly affected with this visit of the General, and received him with an expression of feeling and cordiality, which proved to General Lafayette, that time could not diminish the sentiments of affection which he had formerly shown him. He detained us to dine, and to introduce us to his family, which at that moment only consisted of his daughter and son-in-law, Prince Canino, son of Lucien Buonaparte. Before dinner, Joseph Buonaparte took General Lafayette into his cabinet, and detained him much more than an hour.

We spent that time in conversing with prince Canino, whose manners are very affable, and whose mind appeared to be quite cultivated. The study of the sciences, and particularly that of natural history, occupied, it was said, much of his time. He has continued, with remarkable talent, the great work of Wilson, the ornithologist; and is not inferior to him. After dinner, at which Madame Canino did the honours with much grace, we found the gardens and courts filled with the inhabitants of the village and vicinity, who brought their children to share in the benediction of the patriarch of Liberty. Joseph himself, immediately ordered that all the doors should be opened; and in a moment all the apartments were thronged. It was indeed a striking picture which was presented by those American peasants under the rich ceilings of Bordentown. Although their eyes are not accustomed to the splendour of royal furniture, they did not stop at any of those beautiful pictures of the Italian or French schools, nor at those exquisite bronzes and marbles with which the apartments of Joseph are ornamented in such a rich profusion. It was only Lafayette they wished to see, and having gratified their wish, they went out satisfied, and apparently incapable of attending to any thing which might lead away their thoughts from what they had enjoyed. When the crowd had become satisfied, and had left the house, General Lafayette hastened to excuse himself with his host for having drawn upon him so great a concourse of visitors; to which Joseph replied,

with much kindness, that he considered himself happy that his neighbours had been disposed to join him in expressions of respect; "and besides," he added, "I have long been accustomed to see as many of them in my house, for every year, on the 4th of July, we celebrate together the anniversary of American independence."

The time had rapidly passed during this visit; and the governor of New Jersey had to remind the General, that we had only time enough to return to Trenton before night. We immediately set out. Joseph and his family being desirous to accompany the general a part of the way, we shared among us the carriage which had been prepared, and we passed at a slow pace, through his extensive and beautiful estate, the peaceable possession of which, appeared to me preferable to the precarious government of the Kingdom of Spain. When we had again entered upon the great road, affectionately addressing General Lafayette, "permit me," said he, "to stop on my frontiers, and return you to the affection of the Americans, who claim the pleasing right of paying you the honours of their country." He tenderly embraced the General, shook us by the hand, and hastily returned to his family.

During that visit, Joseph Buonaparte showed himself to be an intelligent and amiable man. The friendship which he showed us, the generosity with which he receives strangers, particularly unfortunate Frenchmen, and finally, the excellence of his character, have gained him the hearts of all. His fortune is large, his family cherish him; but yet he has not the air of a happy man. That arises, I imagine, from the recollection of the misfortune he has once endured of being a king.

On our return to Trenton, we spent the evening with the Governor, his family, and several of the principal citizens of the state. Conversation turned on many of the events of the revolution, in which General Lafayette bore a conspicuous part; and the recollection of the various sacrifices made at that glorious period, naturally drew the conversation to the immense benefits which they conferred on every part of the Union. One of the officers of the government, a man of cultivated mind, and remarkable address, gave us a rapid sketch of the manner in which the state of New Jersey had become so prosperous, since the period when they were rescued from the ridiculous and absurd colonial system. This province, the first settlement of which was



made in 1628, by a company of Swedes; and which, after having passed successively into the hands of the Dutch and English, changed masters at least ten times within seventy-two years, hardly contained 2500 inhabitants a century after its establishment; and at most 100,000 at the time it began to enjoy the benefits of independence; now contains at least 280,000.

Although the state of New Jersey was continually the theatre of the revolutionary war, and its losses consequently were very great, its present prosperity is equal to that of the most flourishing states. Protected by forty years of peace and liberty, its industry has created a fruitful source of wealth.

The Constitution of the state of New Jersey was discussed and adopted by the Continental Congress, held at Burlington, on the 2d July, 1776. That constitution was introduced by a declaration, in which the following principle was proclaimed:—

“Whereas all the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over these colonies, or their other dominions, was, by compact, derived from the people, and held of them, for the common interest of the whole society; allegiance and protection are, in the nature of things, reciprocal ties, each equally depending upon the other, and liable to be dissolved by the others being refused or withdrawn: And whereas George the Third, king of Great Britain, has refused protection to the good people of these colonies; and by assenting to sundry acts of the British parliament, attempted to subject them to the absolute dominion of that body; and has also made war upon them, in the most cruel and unnatural manner, for no other cause, than asserting their just rights—all civil authority under him is necessarily at an end, and a dissolution of government in each colony has consequently taken place.”

The Constitution of New Jersey establishes three powers: the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary; but with this peculiarity, that the governor of this state is always a member of the Legislative Assembly, and Chancellor of the state. He is elected every year, by the Council and General Assembly.

He has the right of granting pardon to criminals, even in cases of treason. He is Commander-in-chief of the military forces, but yet possesses no influence in the appointment of captains and subaltern officers, who are chosen by the companies in every county. Only the generals and officers of the staff are chosen by the Council and the Assembly.

The military forces amount to about 40,000 men, of all arms. The regulations of the militia are nearly the same as those in the state of Massachusetts.

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## CHAPTER X.

**Entrance of Philadelphia—History and Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania—Commerce, Agriculture, &c.—City of Philadelphia—Public Buildings, Prisons, Establishments, &c.**

On Monday the 27th of September, we crossed the Delaware, over a bridge about nine hundred feet in length, and entirely sheltered, to protect travellers from bad weather. Foot passengers cross it on a fine sidewalk. The middle path is divided into two; and carriages are obliged to take one side in going, and the other in returning, to avoid accidents. It is built after the design of Mr. Burr, who laid the first stone in 1804. It was completed in 1812. On touching the soil of Pennsylvania, General Lafayette was received by the Governor of the state, at the head of his staff, and in the presence of the troops and citizens of Morristown, who had assembled in great numbers. From Morristown we went to lodge at the Arsenal at Frankfort, passing the charming town of Bristol.

We resumed our march on the following morning, with a more numerous escort than the previous evening, and in proportion as we approached Philadelphia, foot passengers, horsemen and carriages increased the procession in such a degree, that it was with difficulty we could proceed. At a little distance from the city, in a plain, were about 6000 militia under arms, in fine condition and discipline, forming a square, in the centre of which General Lafayette was received, with the discharge of cannon, by the civil and military authorities. After he had passed on foot the ranks of the militia, and when they had deployed before him under command of General Cadwallader, we took up our march with them to enter the city. It could never have been said with greater truth that the whole population came out to meet General Lafayette. None of the inhabitants remained in their houses except those labouring under age or infirmity. Steps had been raised on each side of the

streets, high as the roofs, to afford places for the spectators. In the principal street of that part of the suburbs which we entered, all the mechanic societies were drawn up in line. At the head of each corps was a workshop containing a number of workmen, employed in the labours of their various professions. Beside each of these shops was seen a banner, bearing the portraits of Washington and Lafayette, and this inscription: "To their wisdom and courage we owe the free exercise of our industry." Among those corps of artizans, we particularly marked that of the printers: above their press, which was placed in the middle of the street, was placed this inscription: "The liberty of the press—the surest guarantee of the rights of man." From this press proceeded in great numbers, odes to Lafayette and patriotic songs, which were thrown into our carriages as we passed, and distributed to the people who followed. After the artizans came the public schools, masters and scholars, all decorated with ribbons, bearing the inscription—"Welcome Lafayette." At the head of the procession marched a detachment of cavalry. The Guest of the Nation was in an elegant calash, drawn by six horses. By his side was placed the venerable Judge Peters, who was the secretary and the soul of the War Department during the whole period of the revolution. Then came the governor, mayor, municipal council and judges, in different coaches; and finally G. W. Lafayette, with the secretary of his father, in a calash resembling that of the General, while behind us heavily moved four large waggons, resembling tents in their form, each containing forty old revolutionary soldiers. It was impossible to look upon those veterans of liberty, without being affected. Their eyes, although half closed by age, still found tears to express the unexpected joy and happiness which they felt at once more beholding their old companion in arms. Their voices, feeble and trembling, became re-animating with the sounds of the warlike instruments which accompanied them; and were again invigorated while they repeated their old war songs, blessed the names of Washington and Lafayette, and joined in the shouts of freedom.

A long column of infantry closed the march. The procession, after having passed through the principal streets, and under thirty triumphal arches, stopped before the City Hotel, where we alighted. While we took a few moments of repose, the deputies and senators of Pennsylvania, and

the municipal council, the corps of judges, and military authorities, assembled in the principal hall. A few moments after, at a signal given by thirty guns, we were introduced into that hall: and the General, having been led to the base of the statue of Washington, was addressed by the mayor in the following words:

“Forty years ago, in this city, and in this very hall, which may justly claim the name of the cradle of independence, an assembly of men, such as the world seldom sees, eminent in virtue, talents and patriotism, declared, in the face of the world, their determination to govern themselves, and take a rank, for themselves and their children, among the nations. Very few men then alive survive at the present day; but in that number history will find, and we are proud to place, General Lafayette, whose whole life has been devoted to the support of liberty, and the defence of the imprescribable rights of men.

“General!—Many of your countrymen who came with you to our assistance, are no more: but this nation remembers them, and future ages will preserve their story. Let us endeavour for a moment to forget those glorious shades, to welcome the living hero.”

While listening to this discourse, and recollecting this hall in which was signed the declaration of independence of the United States—this hall at the door of which he awaited with so much anxiety in 1777, for permission to draw his sword and devote his fortune in a cause then almost desperate—General Lafayette experienced an emotion which he had difficulty in repressing, and which several times betrayed itself in his reply.

“My entrance into this great and superb city,” said he, “the solemn and touching recollections which have been awakened, and the affectionate reception which has been offered me, awakens in my heart the remembrance of all those feelings which I experienced fifty years ago. It is here, in this hall, consecrated by the councils of sages, where the independence of the United States was boldly proclaimed. In anticipation of the independence of all America, here commenced a new era for the civilized world, the era of social order, founded on the rights of mankind—the advantages of which are every day exemplified in the peace and happiness of your republic. Here, Sir, was formed our brave and virtuous revolutionary army: here was inspired, by providence, the happy idea of in-

trusting the command to the much loved Washington, that faultless soldier. But these recollections, with a crowd of others, are mingled with deep regret at the loss of the great and good men whom we have to lament. To their services, Sir, to your respect for their memory, to the friendship which united me with them, I must refer the great part of the honours which I have here and elsewhere received: honours far above my own merit. It is also under the auspices of their venerated names, as well as by the impulses of my own feelings, that I beg you, sir mayor, and you, members of the two councils, and the inhabitants of Philadelphia, to receive a tribute of my respect, my affection, and my profound gratitude."

All the people were then admitted, to pass before the Guest of the Nation, and to take his hand. This ceremony continued for several hours, and presented the most perfect picture of equality which it is possible to conceive. Before generals came artizans, with blackened hands, muscular arms, and stooping shoulders. By the side of a magistrate walked a farmer, in his humble dress; the priest and the artist came hand in hand; and children, encouraged at finding their rights and weakness respected, stepped boldly up, before soldiers and sailors. Such a variety of costume, singularly contrasted with the uniform expression of their countenances, in all of which was seen the same sentiment of emotion and pleasure.

After this reception, the General was conducted to Washington Hall, in the midst of a constantly increasing crowd, where a splendid dinner was prepared. All the authorities were present, and numerous toasts were drank. One was proposed to "regenerated Greece," to which they wished a "Washington for a chief, and a Lafayette for a friend." In the evening a population of 120,000 souls, increased by 40,000 strangers, from every part of the Union, walked the streets by the light of the illuminations and fireworks, singing the exploits of the champion of liberty: and these popular rejoicings, which in Europe, under the care of the police, would have been attended with murders, robberies, and accidents, of every description, passed here without the slightest disorder. On the following morning, the mayor paid a visit to General Lafayette, holding in his hands the report he had just received from the police office, which he exhibited to us. "See," said he, with an expression of much satisfaction, "how freemen conduct. More than

40,000 strangers have come to mingle in the celebrations of our citizens, but I have not found it necessary to increase the strength of the watch. It therefore consists of only one hundred and sixteen unarmed men ; and yet they have not had a single disorder to repress during this night of popular excitement. Here is the report ; not a complaint—not the slightest difficulty !” and joy brightened in the eyes of that most virtuous magistrate, whose only happiness is founded on the wisdom of his fellow-citizens. I thought the mayor of Philadelphia would be a bad prefect of the police in Paris.

On the following days the General received, in the Hall of Independence, addresses from the different corporations, or regularly constituted bodies : such as the clergy, the philosophical society, the university, the chamber of commerce, the bar, the children of the schools, the Washington light infantry, the Lafayette benevolent association, the revolutionary soldiers, the French residents in Philadelphia, &c. &c.

To each of the addresses General Lafayette replied, in an easy and elegant extemporaneous speech, so appropriate to the various circumstances which they recalled to him, that the astonishment and admiration of the public continually increased.

The deputation of the clergy presented a very interesting picture, and one well worthy to interest an European. Led by Bishop White, who was chaplain to congress during the revolutionary war, it contained nearly eighty pastors, almost all of different sects, but all animated by the same spirit of tolerance and charity. The orator speaking in the name of the ministers of all denominations, and as a faithful organ of their unanimous sentiments, addressed him as follows :—

“ We all congratulate ourselves that we owe, in part to your efforts, the happiness of living under a government which offers equal protection to all religious sects, of whatever denomination, imposing upon them no other obligation than that of respecting the peace, and legal order of civil life.”

The general replied :—“ The unanimous expression of affection and esteem with which I am honoured, by the respectable pastors of the different religious communities of Philadelphia, and its environs, affects my heart with sentiments of deepest gratitude, and afford me a new

proof of the holy nature of that fraternity, which, in this happy country, unites the ministers of the gospel in liberty and equality. Republican principles, in truth, can never find a more powerful support than that which is afforded them by pastors, who, to eminent personal services, unite the inestimable advantages of being chosen by their own congregations."

"I pray you, gentlemen, to receive my kind and respectful thanks for your address, which is so much more affecting to me, because it is presented by an old and respected friend, the friend of Washington, whose patriotic prayers and benedictions were so often, in this hall of Congress, connected with the great events of the revolution."

The speech of Bishop White, and the reply of General Lafayette, awakened in me, I acknowledge, many new ideas; I began to understand how, under a good government, religion and liberty, far from being incompatible, lend each other mutual support: and how, for the establishment of this happy alliance, unknown in Europe, nothing else is necessary, but that the government, renouncing the system of making religion an instrument or prop for itself, should leave the citizens the right of choosing and paying the men to whom they wish to entrust the direction of their consciences.

I have before said, that the French residents in Philadelphia came to express to General Lafayette their feelings of personal attachment, and the pleasure they experienced in beholding one of their countrymen enjoy so splendid a triumph. They assembled with Mr. Duponceau at their head, whom they appointed to be their organ; and that trust he performed with a feeling eloquence which springs from religion and the law of liberty.

Mr. Duponceau, whom we had the pleasure again to hear address Lafayette, at the head of a philosophical society, of which he is a member, and of the bar of Philadelphia, of which he is one of the principal ornaments, has resided in the United States ever since the war of independence, in which he distinguished himself as an aid-de-camp to Baron Steuben. As a sound and well-read lawyer, Mr. Duponceau has acquired, in his adopted country, a high reputation, which is greatly increased by the practice of every virtue. During our visit to Philadelphia, we counted among our happiest moments those we passed in his ever amiable, and ever instructive society.

We also found at Philadelphia another countryman, whom we had the pleasure of embracing. I speak of General Bernard: the modest and learned man, whose talents and distinguished patriotism were not recognized by the French Government in 1815. General Bernard, who, it is well known, passed with credit through the imperial court of Napoleon, without losing any thing of his republicanism: (which may truly be regarded as a phenomenon,) has here found those who can appreciate his merit. Being intrusted by the American government to furnish the country with a complete system of fortification, and serve the prosperity of their commerce by the construction of canals and roads on an immense scale, he will give us the satisfaction of seeing a French name associated with the great enterprises of a great nation. It is impossible to be acquainted with General Bernard, without feeling for him sincere esteem, admiration, and friendship.

All the time General Lafayette was able to devote to his friends, and the people of Philadelphia, was occupied in visiting the institutions of benevolence and public utility, which are very numerous in that great city. But, before I attempt to designate or describe them, I wish to cast a hasty glance at the settlement and history of Pennsylvania. In 1627, a party of Swedes and Finlanders landed on the shores of the Delaware, and laid the first foundations of this colony, which afterwards so rapidly increased, under the mild and humane institutions of William Penn. The wisdom and moderation of the Swedes, and their excellent administration, might have ensured to them the peaceable possession of the soil which they had acquired of the natural proprietors, the Indians. But thirty years had hardly elapsed, when they found themselves dispossessed by the Dutch, who also suffered in the same manner by the English, not less avaricious and cunning than themselves. In 1681, Charles II. king of England, wishing to pay the services which Admiral Penn had rendered to the crown, granted to his son, William Penn, 200,000 acres of land on the banks of the Delaware.

[Here is inserted a passage from the Charter of Pennsylvania, which it is unnecessary to publish.]

On the 11th June, of that year on which the Charter was granted, the proprietor, and those who were to emigrate



with him, agreed that, before they distributed the land to the purchasers, sufficient should be reserved for the making of roads—that all affairs with the Indians should be treated in the market place—that all differences arising between the emigrants and the natives, should be decided by six emigrants, and six Indians—that out of every five acres, one should be left uncleared, in order to preserve the oaks, and the white mulberry trees for the construction of vessels—that no one should leave the province without giving notice in the public market place, three weeks previously.

At the close of the same year the colonists arrived in Pennsylvania, and laid the foundation of this settlement. Penn himself arrived at the beginning of the following year, and purchased from Lord Berkley, and the heirs of George de Carteret, for the sum of £4000 sterling, certain parts of New Jersey, which he added to his estate, and thus found himself possessed of the whole country, included between the 40th and 43d degrees of Latitude. He also purchased, from the Indians, certain tracts which he paid for with the greatest punctuality; not considering that the title of an European gave him a right to deprive a savage nation of their legitimate and natural country. His spirit of justice and moderation soon conciliated the attachment of the Indians, who from being hostile as formerly to all the settlements of the whites, soon became his friendly and faithful allies. His reputation soon spread in Europe a desire among many unfortunate men in those countries, to seek peace and liberty with him. The first colonists who had arrived with him imitated his virtues; and the settlement prospered. In the year 1692, William Penn convoked a general assembly of the inhabitants, and entrusted them with the draft of a constitution, the execution of which was to be submitted to a Governor, assisted by a Provincial Council, and the inhabitants convened in a general assembly. The council was to be composed of seventy members, chosen by the inhabitants, over whom the Governor, or his representatives, should preside. This council was to be annually renewed, one third at a time. On that occasion William Penn pronounced a speech, in which he established this proposition, too little acknowledged by the nations and governments of Europe, that whatever be the form of the government, the people are always free, when they are only governed by laws, and have a hand in making them; and that, aside from these conditions, oligarchy and confu-

sion, must ensue ; that the great object of every government is, to make their power respected by the people, and to secure the people from abuse of power ; also that the people are free in obeying—the magistrates honoured and respected, through the justice of their administration and submission to the laws.

Troubles however succeeded, which were caused by the protests of the Governor of Maryland, Lord Baltimore ; and William Penn was obliged to return to England to defend his rights. During his absence, he entrusted his government to five Commissioners, who caused great discontent by their abuse of authority. In these circumstances, King James having abdicated, his successor took possession of the government of Pennsylvania. But three years afterwards, in 1696, he had returned it to its owner.

In 1699, Penn returned to Pennsylvania, and resumed the management of affairs. He then proposed a new constitution, which was adopted, and was preserved until the epoch of the revolution. New reverses soon recalled him to England, where he suddenly died under an attack of apoplexy, in 1718. His death was a great misfortune, no doubt, to the colony which he had founded. But the Society of Friends, of which he was chief, proved themselves worthy inheritors of his virtues, and continued, by their liberal policy, to attract among them all men whom the religious persecutions and despotism had disgusted in Europe. In 1739 and 1754, the colony received 35,517 emigrants ; the greater part of whom were Irish and Germans. From the midst of this new population, arose all those various doctrines, which are found among various persons of different creeds, and divided the colony among Quakers, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Covenanters, Methodists, Universalists, &c. Some of these sects unfortunately gave themselves up to that spirit of proselytism and intolerance, of which they had themselves been victims in Europe ; and they were sometimes found persecuting Indians to make them accept of their religion. It was their fanaticism, which in 1763, under the execrable pretext of ridding the land of Pagans, caused the inhuman massacre of the Conestogas, who were living in peace and confidence under their treaty with William Penn. This act of barbarity destroyed the harmony which had reigned for almost sixty years between the Indians and the colonists, which did

not end until the year 1769, by the almost entire destruction of the former, whose miserable remains were collected on the borders of the Niagara.

From the death of Penn until 1763, the good understanding between the colony and the mother country appeared not to be interrupted; but the Stamp-act found the same spirit of opposition in Philadelphia, as in New England; and in 1768, the Provincial Assembly protested with energy against the right claimed by the Parliament of England to tax the colonies.

In 1773, the tea imported by the English into the port of Philadelphia was destroyed as it had been in Boston; and all Pennsylvania replied with an unanimous shout of approbation, to the cry of insurrection in Massachusetts. Finally, it was in Philadelphia in 1776, that fifty-four deputies from thirteen states, assembled under the presidency of John Hancock, and signed the Declaration of the Independence of the United States. Towards the close of the same year, the Convention of Pennsylvania, assembled at Philadelphia, adopted and proclaimed a new Constitution.

[Here follows, in the original work, the declaration and preamble of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.]

The Constitution which was adopted after this declaration of rights, was revised in 1790. Like all those of the other states it established three powers: the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

The Legislative power resides in the house of representatives and the senate. The representatives are annually chosen by the citizens. Their number varies in proportion to the population, and can never be less than sixty or above one hundred. The qualifications for a representative are, that he shall be twenty-one years of age, have been a citizen for three years, and three years a resident of the state before the election, and one year of the town or district, excepting cases of absence on public business.

The senators are chosen every four years, one quarter of their number annually go out of office, who are replaced by other elections. The total number of senators cannot be less than a quarter, nor above two-thirds of the representatives. To be a senator, a candidate must have attained the age of twenty-five years, be a citizen and an inhabitant of the state four years, and an inhabitant of the electoral county the year preceding the election. Every free per-

son, twenty-one years of age, who has been an inhabitant of the state two years before the election, and paid some tax during the same period, is an elector. The elections are made by ballot in every county: the members of the electoral committee on receiving the ballots record the name and occupation of each elector, so that no one can vote twice, or without the right.

The executive power is entrusted to a Governor, who is elected by the citizens every three years. He must be thirty years of age, have been an inhabitant of the state, seven years before his election, and cannot continue in the exercise of his functions more than nine years in twelve. He commands all the armed forces of the state, so long as they are not called into the general service of the Union. He can convoke the General Assembly in extraordinary circumstances. He has the right of objecting to a law submitted to his approbation; but it may still be sanctioned, if it is afterwards adopted by two-thirds of the houses.

The Judicial power is exercised by different courts, the judges of which, being appointed by the Governor, cannot be removed but at the demand of two-thirds of the chambers of the two houses. These are the Supreme Court, composed of the Chief Justice and four Judges; a court of Oyer and Terminer, entrusted with civil and criminal cases; a court of Common Pleas; a court of Errors and Appeal; and finally, a court of Four Sessions in each county. This last court is entrusted only with cases of petty larceny and frauds. This jurisdiction in the city, belongs to the Mayor's Court, consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, &c., and an Alderman. Every public officer, on entering upon his functions, is obliged to make oath to the Constitution; but no religious test is required.

Since the Constitution was adopted, Pennsylvania has not ceased to increase in population, wealth and happiness. In 1790, it did not contain 450,000 souls. It now embraces a population of 1,500,000; of which, 141,000 are continually occupied in agriculture. The state of which, may be compared with that which is found in the most productive departments of finance. It is especially since property has become more divided, by the increase of population, that agriculture has made such rapid progress. The ancient estates of 1000, or 1200 acres in extent, are now for the most part, divided into farms of eighty or 100 acres: on each of which, is erected a convenient habitation; buildings

well arranged, and rich orchards, which continually supply the markets with the finest fruits.

Since gypsum has begun to be employed for enriching the land, its value has greatly increased; and I think it would now be difficult to find land worth less than one hundred dollars per acre, in the vicinity of the great towns, or lower than sixty dollars per acre in the most thinly settled parts of the state.

The greater part of the farmers are not only cultivators, but merchants and manufacturers; and they make their own woollen cloths, and sell a great deal of brandy, which they make from peaches; as well as Indian corn, buckwheat and maple sugar. They also make a great deal of cider, and some wine, for their own consumption, from currants, cherries and raspberries; but very little from grapes. The war of 1812, by paralyzing the foreign commerce of Pennsylvania, greatly contributed to the increase of its manufactures. They are already very numerous and various; and according to the latest estimate, it appeared they employ a capital of more than 4,000,000 dollars; and employ 60,000 hands. Since the last war, commerce has resumed its former activity; the exports, however, are not in proportion to the industry of the state. They principally consist of wheat, flour, cattle, horses, lumber, linseed, iron utensils, soap and candles. In 1820, they were less than 8000 dollars in value. The coasting trade is considerable; and about thirty vessels are employed in the trade to India, China, and the North West coast. The coasting and foreign trade, employ about 7000 persons. Commerce, manufactures and agriculture, meeting with no obstacle to their extension, and having no important burthen to support, cannot fail to become more prosperous year by year. The taxes are light; as none of them can ever exceed one per cent. on the value of the property.

They are proportioned and collected in the following manner; every three years, at the time of the general election, the people choose assessors, who, after having estimated in money, the value of the taxable property, send to the commissioners of the county, the names of two respectable proprietors of the district, one of whom is called a Receiver. The latter makes known to the citizen, the amount of their taxes, and the day when their objections will be heard by their Commissioner. The payments then are made, and the money is given to the County Treasurer, who is chosen

for three years by the County Commissioners, and who receives for his services one per cent. on the money which passes through his hands. The taxes are levied on lands, houses, mills, manufactories; funded property, domestic animals above four years of age, lucrative employments, commercial, and in general all offices with the exception of those of school-masters and ministers of the gospel: finally, tavern licenses, and those persons who follow no profession.

The excellent financial organization of the state, and the rigid economy carried into all the expenses of the government, never require extraordinary taxes; and still admit administrators to apply large funds unappropriated, to the seventh article of the constitution, which directs the legislative power to employ the proper means for establishments for public instruction, to secure elementary education for the poor, without expense; and to contribute to the rapid diffusion of the arts and sciences. The primary school for the poor, and the academy for the study of literature and the sciences, are encouraged not only by the care of the legislature, but still more by the constant sacrifices and efforts of all the citizens, who rival each other, in attempts to establish new ones, where their want is in any manner felt.

The civil laws of England, are for the most part, still in operation in greater part of the state of Pennsylvania. Their preservation is one of the conditions stipulated in the patent, which Charles II. granted to William Penn. They would have been entirely changed at the time of the revolution, as at that period, the connexion with England was broken off; but, time and habit had rendered them so much respected, that they were preserved entire; and even at the present day, they have undergone but very few and slight alterations. The same could not be the fact, in regard to the criminal laws. It was impossible, that the English penal code, often so sanguinary, should correspond with the views of the philanthropic society of friends; so that it became from the earliest history of the colony, the object of the attacks of Penn, who sought to substitute for it, a code more conformed to the spirit of the sect which was strongly opposed to the punishment of death; or, at least, desired that it should not be so easily and carefully applied. But parliament was deaf to this cry of humanity, and refused both the code of Penn and the tolerant decree of Calvert, which preceded it by nearly half a century.

After the revolution, the disciples of Penn, ever animated

by his philanthropic spirit, again raised their voice against the barbarity of the penal code of England. That voice was re-echoed by the profound and enlightened writings of Franklin, William Bradford, Caleb Lownds and Dr. Rush. The penalty of death was soon confined to premeditated murder. Imprisonment and labour in proportion to the strength of the criminal, substituted corporeal punishment, and disgraceful mutilation which completed the corruption of the mind by consigning the body to everlasting contempt. These changes were effected in 1793; since that time, numerous and effectual attempts have been made in Philadelphia, for the improvement of prison discipline, the condition of prisons, and particularly the philanthropic system for the moral reformation of culprits, which were soon imitated through the union. Not only the state governments and the corporate cities have taken measures on the subject, but also a great number of benevolent associations, among which the society of Friends hold the first rank, have devoted themselves to this great and good work. Among all the testimonies which might be cited, I will restrict myself to that of the most respectable and efficient philanthropist in Europe, the Duke de La Rochefoucault Liancourt, who in a large and very instructive work, his travels in the United States, during the years 1795, '96 and '97, speaks with enthusiasm of the reforming prisons of the United States, and particularly of the State Prison of Philadelphia; chiefly directed by the members of the society of Friends. This word State Prison, has a different construction in Europe; but here, it signifies a prison constructed by a state legislature, for culprits condemned in courts of justice. Whenever in England, France and other countries in Europe, the improvement of prisons has been desired, those of the United States, and particularly those of Philadelphia, have been taken as models.

The moral means of reformation, however, so well detailed in the work of the Duke de La Rochefoucault Liancourt, and by some other travellers, have not entirely satisfied the wishes for improvement which influenced the directors of those establishments. On the one hand, it is probable that the prisons of Philadelphia, by receiving a great number of convicts, and among them many emigrants from Europe, and a still greater proportion of men less susceptible of reformation, have produced results less satis-

factory, than at the time when the Duke de La Rochefoucault Liancourt wrote.

It has been desired that more might be accomplished; and many of those respected friends of humanity have thought, that solitary confinement, by leaving the convict to his own reflections, and to such as may be suggested to him, and by separating him from other convicts, would offer more chance for his improvement. Consequently, as no expense deters the Americans, when they have once become penetrated with a great subject of public utility, an immense building has been constructed, at a great expense, near Philadelphia, with court yards and cells, where each convict may be imprisoned by himself. By the plan of the edifice, a general oversight may be easily, and continually exercised.

This superb establishment was building when General Lafayette, accompanied by the committee appointed to do the honours of the city, went to visit it. He was politely received by the respectable directors and managers, who explained to him the improvements they had introduced. One must be bold to dare to contradict men so virtuous, so experienced, and so just in their intention, in the execution of their benevolent labours. The frankness, and conviction of the General overcame his repugnance: and with all possible respect, and with the deference which was due them, and which his personal situation rendered still more necessary, he represented to them, that solitary confinement was a punishment which could not be known, until it had been experienced—that the virtuous and enlightened Malesherbes, who, during his ministry, under the old regime, had meliorated the condition of the state prisons, considered solitary confinement as producing idiocy. The General remarked, that during the five years of his captivity, he spent one entire year in this manner; and during part of that time, without seeing a companion for more than one hour: and he added, smiling, that he had proved that it was not the way to produce reformation; for he had been placed there because he wished to revolutionize nations against despotism and aristocracy, that he passed his solitude in reflecting upon it, and came out incorrigible. General Lafayette also made several observations on too close a superintendence; such, for example, as that to which he had been subjected during the first years of his imprisonment, when he was continually guarded by a sentinel, who was



relieved day and night every two hours. Mr. Adams, at that time Secretary of State, appeared to be struck with these observations. They have since become a topic of controversy in the public Newspapers and Journals, in which persons of different opinions, with equal claims to respect for their sentiments and intentions, supported different sides. "I see," said General Lafayette, "that in those states where prisons are least encumbered, in New Hampshire, for example, or in Vermont—the directors, which in New Hampshire are the state Senators, the Legislature, and the public, still approve of the method, and effect the reformation of the convicts, which you complain you cannot effect in Pennsylvania, and in the most populous states. Why should not your fine establishments be divided into several parts, each of which should not contain more prisoners than the prisons of New Hampshire, or Vermont, which would in fact afford the means of distributing prisoners according to their crimes, or of exciting emulation among those who conduct well; and, since in your great and philanthropic generosity, you have been at the expense of constructing a cell for every prisoner, shut them up separately during the night, instead of congregating them in those large sleeping rooms, where, it is true, the convicts corrupt each other much more than during the day, when they are at work, and are watched by their keepers." This discussion of opinions, equally sincere, and in which, it is to be confessed, directors and managers have the advantage of experience, is not confined to Pennsylvania, nor yet to America. Various European philanthropists, who supposed they saw in the prisons of Pennsylvania, a principle of perfection, have taken the alarm, and regarded this acknowledgment of failure, this necessity of change, as discouraging the exertions of the friends of humanity in Europe. One of the first men in England, the celebrated Mr. Roscoe, had already written against certain opinions, in his view erroneous, which had been expressed in reports on prisons, laid before the Legislature of New York. It was replied, that this manner of viewing the subject, or rather of representing it, was that of the report, and not of the Legislature, or the public. Mr. Roscoe soon afterwards entered into a discussion relative to the Philadelphia prisons. He has published pamphlets on this subject, which do equal honour to his head and heart. Such is the present state of the question, to which that visit directed my attention.

A numerous, enlightened, and experienced, portion of the citizens of Pennsylvania, particularly at Philadelphia, seem disposed to make experiments in solitary confinement; not as an exception, but as a basis to the penitentiary system. Many other men of excellent character, whom I have seen and conversed with, on both sides of the Atlantic, are of the opposite opinion. But still it is fortunate for a country, that so much interest is excited in those who attend to such subjects; and there can be no doubt that experiments will be made by persons of excellent intentions, disposed to modify their system, should they meet with obstacles.

After having established improvements so judicious, and so extensive, the philanthropy of the Pennsylvanians, always actively employed in every thing which may contribute to remove or to diminish the sufferings of humanity; the administration, and the citizens, rival each other in zeal, as we have seen in all state matters. Hospitals and charitable establishments are multiplying without end.

In the year 1774, the society devoted to the abolition of the slave trade, and the benefit of the free blacks illegally detained in bondage, was instituted, and Franklin was their president.

The society for the restoration of drowned persons, was established in 1780. This society has considerably extended the use of apparatus necessary to restore the drowned, and has bestowed prizes on those who have contributed by any means, towards saving the lives of their fellow men in this mode. Four Female Benevolent Societies, having for their object the comfort of widows and orphans, were founded during the year 1793, 1802, 9 and 11. The Pennsylvania Washington Benevolent Society, formed in 1812, deserves also to be mentioned.

It is composed of more than 300 members, each of whom pays into the Treasury two dollars upon admission; and the same sum annually afterwards. The funds are devoted to the assistance of members of the Society, or their families.

Nearly thirty mutual benevolent associations are found among the working classes, designated by the names of Master Masons', the Carpenters' Society—the Stone Cutters' Society—the Typographical Society—the Society of Master Workmen—Physicians, &c. Similar associations exist among foreigners, and their descendants; among which is included the society for the relief of Frenchmen,

when in distress ; which was founded in 1805 ; and that of the Germans, founded in 1801. There is one thing worthy of remark : among the four great benevolent institutions in Philadelphia, there is not one that is not founded and supported by private subscriptions, and directed by citizens, who devote to them their time and labour without compensation. These four establishments are the Pennsylvania Hospital—the Hospital of Christ's Church—the Philadelphia Dispensary—and the Lunatic Asylum.

Most travellers who visit Philadelphia agree on this point, that the rigid manners, and grave characters of the Quakers, who are very numerous in this city, produce an unfortunate influence in society in general, by giving it an air of coldness and monotony, intolerable to strangers.

I can neither contradict those travellers, nor agree with them ; for how can I reasonably form an opinion of a population, which I saw only during an excess of enthusiasm, and gratitude, which drew every heart, and the greatest of men, even the quakers themselves, around him to whom they were expressed ? It is however difficult to believe the society devoid of charms and resources, in a city where the arts and sciences are cultivated with so much ardour, and success. Well informed men who belong to the Philosophical Society, the Medical Society, the Linnean Society, the Academy of Natural Science, the different Societies of Agriculture, &c. &c. the extensive Public Libraries, the rich Museums, the numerous journals of all descriptions, &c. must present in this city, sufficient food for the most active mind ; and might, in my opinion, greatly compensate for the absolute want of all those frivolities, to which we unfortunately attach so much value in Europe.

It may be affirmed that Philadelphia is the most regularly built city in America, perhaps in the whole world. Its fine streets, all of which cross at right angle, its wide side walks, always clean, its fine houses built with brick, and ornamented with handsome white marble, the richness and good taste of its public buildings, present at the first view an attractive appearance, but may at length fatigue the eye by their excessive regularity. Its plan, which was drawn by Penn himself, extends from the right bank of the Delaware, to the left bank of the Schuylkill. This distance is about two miles ; and the breadth of the city is more than one. Only two thirds of its length are covered with

buildings. But now houses are every day rising ; and I presume a few years will be sufficient to fill the remaining space between the Schuylkill and the city.

Among the monuments of public utility, which adorn this beautiful city, the old bank of the United States cannot be passed by without particular notice. It was the first edifice erected in Philadelphia with columns and a portico. Its principal front, which is entirely built of white marble, much resembles that of the Dublin Exchange, which is said to have been its model. This building is now the banking house of the rich banker, Stephen Girard.

The new bank of the United States, a work of the American Architect Strickland, is generally regarded as the finest specimen of architecture in the Union. It presents on a small scale, almost an exact model of the Temple of Minerva, at Athens. It is entirely constructed of handsome marble, taken from the Quarries in the county of Montgomery in the State of Pennsylvania.

Perhaps before concluding this chapter, I ought to undertake a description of the brilliant and varied exhibitions, which the inhabitants of Philadelphia presented to General Lafayette, during the eight days he remained in their city. But the simple enumeration of them would oblige me far to exceed the limits to which I wish to confine myself, in the recital of this journey or triumph. And notwithstanding all the pleasure it would give me to speak of the Masonic Dinner—the City Ball—General Lafayette's visit to the Marine Arsenal—General Cadwallader's *soiree* ; I am obliged to leave Philadelphia for Baltimore, where the guest of the nation will be received with the same transports of gratitude and affection.

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## CHAPTER XI.

Journey from Philadelphia to Baltimore—American Aristocracy—Fort McHenry—Entrance to Baltimore—Description of Baltimore—Defence of the City in 1814.

On the 5th of October, General Lafayette received the affecting farewell of the inhabitants of Philadelphia. We embarked on the Delaware at eight o'clock in the evening, for Chester. We were accompanied by the Governor, the

Committee of Arrangements, a battalion of Volunteers, and a great number of the officers of the staff. We reached Chester at eleven o'clock in the evening, and entered it by the light of illuminations. The hall in which the General was received and addressed, reminded him of a very memorable period of his life. It was in that same hall, where after receiving his wound at the battle of the Brandywine, he had the first bandage applied to it. Before he dismounted, he still possessed sufficient spirit, and presence of mind, to rally a part of the troops who were retreating, and to station them at the end of a bridge, to check the enemy in case they should conceive the idea of following up their first success. These different circumstances were recalled in a very touching manner by the person appointed to receive the General in the name of the inhabitants of that city. After having made an excellent supper, which had been prepared by the ladies of Chester themselves, we went to pass the remainder of the night at Colonel Anderson's, an old companion in arms with General Lafayette.

On the following day we pursued our route; and at an early hour reached the frontiers of the state of Delaware, having to cross that point of it which stretches between the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland.

There we took leave of our Philadelphia companions, who would not leave us, until they had consigned us to the hands of the Delaware committee; at the head of which, General Lafayette recognized, with much pleasure, Colonel M' Lane, who had commanded, with great intrepidity, a company of partizans under his orders, during the campaign in Virginia, and who now, in spite of his eighty years, came to present himself on horseback, wearing on his head a revolutionary cap and feather. We reached Wilmington at dinner time. It is a pretty town, regularly built, situated between the Brandywine and Christiana, and the largest in the state of Delaware.

Although its population is less than 6000 souls, it is still the centre of considerable trade; which is facilitated by means of the navigation it commands. The vicinity of Philadelphia and Baltimore give great facilities to its manufactures. Notwithstanding the solicitations of its inhabitants, the General was compelled to continue his route, that he might arrive on the same day at Frenchtown, where we expected a steamboat to take us to Baltimore. We were a little retarded in our march by a short stay at Newcastle,

where we witnessed the marriage of the son of Mons. Dupont to Miss Van Dyke. The nuptial ceremony, which was performed according to the rites of the reformed church, interested us greatly, by its affecting simplicity. It took place in a saloon, in presence of the two families, and a few invited friends. The minister of the gospel, before he united the young persons, addressed them in a short speech, in which he clearly, and without mystery, explained to them the duties now imposed by their new situations in society; and spoke of the virtues which alone might contribute to their happiness as a married man, and the father of a family, to whom the practice of them had long been familiar. At length, having united them, he offered up an affecting prayer in the English language, in which every heart appeared to join, because every one was able to understand it. In spite of the absence of costumes, and decorations, this ceremony appeared to me quite as proper, and quite as imposing, as the Catholic marriages. The night was far advanced when we arrived at Frenchtown, where the steamboat United States, designed to take us to Baltimore, had been a long time waiting for us. A little before arriving at Frenchtown, on the borders of Maryland, General Lafayette met a numerous deputation, and the Aid-de-Camps of the Governor of that state, who informed him they were sent to accompany him to fort M'c Henry, where the Governor himself had established his head quarters to receive him. Among this deputation, the General recognized, with much pleasure, several of his old friends, particularly two Frenchmen, Colonel Bentalou, once an officer in Pulasky's legion, and Mr. Dubois Martin, an old man of eighty three years, who had been formerly appointed to prepare the vessel in which General Lafayette escaped from Bordeaux, to come to the United States. At the moment when we were embarking, we were informed that Mr. John Q. Adams, the Secretary of State, had just arrived at Frenchtown, on his return to Washington; and that he had joyfully accepted the invitation he had received to join the cavalcade of General Lafayette, to whom this was an additional pleasure, because Mr. Adams was also an old and esteemed acquaintance.

Many travellers who have visited the United States, and pretend to be well acquainted with the manners of the Country, have affirmed that the Americans, notwithstanding their republican institutions, are essentially aristocrats in their habits. The following fact I think will furnish a triumph-

ant reply to this accusation; and it is not a solitary fact, nor an exception, for I have many similar ones, which I could recount.

On board of the steamboat which carried us across the Chesapeake, a cabin had been prepared for Lafayette; and as the committee of arrangements had the goodness to resolve that those who had partaken of his fatigues, should also share in his repose, two other beds were placed in it, one for his son, and the other for his Secretary.

We were ignorant how our travelling companions, who were very numerous, had made arrangements for passing the night, until Mr. George Lafayette, on going to take the air on the deck, discovered that the hall, in which we had just dined, had been suddenly transformed into a vast dormitory, the floor of which was covered with beds, which were occupied by the crowd without distinction. Among those who were preparing to stretch themselves on the humble mattresses, he discovered with astonishment the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

He ran to him, and urged him to change beds with him. But he refused, declaring he was very well provided for, and that he would on no account separate the father and the son.

I came up during this conversation, and added my entreaties to those of Mr. George Lafayette—I assured Mr. Adams he had not the same objections to urge against my offer; and added, that I hoped he would not give me the pain of being obliged to lie on a good bed, when I knew that a man of his character was sleeping on one so hard.

He replied by a few kind words; which however contained a formal refusal. At length, pressed by our united solicitations, and by the name of General Lafayette, he declared to us that even were he disposed to accept of our offer, he should still be obliged to refuse, because he was bound above all things to respect the arrangements of the committee, who had decided that none should be admitted into the General's room, except his two travelling companions. Mr. George Lafayette immediately applied to a member of the committee, and requested in the name of his father, that Mr. Adams might be admitted into General Lafayette's cabin in place of one of us. This last clause did not appear to the committee to be admissible; and they, after a short deliberation, decided that a fourth bed should be prepared in General Lafayette's cabin, and that Mr.

Adams should occupy it,—not because he was Secretary of State, but because General Lafayette wished to have him near him as an old friend. Mr. Adams did not determine to leave the crowd and join us, until he had received a formal invitation from the committee.

If there is any aristocracy in American manners, it must be acknowledged at least that the great officers of government do not enjoy its prerogative.

During the whole night, we had been proceeding in a very bad storm; but in the morning, when we entered the beautiful river Patapsco, on the shores of which stands the rich city of Baltimore, the sun dispersed the clouds, and its first rays, gilding the widely extended horizon which was presented to us, enabled our eyes to distinguish the steeples of the city, the forest of ships' masts which always crowd the port, and the bastions of Fort M'c Henry which protects the entrance. At 9 o'clock four steamboats, the Maryland, Virginia, Philadelphia, and Eagle, covered with flags and streamers, and containing a multitude of citizens who came to receive their guest, and who saluted him with three cheers, the grateful sound of which made the air resound, came out of the port to form themselves into a line behind the United States, which majestically continued her approach to the shore. When we were at a short distance, several boats presented themselves to assist in our landing. The first which returned to the shore, carried General Lafayette, the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, General Smith, Mr. Dubois Martin, and Mr. Morris, President of the Committee. It was commanded by Captain Gardner, and managed by twelve of the most skilful boatmen of Baltimore. We took our places in the other boat, and landed at Fort M'c Henry.

The national flag had been suspended on the principal bastion of the fort, which floated there during the last war, and in which a thousand shot-holes still attest the fruitless efforts of the English artillerists. At the gate of the fort, General Lafayette was surrounded by a body of men dressed as citizens, most of whom had been wounded. They were the remains of that corps which, in 1814, so efficiently proved to the English how far superior are men who fight for liberty, their country and families, to mercenary soldiers hired by kings to gratify their passions.

Fort M'c Henry, defended by a few citizen heroes, saw before its feeble walls the pride, efforts and ruin of an



English fleet, which was shamefully obliged to retreat after a bombardment of forty-eight hours. The moment General Lafayette entered the fort, the cannon announced the fact to the citizens of Baltimore, who at the same moment set out to meet him, and covered that long peninsula, which runs from the city to Fort M'c Henry, between the two bays that form the river Patapsco. On the platform of the fort were assembled a great number of old revolutionary officers, soldiers, &c. and a detachment of infantry; which by opening its ranks, showed in the rear of it the tent of Washington. If at this sight General Lafayette was affected by various different sentiments, his son was not less moved on meeting the person who had conceived the noble and interesting idea of bringing it to that place, to increase the solemnity of the day.—Mr. Custis, the author of this delicate mark of attention, is the adopted grandson of Washington. It was with him that George W. Lafayette passed two years of his youth under the hospitable roof of Mount Vernon, during the captivity of his father in the dungeons of Olmutz. The recollection of their old attachment, and the melancholy loss of him who had been their father, produced in them a mixture of pleasure and grief, which they could only express by silence, tears and embraces.

General Lafayette, after having sought to calm his first emotions, approached the tent of Washington, when he was received by General Stevens, who addressed him in the following manner :—

“General,—In receiving and felicitating you, in the name of the inhabitants of the state of Maryland, I perform a task very agreeable to my heart; but I fear I shall but imperfectly impress the sentiments of the people, whom I am happy and proud on this occasion to represent.

“Under this tent, which we regard with so much respect, you have often pressed the hand of our illustrious Washington. It has also often seen you aiding with your counsels his wise determinations, and sharing with him the labours and the frugality of a soldier. But it would be useless to recal here the circumstances of your connection with that great man: they are ever present to our memory, and fill the hearts of all with the most lively gratitude towards the generous companion of our fathers, the brave and disinterested soldier of liberty.

“May this sentiment of gratitude to the author of the blessings we enjoy, never be diminished in the hearts of my fellow-citizens!

“Ten years have scarcely passed since, on this very ground, our courageous fellow-citizens proved that they knew how to defend the precious liberty obtained by you : ten centuries may pass without effacing the memory of the glorious example you have given them.

“You are about to enter the city of Baltimore, which you once knew at another period. Its increase and embellishments will offer you a symbol of our prosperity under popular institutions, and a government really representative. The monuments which ornament it, will prove to you the feelings which animate its inhabitants.

“The column we have raised to the memory of Washington, is a proof of our affection and gratitude for the heroes of the revolution : and on another column, of a more recent date, you will find expressions of our gratitude towards those who devoted themselves to the cause of liberty.

“Welcome, thrice welcome, General, on the soil of Maryland! Nothing we can offer will express, with adequate force, the sentiments we cherish for your person and principles, nor the pleasure we feel on receiving in you a father who, after a long absence, returns to the affections of his family.”

After this address, to which General Lafayette replied with all the feeling of a grateful heart, we all entered into the tent, where we met the aged Colonel Howard, who distinguished himself in the war of independence, and crowned his old age with laurels which he obtained in 1814 in the defence of Baltimore, and which filled the two periods of his life, by a devotion of it all to the cause of liberty. That venerable patriot, at the head of the members of the Cincinnati Society, wished to make a speech to the General to express the sentiments of his aged companions in arms, who could no longer contain their joy, and who threw themselves into the arms of their old chief, who, as they presented themselves in turn, recognized almost all of them, and rapidly recalled the periods and places where they partook of the same dangers and fatigues.

We at length left Fort M'c Henry, and a procession was formed to proceed to Baltimore. General Lafayette led the march in a calash drawn by four horses : the wide extent of the plain we were to cross lay on our left, on which was drawn up a line of militia, mounted and on foot, which formed in columns behind us as we proceeded through

them; on our right were the people who had come out from Baltimore in crowds. Thus we arrived at the entrance of the town, where a triumphal arch was raised on four beautiful Ionic columns, under which twenty-four young ladies, dressed in white, crowned with myrtle, and armed with lances, on each of which was written the name of one of the states of the Union, received the Guest of the Nation, surrounded him with garlands, and crowned him with laurels. At the instant, the sound of cannon mingled with the loud acclamations of the multitude; and the procession continuing its route, after passing under thirteen triumphal arches and through all the principal streets, stopped before the City Hall, where the General was addressed by the Mayor, in the principal apartment, as follows:—

“Here is no throne except that of the august monarch of the universe, the only one before whom the citizens of this republic bow; and never will we lay before the footstool of the Almighty our humble thanks for the benefits he has poured on this happy country, without beseeching his benediction for you, whom he made the instrument by which he overthrew the tyranny that oppressed our country. Our city, General, although occupying but a limited space, may be considered an emblem of the vast country we inhabit. It was hardly more than a village when you saw it forty years ago; and now you are received in it by 60,000 persons who inhabit its precincts such, General, are the fruits of the tree of liberty.”

“If it is agreeable, in the evening of your days, to remember that this tree was watered with your blood; it is no less so to us on this happy occasion, to say to you, that we will never forget it.”

In his reply, General Lafayette proved that he had not forgotten the zeal of the inhabitants of Baltimore for the cause of liberty.”

“Under the patriotism of the Baltimoreans,” said he, “with the generosity of the merchants, and the exertions of the ladies of this city, it was, at a period, when not a day was to be lost, that I began, in 1781, the campaign whose fortunate issue cast so much splendour on the services rendered to our cause.”

“Mr. Mayor, I greatly admire your improvements, your prosperity, your national guard and your monuments; and there is nothing left for me to desire: for this morning, under the tent of our paternal and venerated chief, I have

taken the hands of some of these brave volunteer dragoons of Baltimore, who made the Virginia campaign with me."

After this reply, and when all the members of the municipality had been introduced to him, we went to the principal street of the city, in the middle of which a covered stage had been raised, and ornamented with rich carpets, to receive General Lafayette and those who accompanied him. From that place we saw the Maryland militia deploy, whose martial figures betray the warlike character of the men of that state. The troops all marched by, to the sound of a band which played *Lafayette's March!* Among the numerous corps which passed under our eyes, one was pointed out to the General, which marched with its standard in mourning. It was the corps of riflemen of Forsyth, and the flag was that under which Pulasky died, before Savannah.

Pulasky, after having long and without success fought for the liberty of Poland, his native country, left it, only when the cause of independence had become desperate, to seek a land where he might yet shed his blood for the principles he had till that time defended. Virginia and Maryland had been entirely devastated by war, when in 1778, he organized a legion in Baltimore. The arts were not cultivated, and all the activity of the citizens was directed to war. It was difficult to procure a brilliant standard for the new legion; and one of a simple kind was to be obtained. A piece of silk was with difficulty obtained, and embroidered by the Moravian nuns of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. On one side were the letters "U. S." (United States,) and the words "*Unita virtus fortior;*" and on the other, a sky with thirteen stars, and this legend: *Non alius neget.*" Such was Pulasky's banner, which ever led in the path of glory, the warriors whom it rallied. In 1778, the Lieutenant Colonel of the legion fell under English bayonets, at Egg Harbour, in New Jersey: and in 1779, the Colonel, who once commanded a regiment of hussars in the armies of the great Frederick, was cut to pieces with the sabre before Charleston. On the 9th of October in the same year, General Pulasky, who had given his name to the legion, was mortally wounded with a shot, at the attack on Savannah. In 1780 the Major was sabred at Mark's corner; and Colonel Bentalou was then the oldest surviving officer. He took the command of the legion, and at the close of the war, inherited the standard, which he had carefully preserved. He had not unfolded it since the Revolution; but he thought that

the arrival of Lafayette was an occasion glorious enough to bring it to light. After the ceremony, he deposited it in the Museum, to which he presented it ; and where it was received by the hands of the ladies of Baltimore.

After the review, we were conducted to our Head Quarters, which had been established in the elegant hotel kept by Mr. Barney, brother to the intrepid Commodore Barney, who died gloriously at the head of his Marines, at the battle of Bladensburgh, in 1814. In the evening the Municipal authorities, Senators and Members of the Legislative Assembly of Maryland, the Governor and his Staff, went to dine with the General. At the close of the repast, numerous toasts were exchanged, which generally conveyed an expression of attachment to the person and principles of Lafayette, or, according to the American custom, the feelings of their political party. Mr. Adams, still affected by the scenes he had witnessed in the morning at fort M'c Henry, gave the following, which was received with unanimous applause.

“Tears of glory, gratitude and joy, shed in the tent of Washington.”

Every moment of our visit in Baltimore was occupied with exhibitions the most brilliant, and attentions the most delicate. It is difficult to conceive a just idea of the manners of the inhabitants of that city, where is found the amiable union of American frankness with French ease. The ball given by the city was a specimen of perfection in its way, having been prepared with inimitable taste, in the theatre. All the boxes were filled with ladies, and the pit was unoccupied. We were introduced upon the stage, accompanied by several members of the committee ; and at the moment when the General appeared, an invisible band announced him by playing *Lafayette's March*, and the gas, being abundantly poured through the numerous pipes, and flooding the house with dazzling light, discovered to our astonished eyes the most delightful scene I ever witnessed. The brilliancy of a parterre covered with the most beautiful flowers, would have been eclipsed at the side of that where those ladies shone, waving their handkerchiefs, throwing flowers, and expressing, even by their tears, the happiness they experienced in seeing the Guest of the Nation. They instantly left their seats, crowded to the middle of the floor, and surrounded the General, who stood a few minutes overcome, without the power of expressing his feelings. At length the dancing began ; and gave us occasion to ad,

more, more in detail, the gracefulness and beauty of the ladies of Maryland.

We remained only five days in Baltimore ; but General Lafayette's time was so wisely divided, that he was able to accept all the invitations he received. He attended successively the masonic celebration, that of the Cincinnati, &c. &c. We daily received deputations from a great number of towns, which earnestly asked visits from him ; he went to the various public institutions of Baltimore, and attended worship on the Sabbath, where the Bishop officiated. The music mass was delightfully sung by Baltimore ladies, under the direction of Mr. Gilles, an accomplished professor, who has diffused a taste for music in the city for several years, and has instructed numerous distinguished pupils. On the same day, the corps of militia officers was introduced by General Harper, who pronounced a speech on the occasion, the following passage in which struck me as very remarkable :

“ This free tribute of our hearts, devoid of flattery and ambition, is the more dear to you, because you well know it is the testimony of a nation, in favour of those principles of Government for which you have shed your blood in this hemisphere and suffered so much in the other. This testimony perhaps may not be entirely useless to the sacred cause you have embraced. At a time when Europe is divided into two parties, one of which exerts itself to perpetuate absolute powers and the other fights courageously for equal rights, and the establishment of constitutional government, it may be, we hope, a great encouragement to the friends of the good cause to learn, that here are no divisions, and that the American people are unanimous in their sentiments of attachment to liberty.”

General Lafayette replied to the speaker, by assuring him, that he shared their opinions, wishes, and hopes.

The expressions of esteem, both public and private, with which the citizens of Baltimore loaded their guest, were too numerous for me to undertake the mention of them all ; but I cannot avoid referring to the following occurrence.

Near the time of our departure we spent an evening at General Smith's ; and on our return home on foot, were accompanied by two or three persons. In spite of the brilliancy of the illuminations, which lighted our way along the sidewalks of the principal street, we hoped to be able to pass unknown through the crowd, which was very numerous ;

but the figure of Lafayette, and his gait, betrayed us: He was recognized by several passengers; and his name, flying from mouth to mouth, immediately attracted the crowd around us. We however had nearly reached our lodgings, and were felicitating ourselves that we had not been retarded, when George Lafayette feeling himself pulled by the coat, turned, and saw a most beautiful young lady, with clasped hands, exclaiming in the most affecting tone: "I beg you, only allow me touch his clothes, and I shall be happy." General Lafayette heard her, went towards her, and offered her his hand, which she seized and kissed with emotion, after which she disappeared, hiding her tears and blushes in her handkerchief. Such a fact, when it is supported by others, speaks more than can be said by the most accomplished historian.

In the succeeding days we visited almost every thing in the city of Baltimore, which appeared to me one of the most beautiful cities in the Union. Although the streets are all very wide and regular, it has not the monotony of Philadelphia. The ground has so varied a surface, that every part of the city presents a different aspect from various parts.

From several elevated points in the city, the eye embraces, not only the mass of buildings, but also a part of the harbour, the bright waters of the Chesapeake, and the dark forests which extend afar, and seem placed to increase, by their relief, the effect of the magical picture of a city containing 60,000 souls, created within a period of less than half a century. The inhabitants of Baltimore, appear in general to possess a decided taste for the fine arts. I have already remarked that they owe to a Frenchman their evident superiority in music, above all the other cities in the union: it is also to a Frenchman that they are indebted for the beauty of their architecture. Most of the public monuments were built after the plans of M. Godfrey who has long resided among them. The Unitarian church is a masterpiece for simplicity and elegance. The monument erected to the memory of the citizens who died in defence of Baltimore during the last war, is in a severe style, and of beautiful execution. That raised in honour of Washington, also resembles, both in height and figure, our column in the Place Vendome, in Paris. It is built of beautiful white marble; and its situation, on a small eminence, makes it conspicuous from all parts of the city, and even from a great distance on the bay.

The harbour is safe and convenient. It however sometimes happens, that in severe winters, it is obstructed with ice. Although situated nearly two hundred miles from the sea, it is very much frequented. The great number of rivers which fall into the Chesapeake, render Baltimore a place of active internal trade; yet a very sensible reduction is remarked in the commerce of the port within a few years, the first causes of which are differently accounted for. It is thought that the difficulties will soon be removed, or at least, that they will partially cease to operate, when the noble plan of a railway shall be executed, which will open and facilitate new communications with the Ohio.

Baltimore appeared to me one of the cities most agreeable for a residence. The inhabitants, although ardently devoted to all sorts of business, are not ignorant of those studies which form the taste, and extend the resources of the mind. There are several learned societies: one of which, the Newtonian Society of Maryland, founded in 1818, affords much encouragement to the study of Natural History. The Economical Society was founded in 1819, for the encouragement of manufactures and domestic economy. The Agricultural Society is no less remarkable than the others, for the services it renders, and the merits of its members. Before our departure, we all had the honour of becoming honorary members of this society. The Anatomical Cabinets of Messrs. Chiappi and Gibson, the museum of Natural History, and Gallery of Pictures of Mr. Peale, and the Mineralogical Cabinet of Mr. Gilmore, are beautiful amateur collections. The City Library contains about 14,000 volumes, and is entirely free to the public. What adds a great charm to the advantages which Baltimore possesses within itself, is the vicinity of Washington, the seat of the the central government, which, during the sessions of Congress, presents great attractions to persons who wish to attend the political debates. However, at Baltimore, as in all New England, Sunday is rather dull, and the religious practices austere: yet the tolerance enjoyed is absolute. Twelve sects, at least, are found in the city; the most numerous of which is the Catholic. Yet, although they have the numerical force, they are as gentle, tolerant, and charitable as the others; because they know that they could find no support from the laws, if they were disposed to intrigue and govern, as in some parts of Europe.

This city, so fine, and so interesting, only fifty years



since, was but an assemblage of a few ill-constructed houses. In 1790 its population suddenly rose to 13,503 inhabitants; and later census show 26,514 in 1800; 35,583 in 1810; 65,738 in 1820. At the present time (1824) it is estimated at more than 65,000, of whom, at least 50,000 belong to the white population, and 11,000 to the free coloured. The remaining 4,000 have still the misfortune to be slaves. Happily the number of the last is daily diminishing. The progress of philanthropy, and the true interest of the city, well understood, although slow, is, however constant; and the friends of humanity have a right to hope, that the inhabitants of Baltimore, before many years, will finish by ridding themselves of the scourge of slavery, which may be called a shameful one, if it were not known what obstacles they had to surmount up to the present time, to renounce the abominable inheritance which England bequeathed to the United states, as if to punish them for breaking the colonial chain.

Luxury and the arts, in being introduced among the population of Baltimore, have not brought with them the effeminacy and corruption which some pretend are their inseparable companions. The defence of Baltimore in the last war, is enough to prove that its inhabitants are still, as in the days of their glorious revolution, passionately attached to liberty, and the courageous defenders of their independence. Their campaign of 1814 did them so much honour, and pleads so victoriously in favour of the militia system, in defensive war; that I shall retrace it here, borrowing the details from Mr. Brackenbridge's accomplished history of the last war.

[This extract from Brackenbridge's history, it is thought proper to omit in the translation.]

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## CHAPTER XII.

Farewell of the inhabitants of Baltimore—Route from Baltimore to Washington—Entrance into the city—Visit to the President—Description of Washington—Jesuits.

Our departure from Baltimore had all the brilliancy of our entrance; but it was not animated in the same manner

by the lively acclamations of public joy. All the troops were assembled, between the city and Fort McHenry, to execute grand manœuvres in the presence of the General, after which we partook of a farewell dinner, under a spacious tent, from which we could see almost all the places distinguished by American valour, during the war of 1814. In the course of the repast, at which were present, Generals Smith, Harper, and Stricker—Colonels Howard, Carol and Bentalou, and several other veterans of liberty, numerous patriotic toasts were drank, among which was one to General Smith, in which was paid a tribute of praise and gratitude to him, for his good conduct as Commander-in-Chief of the Maryland troops, during the last war. The modesty with which that old veteran received this expression of esteem from his fellow-citizens, proved to us how much freedom and good institutions inspire those who enjoy them with generous sentiments. He rose with spirit; and, in a few remarks, filled with the warmth of his heart, he reproved his fellow-citizens, for concentrating their gratitude on him alone, while there were so many brave men who had greater claims to it than himself. "My plans and my commands would have been without effect," said he, if I had not had freemen for soldiers, and if I had not been so skilfully seconded by my worthy friend, General Stricker. O my fellow-citizens! cease, cease to praise me alone! You cannot think that a republican should go off with the honour of a victory which is common to all!"

At about the close of the repast, a young officer asked permission to sing a few verses of his own composition. They abounded in those generous sentiments, which are naturally produced among the Americans, by the mention of the magical names of Washington and Lafayette. He sung them with an interesting expression; but when he came to the close, and tried to pronounce the name of him who was the subject of his song, his emotion betrayed his voice: he could not end it, and seizing the hand of Lafayette, covered it with tears, and made his escape, to avoid the praises his heart and genius well deserved.

The sun, approaching the horizon, informed us that we had no time to lose, if we intended to profit by his light to begin our journey. We therefore immediately left the table to take our carriages that awaited us at a little distance on the plain; but the crowd which surrounded them was so numerous that we were soon separated, all three of

us, notwithstanding the care of those who conducted us. The General and his son were, so to speak, borne in triumph in the arms of the people, and it was long before was able to rejoin them.

I have before said that the day was far advanced when we separated from the citizens of Baltimore. Night surprised us on the road, and rendered our ride very troublesome to our escort, who had been on foot ever since the morning. This consideration, joined with the desire that the entrance of Lafayette into Washington might be by day, induced the committee of arrangements to propose to him to stop and sleep on the way. The General accepted, and we soon arrived at an inn, into which we were invited to enter. But just as we were about to alight, we heard a great tumult of voices, angrily pronouncing the name of "Waterloo." At the same instant an officer of the escort presented himself at the coach window, and informed the General that the inn before which he had stopped was called the "Waterloo," and inquired whether he would like to lodge there. The General replied, that he would willingly go further, if he were not afraid of causing too much fatigue to the horsemen; but the latter declared that they would rather founder their horses than permit him to remain in a house, the very name of which would recall recollections painful to a Frenchman; and we immediately proceeded on our way. Our militiamen, enraged at the inn-keeper, were disposed to compel him to take down his sign, which they would have effected, had not their commander prevented it, by reminding them of the sacred right of property. We lodged two or three miles further on, in a very good inn, where we were told how an old *Tory*, an inhabitant of that neighbourhood, and who was still quite devoted in his attachment to the English, had let that house to a poor inn-keeper, on condition that he should call it the "Waterloo." "But," added the narrator, "every body ridicules him; and nobody will enter his house; so that the owner is obliged to indemnify the tenant. But he is rich and is able to bear it."

On the next morning, the 12th of October, Captain Spring was at the head of his fine company of volunteer cavalry, drawn up in line, and ready to escort General Lafayette to Washington. Captain Spring was, a short time ago, Governor of Maryland, and held the office several years, in such a manner as to conciliate the esteem and

affection of all his fellow-citizens. On leaving the government to retire to private life, he thought he had still duties to perform for his country. He organized, almost entirely at his own expence, a company of volunteer cavalry, gave them a brave Polish officer, Colonel Leymanousky, for an instructor, (who fought for twenty years in the ranks of the French army,) and forgetting his former elevation, he did not consider it derogating from his dignity as an Ex-Governor, to put on the modest uniform of a captain.

One cannot avoid feeling a sentiment of great respect on seeing this patriot soldier, surrounded by his horsemen, almost all of whom are cultivators in the county he resides in, constantly employing himself in their military instructions, the improvement of their organization, and, above all, the cultivation of their patriotic sentiments, which his conversation and example daily encourage. Captain Spring is also a tender father, and an active and enlightened cultivator of the soil; and similar characters are met in this country at every step.

We soon met the municipality of Washington city, with the militia and people, who had come to meet General Lafayette. We left our carriages to seat ourselves in open calashes; and, a few minutes afterwards, entered the capital of the United States.

We had been within the boundaries of the city half an hour, before we saw a single habitation. Being laid out on an enormous scale, it will require at least a century to complete the plan of Washington. No part of it is inhabited, except the interval between the Capitol and the President's house; where is now seen a town of moderate size. Our march from the entrance of the city to the Capitol was marked by the discharge of cannon, and often retarded by the crowd which pressed around the procession. After passing under a triumphal arch, we entered the Capitol, where General Lafayette was awaited by all the administrative authorities of the city. He was conducted to an exterior gallery, where the mayor, in the presence of all the people assembled in the square, addressed him in the name of the city. On leaving the capitol, the procession resumed its march, and conducted us slowly through the city, to the President's house. The road was lined with the children of the schools, and numerous corps of militia. On the way we passed the residences of some of the ambassadors of the Holy Alliance, to whom, no doubt, a tri-

umphal march so pure and simple, was a phenomenon they could not explain.

We arrived before the President's house : it is a very plain edifice, but in very good taste, built of a very hard white stone, and has but two stories, terminating in a platform in the Italian fashion. The lower floor is a little elevated above the level of the ground, and is reached by an elegant peristyle. The court yard before the house is enclosed with a handsome iron railing, with three gates, the entrance of which is not forbidden by guards, porters, nor insolent valets. The crowd that accompanied the procession stopped before the fence, and we entered the palace accompanied only by the municipality. A solitary servant opened the door to us, and we were immediately introduced into the reception hall, which is large, of an elliptical form, decorated and carpeted with a richness and simplicity of taste quite remarkable. The President was seated at the further extremity of the room, in a chair not distinguished in form or elevation from the other seats, with his secretaries of states near him. On his right and left were ranged in a half-circle, the general officers of the Army and Navy, several Senators, and all the heads of the departments of the government. All were dressed, like the President, in plain blue coats, without lace, embroidery, decorations, or any of those puerile ornaments, at which so many simpletons bend the knee in the ante chambers of the European palaces. When Lafayette entered, all the assembly arose ; and the President hastening to meet him, embraced him with all the tenderness of a brother ; then approaching us, took us by the hand with kindness, and presented us all three, individually, to each person in the hall, beginning with the ministers. After this official presentation, the circle was broken, groups were formed, and conversation began on different subjects. During this time, the President, having collected us three near him, addressed himself to the General as follows :

“ You know, from my last letter, how much I wished to have you in my house, with your two travelling companions, during your stay in this city ; but I am obliged to deny myself that pleasure. The people of Washington claim you ; they say you are the guest of the nation, and that they only have a right to entertain you. I am obliged to yield to their wishes, and the municipality have prepared a hotel for you,

have placed a coach at your service, and, in short, provided for all your wants. You must accept it all : but I hope it will not prevent you from regarding my house as your own. Plates will always be laid for you at my table ; and I desire that whenever you are not engaged with the citizens, you will dine with me. The municipality, I know, this evening expect you to attend a public entertainment ; and to-morrow you will partake, with them, of a dinner I am to give to the principal officers of the government ; but when these ceremonies are passed, I shall do all in my power to have you as often as possible, in my family."

This invitation was so cordial and pressing, that General Lafayette did not hesitate to accept it, and joined our thanks with his own.

The next day we therefore dined with the President, where we found assembled the ministers, municipal, judicial, and military authorities. Before we seated ourselves at table, Mr. Monroe introduced us to his wife, his two daughters, and his son-in-law. We found, in all that family, the same cordiality, and the same simplicity, as in the supreme magistrate of the nation. Mrs. Monroe, although past sixty years, may still be called remarkably beautiful ; her amiable disposition and her wit, scarcely permit the slight influence that time has exercised on her face to be seen.

On taking our places at the table, I remarked that a single seat had been reserved : it was that for General Lafayette, whom the President placed at his right. The other guests took their seats at hazard, but all with remarkable modesty : each appearing to wish to forget the elevation of his rank. I was, by accident, seated between Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. M'Comb, Major General of Engineers. The latter speaks French with great facility ; and had the goodness, during the dinner, to reply to all my questions, although they were not few, for every thing I saw appeared very strange, or at least very different from what is found in Europe. "You see here," said he, "all the great chiefs of our government : that is to say, *the first servants* of the people. They are few, and therefore easily watched. The people are not the less well served, and it costs them but little ; for, among all their servants, there is not one who can dream of enriching himself. Their salaries are generally too small to excite cupidity ; and it may even be said of most of them, that,

being obliged to neglect their private business for public affairs, they will leave their offices poorer than they entered them; and but one simple reward awaits them on their return to private life: the esteem and gratitude of their fellow-citizens, if they have faithfully performed their duties.

I should have wished to receive some information concerning most of those men whom here the people call their servants; but the conversation became general, and we were soon obliged to relinquish our private gratification. "On your return from Yorktown," said General M'Comb, "you probably will spend some time here; and you will be able to study at your leisure the public character and domestic habits of our statesmen. This study may perhaps prove very interesting to an European; and if I am able to render it more easy by such explanations as you may require, I will furnish them with pleasure." I accepted this offer of General M'Comb with joy, and hoped to profit much by his advice.

The three following days, which we passed in Washington, were devoted by the General to visiting the city of Georgetown, which is divided from the Capital of the United States only by a small brook, and where he received a brilliant welcome; in receiving daily a great number of citizens; and in passing a few moments with the family of his paternal friend, Washington. For myself, I took advantage of those three days to visit the city, and its public buildings, and to make a few notes on the District of Columbia.

A short time after liberty, commerce and industry had effaced the marks of the Revolutionary War, and restored calmness to the great family of the United States, Congress rationally thought, that each state having need of entire independence, none of them could longer afford a seat for the central government, which also required a situation where it would be out of the reach of local influence. They consequently made the acquisition of a small tract of land, on the boundary of Maryland and Virginia, and there established themselves in 1800. This tract of land, which is ten miles square, and is divided by the Potomac river, received the name of the District of Columbia, and was placed under the immediate government of Congress. The two largest cities in the District are Georgetown and Alexandria: both much older than the

District itself. The former is very pleasantly situated on the descent of a hill, between the Potomac and Rock creek, and contains a population of about 7000 souls. It has a cannon-foundry, (of which I shall speak hereafter ; ) and its commerce, although very active, is much less considerable than that of Alexandria, a city situated seven miles lower down, on the right bank of the Potomac. The population of that place is 8000 ; and the exports which principally consist of flour, annually amount to nearly \$900,000. As for the city of Washington, it is as I have already said, laid out on so large a scale, that 13,000 inhabitants do not give it the aspect of a city. But for its public edifices, it would be taken for a young colony, contesting with the difficulties of an unsettled country. In some of the quarters, it requires more than twenty minutes to go from one house to another ; and on the way it is not uncommon to meet a cart moving with difficulty along a path, which probably, for half a century to come, many bear harvests in the place of buildings. The projected streets are all wide, strait and parallel to each other ; but one of the greatest mistakes made in laying them out was the preserving a row of trees on both sides, which would have marked them well, and have offered a shade against the heat of the sun. The finest edifice in Washington City, is doubtless the Capitol. It contains two spacious halls, very well arranged for the sessions of the two Houses of Representatives and Senate ; another for the use of the Supreme Court of the United States ; and a National Library. The Capitol was burnt in 1814, by the English, who behaved like Vandals when they took Washington ; but it has risen greater and more splendid from its ashes. When I visited it work was still going on. The Marine Arsenal, which is situated a short distance from the Capitol, is one of the finest and most valuable establishments of that kind. All the work in wood and iron is performed by steam machinery. I saw several frigates building ; and the armory appeared to me very well supplied. I was shown some muskets designed for the defence of entrenchments, which consisted of several barrels bound together, on one level, which are capable of firing fifty shots without re-loading. Commodore Tingey, who commands in the Arsenal, and did the honours of it with a kindness which I could not speak of too highly, promised to let me make trial of one of his muskets ; but not



having time enough, I could not judge of their usefulness, which is much boasted of by many American officers. In the middle of the principal yard stands a rostral column, which was raised in honour of the American seamen who died before Algiers, constructed of white marble, and covered with allegorical figures; it was executed with great skill; but in 1814, the English, basely jealous of all foreign glory, endeavoured to destroy it; and it still bears marks of sabre cuts, with which it was struck in their brutal fury. The Americans have not erased any of them, and have hardly raised their voices against this act of Vandalism; but have engraved on the monument, in large letters, these severe words: "Mutilated by Britons in 1814."

Next to the Capitol, the most remarkable edifice is the President's house. The large buildings which surround it, and are used as the offices of the four Secretaries, are spacious, commodious, and built with solidity; but have nothing remarkable in their architecture. The City hall is not yet completed; indeed it has been raised to so small a degree, that it is as yet impossible to form an opinion of its effect as a public building. As for the Theatre, it is a little shed, in which three or four hundred spectators cannot assemble, without the danger of suffocation.

The college of Columbia, founded some time ago, as yet contains only a very small number of students. The choice of the directors and professors promises something brilliant hereafter; but the college at Georgetown is a powerful rival. That establishment which we visited the day after our arrival at Washington, and in which General Lafayette was received with every testimony of gratitude and patriotism, is under the direction of the Jesuits. When I saw the *Reverends* in the costume of their order, I could not at first suppress a painful sentiment. All the misdeeds of which they have been guilty in Europe, crowded up in my imagination; and I lamented the blindness of the Americans who trust the education of their children to a sect so inimical to liberty. On my return to Washington, I could not forbear communicating my fears to Mr. Cambreling, a young representative from New York, in whose company I spent the evening. He at first listened with a smile; but when he heard me express a wish, that all Jesuits were rigorously excluded from giving public education, he shook his head in disapprobation. "That measure," said he, "will never be adopted among us; at least, I hope not. In

my opinion, it would be contrary to that spirit of liberty which animates us; it would be unjust towards the Jesuits, of whom we never had any ground for complaint; and besides, I know no power in our country which possesses authority to take such a measure." "It is possible," replied I, "that you may have no ground for complaint against the Jesuits, because they are as yet very few among you, and have not arrived at power; but have a little patience, think what has happened in Europe, and tremble." "What has happened in Europe," replied he, "can never happen among us, because we are wise enough not to change our institutions: while we have neither *king*, nor *state religion*; nor *monopoly*, we never can have to fear either the intrigues or the influence of any *association*. With whom could the Jesuits intrigue here?—the Government? With us the government is the people. I can easily conceive how in Europe the Jesuits may gain the ear of the king by means of intrigues, and by filling his mind with religious fears; by means of which, they draw from him wealth, honour, power, &c. But can you believe sincerely, that, with all their intrigue and address you suppose them to possess, your Jesuits can ever succeed in persuading a whole nation, enlightened and free, to spoil themselves, and deliver themselves up, bound hand and foot? Never! besides, by what means would they persuade them?" "By means of public instruction," replied I. "But," returned he, "before public instruction could become the effectual means of operation to them, it must be monopolized by them; Now! thanks to our wise institutions, we have no monopolies of any kind. We do not groan like you, under the leaden weight of a privileged University. Among us, every father of a family is the only judge of the manner in which it is proper to educate and instruct his children; and hence arises a concurrence between those who devote themselves to public instruction: a concurrence which sustains itself only by a sincere attachment to our institutions, a profound respect for the laws we have made for ourselves, and the practice of all virtues which compose the character of good citizens. The Jesuits themselves are obliged to fulfil these conditions, in order to obtain the confidence of the public; and they thus obtain it, so long as they merit it. I do not see by what authority they can be deprived of the exercise of a right which is common to us all; and if they should ever show themselves unworthy, the public would do them jus-

tice. "Ah! indeed," replied I, "among us also, public opinion would do them justice; but public opinion cannot expel them from the University, nor from the king's council, nor from the wealthy establishments they have founded, nor from the offices they have obtained." "Very well," coolly replied my young representative; *get rid of all these things*, and your Jesuits will then be no more dangerous than our own."

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### CHAPTER XIII.

Departure for Yorktown—Tomb of Washington—Celebration of the Anniversary of the taking of Yorktown—Particulars of the siege of that City in 1781.

THE militia of Virginia had long since expressed a desire to General Lafayette, to celebrate with him the anniversary of the capture of Yorktown, on the very spot where he had seen the great event accomplished; which, by terminating the revolutionary war, forever secured the independence of the United States. To comply with this honourable invitation, the General left Washington on the 1st October; crossing the Potomac on a bridge more than a mile in length, and was received on the Virginia side, by a corps of troops, under the command of General Jones. His march to Alexandria, and his entrance into that city, were marked by the continual noise of artillery, placed on the route; and by the acclamations of the people who accompanied him. We dined and lodged at Alexandria. It was at the moment when we were about to take our seats at table, with all the magistrates, and a great number of citizens, that the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, informed us of the death of Louis XVIII. king of France.

On the 17th, we embarked on board of the steamboat Petersburg, having on board the Minister of War, Mr. Calhoun, Generals M'Comb and Jones, and a great number of other officers, as well as many citizens. After two hours sailing, the cannon of Fort Washington, announced to us that we were approaching the last asylum of the elder son of American liberty. At this mournful signal, to which the band that accompanied us, replied in plaintive tones. We mounted to the deck, and the lands of Mount Vernon pre-

sented themselves to our view. At that sight, an involuntary and spontaneous movement, inclined us to bend our knees. Our landing was facilitated by boats; and we soon trod the soil which had so often been trod by Washington. A coach received General Lafayette and the other travellers, which silently ascended the steep path that led to the solitary habitation of Mount Vernon. On recrossing that hospitable threshold, which had offered him a refuge, when the crimes of others had violently torn him from his country and his family, George Washington Lafayette felt his heart affected, in no longer finding there, him whose paternal care had comforted him in misfortune—him whose examples and wise instructions, had inspired his youthful mind with those generous sentiments, which at the present day, render him an example to good citizens—a model for fathers and husbands, a most devoted son, and most faithful friend; and his father looked about with tenderness for every thing that might recal the companion of his glorious labours.

Three nephews of Washington came to receive the General, his son, and myself, to conduct us to the tomb of their uncle. Our numerous travelling companions entered the house, and a few moments afterwards, the cannon of the fort, thundering anew, announced to the surrounding country that Lafayette was paying respect to the ashes of Washington. Simple and modest as he was during his life, so he appears in his last repose. The tomb of the citizen-hero is hardly perceptible through the black cypresses which surround it. A little rising ground covered with turf, a wooden door without an inscription, a few faded garlands, and others still green, show to the traveller who visits this place, the spot where he reposes in peace, whose powerful arm broke the chains of his country.

On our approach the door was opened. General Lafayette first descended into the tomb, and a few moments afterwards returned to the threshold, his face wet with tears. He took his son and myself by the hand, and made us enter with him, and showed us by a sign the coffin of his paternal friend. He reposes by the side of her who was his companion during life, and whom death has now united with him forever. We prostrated ourselves together before that coffin, which we respectfully touched with our lips. On rising, we threw ourselves into the arms of General Lafayette, and mingled our tears and our regrets with his.

On leaving the tomb, we found the three nephews of

Washington ardently praying for their uncle, and mingling in their prayers the name of Lafayette. One of them, Mr. Custis, offered the General a gold ring, containing some of the hair of the great man; and we returned by the path to the house, where our travelling companions were awaiting us. An hour was devoted to visiting the house and gardens, which are now the property of a nephew of Washington, bearing his name; and occupying one of the first offices in the American magistracy. He has determined to make no change in the estate left him by his uncle, to whose memory he pays the most respectful and most tender regard. Mr. George W. Lafayette assured me, that every thing in the house was still much in the same state in which he had left it twenty-eight years ago. He found in the place where Washington had put it, the principal key of the Bastille, which Lafayette sent him after the destruction of that monument of despotism. The note which accompanied it is still carefully preserved along with the key.

The situation of Mount Vernon, on the right bank of the Potomac, is very picturesque, and overlooks for a great distance the course of that majestic river. The house, small and very simple, is surrounded with beautiful trees. The tomb is two hundred feet distant from the house.

After a few moments of repose we again took the path which leads down to the shore. Our march was a silent one. Each of us bore in his hand a branch of cypress, cut from over the tomb of Washington. We might have seemed an afflicted family, returning from committing to the earth a father dearly beloved, who had been removed by death. We were already on board, and had proceeded far over the rapid waves, before any person broke the silence of meditation. At length Mount Vernon disappeared behind the winding and elevated banks of the river, when all assembled in the stern of the vessel, and listened attentively until evening, while General Lafayette spoke of Washington.

A short time after our departure from Mount Vernon, we met the steamboat Potomac, with a company of volunteers from Fredericksburgh on board, commanded by Captain Crutchfield, and a great number of passengers, who came to meet the General. The two vessels, after having exchanged salutes, proceeded on together during the whole night, and arrived on the following day at the mouth of York River, where they found five other vessels, in which they proceeded up the river to Yorktown. We stopped a mo-

ment opposite the point intended for our landing place, and at the signal given by the artillery on the bank, we landed with the assistance of boats commanded by the brave Captain Elliott, the officer who so powerfully contributed to the destruction of the British Squadron, on Lake Erie, on the 10th of September 1813. The General was received on shore by a committee from Yorktown, by the Governor of Virginia and his Council, the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. John Marshall, and a great number of the officers of the Army. The upper banks of the river were covered with a crowd of ladies, who had come from a great distance; and its waters presented a scene truly picturesque in the number, variety, and arrangement of the vessels, with which they were covered. After having replied to speeches from Mr. Leigh, President of the committee, and the Governor of the state of Virginia, General Lafayette was conducted amidst the acclamations of the people, to the head quarters which had been prepared for him. He found them established in the very house which Cornwallis had occupied during the siege of the town, forty three years before.

Yorktown which has never recovered from the disasters of the Revolutionary war, because its unhealthy situation offered no inducements to new inhabitants, appeared to us in its present condition, very appropriate to the celebration which we were to witness on the following day. Ruinous houses, blackened by fire, or marked by cannon shot; the ground covered with the remains of arms, and fragments of shells; tents grouped or disposed according to the nature of the surface; small bands of soldiers placed at different points: every thing, in a word, presented us the picture of a camp, hastily pitched around a town, taken and occupied after a close contest: the manner in which we were accommodated, added still further to the illusion of the scene. A solitary bed had been prepared, which was offered to General Lafayette, and all those who accompanied him. Officers, Generals, the Governor, even the minister himself, took their places on straw mattresses, in rooms without furniture, and only half covered. During the whole night, sixty officers formed into a volunteer company, kept guard at head quarters, around which they bivouacked.

On the 19th as soon as day light appeared, the cannon thundering in the plain awakened us, and brought all the troops around us under arms. General Lafayette accompanied by the committee of arrangements, paid a visit to the

tent of Washington, which had been brought along with us, and which had been pitched at head quarters. There he was received by different corps of officers, belonging to the regiments which surrounded us, and during their introduction, we witnessed the most affecting scenes. Two old soldiers of the Revolution fainted and fell on taking the hand of their former General. But what above all attracted the attention of the spectators, was the appearance of Colonel Lewis, who presented himself in the dress of a Virginia mountaineer, and requested permission to address Lafayette in the name of the citizens of his country.

“General,” said he, “the children of the mountains unite their hearts with their brethren of the plain, to celebrate your return to this country. They rejoice that you have been able to judge, after an absence of forty years, of the happy results of self government, founded on the natural rights of man ;—rights to secure the recognition of which you have so nobly contributed. When, during your youth, you came voluntarily across the foaming mountains of the deep ocean, to fight and pour out your blood for the independence of America, you were no doubt far from anticipating such happy results. We, at that time, appeared in the eyes of the world, only a feeble people, in regard to our military resources ; but the sacred love of liberty was already burning in our hearts ; we dared to fight, and, thanks to Lafayette and his generous nation, we conquered :—and now behold we are ten millions. We have cut down those immense forests which contained in their shades savage men and ferocious beasts, and in their place we cultivate fertile fields, and erect villages, which will soon be changed into wealthy cities. Our commercial flag waves on all seas, and our Navy, now triumphant, sails over the vast ocean. Such is the influence of a free government, founded on wise and humane laws, and executed in good faith.—However, a melancholy thought intrudes to disturb the happiness we enjoy in seeing you again. We fear your return to Europe. The despots of that hemisphere are jealous of your increasing glory, which is supported by virtues they are incapable of practising, and their suspicious policy might again condemn you to the walls of their dungeons. Remain with us then, Lafayette ! remain with us ! in each of our houses you will find a domestic hearth, in each of our hearts you will find a friend ; our filial affection will sooth your closing years ; and when it shall please the

God of Nature to call you to his bosom, you will appear crowned with the benedictions of a free and powerful people : we will respectfully place your remains by the side of your adopted father, and we will sprinkle your tomb with the tears of gratitude.

“ What I have spoken, is in the name of the sons of the mountains.”

As soon as Colonel Lewis had ended this speech, which was loudly applauded by the hearers, the General affectionately took his hands in his own, kindly thanked him, and begged him to express all his gratitude to the sons of the mountains of Virginia, whose good and numerous services rendered during the Revolution, he rapidly recounted. At 11 o'clock all the troops approached Head Quarters, near which they formed in columns, and in a few moments afterwards, they took up their line of march to conduct General Lafayette to a triumphal arch which had been erected on the very site of the English redoubt which he had formerly carried at the head of the American troops which he commanded during the siege of Yorktown. His approach took place through a double row of ladies, whose lively joy and elegance of dress, singularly contrasted with the martial-display which surrounded them.

Under the triumphal arch he was received by General Taylor, who, after the different corps had occupied the places assigned them, and when silence had been established among the surrounding crowd, began an address ; and eloquently and rapidly explained the motives which excited the enthusiasm and gratitude of the American people towards Lafayette. “ Here, around us,” said he, “ every thing speaks to us of the past, and awakens our recollections. These plains from which the plough has not yet effaced the traces of military works, these ramparts half thrown down, that village in ruins, in the midst of which are still seen roofs that have been shattered by bomb shells, remind us how long, cruel, and doubtful was that contest, on the issue of which depended the emancipation of our country.

“ There, on yonder little eminence, the last scene of this bloody drama was terminated, by the capture of an entire army,—and our liberty was secured forever. Among such memorials, how can we repress the expressions of our gratitude to the hero whose courage has secured to us the blessings of liberty.

The soil on which we tread was then a redoubt occupied



by the enemy, and our active imagination also recalls the young chief whose valour gave us possession of it. Can we then stand here without recalling also that man, superior to the prejudices which then controlled other minds, even the most generous, who knew how to distinguish in the first resistance offered by a quiet and obscure colony, the movement of that moral power which was destined to give a new direction, and a new character, to political institutions, and to improve the condition of the human race? Can we forget, that deaf to the seductions of power, and the love of pleasure, he then came to offer us, with noble prodigality, his sword, his fortune, and the influence of his generous example?

And while in the aged warrior who presents himself to-day before us, we recognize that youthful chief, with what liveliness does our memory retrace all the events of his life! With what happiness do we consider that his whole life has realized the promises of his youth! In political assemblies, as in camps; in the palaces of kings, as in their dungeons; we find him ever animated with the same spirit, and the same courage; sometimes repressing the licentiousness of the popular spirit, sometimes exposing the extravagant demands of power; but always proceeding with a firm step towards the object to which the efforts of his whole life had been directed—the moral and political improvement of the whole world.

General—In the best periods of ancient times, it was neither by the display of wealth, nor by the love of power, that men were incited to generous enterprises. A simple branch of oak, or of laurel, was the reward of true merit, or of the greatest services; to deserve which the statesman devoted himself with ardour to meditation, the warrior was profuse with his blood, and eloquence pronounced her most sublime expressions. This reward was an object of ambition to all; but virtue alone obtained it. It was, however, sometimes to be feared, that it was too lightly regarded by the enthusiasm of the citizens. Here we have no such inconvenience to apprehend. Time, which sometimes tarnishes the brightness of an ordinary virtue, has rendered yours more brilliant. After the lapse of half a century, your triumph is proclaimed by the sons of those who witnessed your exploits. Deign then, General, to accept this simple, but expressive offering of their gratitude, and their admiration. Allow one of their chiefs to place on your head the

only crown which you would not despise to wear; the emblem of civic virtues, and of martial valour. You will not be offended, General, if we have entwined in this crown a few branches of cypress. They are an expression of our gratitude, and of our sorrow, for those courageous men who had the glory to partake of your dangers, but who should have had the honour of witnessing your triumph. Your heart would have felt indignation, if on an occasion so solemn, and in the midst of acclamations of joy, excited by your presence, we had forgotten them."

Here the orator approached General Lafayette, placed a crown upon his head, and said aloud, so that he could be heard by the whole assembly: "In the presence of the citizens, the defenders of Virginia, and on this redoubt, the theatre of their valour, I offer to General Lafayette, this crown, entwined for a double triumph. In battle he was a hero, and in civil life the benefactor of the world."

General Lafayette was deeply affected; and his emotion was further increased by the enthusiasm with which these words of the orator were received by the multitude. Always influenced, however, by that modesty which so strongly characterizes him, he hastened to remove the crown from his head, and turning to Colonel Fish, one of the officers who had valiantly seconded him in his attack on the redoubt, said, "Take this crown, it also belongs to you; keep it as a deposit of which we are to render an account to all our comrades," and then addressing General Taylor, he returned him his thanks.

"I am happy," said he, "to receive such honourable testimony of the friendship of my old companions in arms, in this place, where the American and French arms so gloriously united in a holy alliance in favour of the independence of America, and the sacred principles of the sovereignty of the people. I am happy also at being received in this manner, at the very place where my dear comrades of the Light Infantry acquired one of their most honourable claims to the love and esteem of their fellow citizens." He concluded by paying a tribute of gratitude to the officers who had led the attack on the redoubt; and among them named Hamilton, Dumas, Laurens, and Fish; and said that it was in their names, and in the name of the Light Infantry, and only in common with them, that he accepted the crown they had just offered him.

After this ceremony, all the troops defiled before him;

and we returned to the city, where we spent the rest of the day, in the midst of enjoyments of various kinds. A circumstance quite affecting, still further added to the interest of this patriotic and military festival. I have already said, that General Lafayette on his arrival at Yorktown, had established his head quarters in the house in which Cornwallis had held his own forty-three years before. Some of the servants in examining the cellar to find convenient places in which to stow the refreshments and provisions, discovered a large box in an obscure corner, whose weight and appearance of antiquity excited their curiosity. They opened it, and to their great astonishment found it filled with matches, blackened by time. The inscription which they read on the lid of the box, informed them that it had contained part of the stores of Cornwallis during the siege; and they immediately made known this discovery in the house; from which it rapidly spread to the camp. A few moments afterwards, all the matches were taken up, lighted, and placed in a circle in the middle of the camp, where the ladies danced the whole evening with the soldiers. A ball at Yorktown in 1824, by the light of Cornwallis' matches, seemed so amusing an event to all the old revolutionary soldiers, that in spite of their great age and the fatigues of the day, most of them would not retire until the matches were wholly burnt out.

Although more than half the night had passed away since we had been permitted to take any rest, yet the desire to pass over and examine with attention the ground on which the independence of America was secured by a signal victory, did not permit me long to remain in the arms of sleep. When I awoke, day had just begun to appear; and when I reached the ruins of the old town, the first rays of the sun which was near the horizon, showed me the temporary camp of the militiamen already abandoned. I saw a part of the troops, who were embarked on board several vessels, which were hastening from the shore; while the dying sound of the drum behind the forest, which extends almost to the town, intimated to me the route taken by the detachments which were returning to their homes. Although every thing around me presented an exact and striking picture of a scene of war, my attention was not long diverted from my principal object; and I soon began to examine the site of the town, the exterior works, and the positions of the two armies, whose holy alliance had rendered triumphant, on the

American continent, the independence of a young nation, and the rights of man. Notwithstanding the formation of a number of gardens, and the useless efforts of the plough to fertilize a few spots of the soil which almost everywhere presents a sterile appearance, I was easily able to trace out the form of the town, and describe an arc the chord of which was formed by York River, which at that place is very wide, and navigable even for frigates ; but I had much difficulty in discovering the exterior works. However, with the aid of a plan of the siege, I continued my researches, when I observed a man sitting at the foot of a small pyramid apparently plunged in deep meditation. On that pyramid were engraved in large letters, the names of Rochambeau, Viomesnil, Lauzun, St. Simon, and Dumas ; and in fact all the principal French officers, who fought and conquered at Yorktown. While I was reading with satisfaction, over and over again, those glorious names, which will recall to the latest posterity the honourable part taken by France, in the contest of American liberty against British tyranny, the old man arose, and I saluted him ; and we soon entered into conversation concerning the objects around us, which appeared to be equally interesting to us both. He informed me that he had performed the campaign of Virginia, and the siege of Yorktown, under the command of Lafayette ; and having retired forty years ago to a small farm, at only a few miles distant, he had never passed an anniversary of the capture of York without coming here to pay his tribute of grief to his old comrades, and of gratitude to the French nation. Since you appear, said he, to take so lively an interest in the circumstances of that event, in which I had the honour of taking an active part, let us mount together to that point of the bastion which still remains, in the midst of so many ruins : we shall be able to see from thence the plan of operations with a glimpse of the eye ; and I can more easily make myself intelligible. After the old soldier had turned his eyes around, as if to revive his recollections, he made me sit beside him. We turned our backs to the town ; and the plain which had been occupied by the besieging army lay spread before us. You know said he how Cornwallis, after a campaign of six months, was driven by the young Lafayette from post to post, across Virginia, to shut himself up in Yorktown, whence he could not depart without the surrender of his arms. I will begin my recital therefore, at the time when Lafayette, by taking a position

at Williamsburg, placed Cornwallis in a situation where he could not escape him.

“In the early part of September, Cornwallis had attempted to reconnoitre the position; but judging it would be impossible to force it, and knowing that all retreat by sea was cut off by the French fleet, commanded by Mons. De Grasse, he determined to incur the chances of a siege, and began to fortify himself as well as he could. Each of us supposed, that taking advantage of the enthusiasm excited in our ranks by our late successes, Lafayette would not give his adversary time to reconnoitre, but would lead us to a concluding victory. But the young general gave evidence on this occasion, of a degree of moderation, perhaps still more admirable than his courage and talents. Neither the petitions of his officers, who pressed him not to neglect the opportunity to gather new laurels, by giving a last blow to the English army, nor the offers of Admiral De Grasse, who proffered to him, through Mons. St. Simon, the support of the marines, and even a part of the seamen from his thirty-eight ships, to second his efforts, could induce him to undertake any thing, before the arrival of the allied army, commanded by Washington and Rochambeau. “When a decision is to be made on so important a subject,” said he to them, “I should never prefer the gratification of my pride, to the certainty of success, to be shared with others.” And he waited till its accomplishment with a degree of patience which would have been astonishing even to an old commander.

“On the 13th, Washington and Rochambeau arrived at our camp; and, on the 17th, went on board the *Ville de Paris*, to concert with Admiral De Grasse a plan to bring the French fleet into co-operation for the success of the enterprise. All the combined forces were United on the 26th. On the 28th we marched on Yorktown to invest it; which was done without the loss of a single man. The French corps, commanded by Rochambeau, occupied the space between the heights on the river, and a marsh which is almost opposite us, but which we cannot see, because it is masked by some woods and ravines, under the shade of which an enemy might be approached within pistol shot of his works. The grenadiers, and the chasseurs of the advanced guard of this army, were commanded by De Viomesnil. On the following day, the

American army passed that marsh, and established its left, and was about establishing its right, below York river. The investment of the place thus became complete, and as closely drawn as possible. The legion of Lauzun, a corps of cavalry and half a brigade of American militia, went to take position on the other side of the river at Gloucester, where they were not able to establish themselves until they had dislodged Tarleton, who was there with 400 horse, and 200 infantry.

“During the night of the 29th and 30th, the enemy, fearing to be insulted by a coup-de-main, in the very extended position which they had fortified, formed the resolution to leave their camp at Pigeon Hill, which you see yonder before us; and to preserve only two redoubts in advance of the body of the place. The 30th was employed in lodging themselves amongst the abandoned works of the enemy, which enabled us to shut him up in a circle of limited extent, and gave us the most important advantages. From that moment, we began our entrenchments, and a noble emulation commenced between our allies and ourselves. Although very young as soldiers, and without experience in the operations of a siege, we had the satisfaction of meriting the praises of the French; who agreed that, by our zeal and intelligence, we were worthy to be associated with veteran troops.

“Mons. Duportail and De Querenet conducted the works at the head of the Engineers. Mons. D’Aboville commanded the French artillery; and General Knox the American artillery. In spite of the enemies fire, the works rapidly advanced; and on the 9th, three batteries were already prepared to play upon the place. General Washington fired the first gun himself; and at the signal, we began a furious cannonade, to which the enemy replied with the greatest vigour. On the 10th, the red hot shot which were thrown from a French battery, and aimed at a small English squadron stationed in the river, set fire to a ship of forty-four guns, and two smaller ones. The conflagration, which began in the evening, and lasted a great part of the night, presented a terrible and magnificent scene, to the eyes of the besiegers. The devouring flames, which rose in columns along the masts, spread a gloomy light on all the batteries, and seemed to lend us their splendour, only to facilitate our means of destruction. The battle, that night,

did not cease, until the fire, failing to find further support, left us in darkness.

“ On the 14th, the British possessed no outworks but two large redoubts ; one on the spot where Lafayette yesterday received the civic crown, was, as you perceive, situated here on our left, near the flat by the river ; the other was much further to the right, precisely on the spot where that pyramid is erected, at the foot of which we met each other. Washington then resolved to obtain possession of them ; and the whole day of the 14th and part of the 15th was employed in cannonading, to destroy the abattis which defended the approaches, and to facilitate the attack by assault. During the whole time the cannonade proceeded, Washington and Rochambeau, on foot, surrounded by their Staff Officers, remained as near as possible to the enemies’ entrenchments, the better to judge of the effect of our batteries, and were admired by the whole army for their cool intrepidity.

“ Rochambeau, to calm the impatient ardour of De Viomesnil, who pretended that they were uselessly wasting powder, and that the moment was now favourable for the assault, descended alone into the ravine which separated him from the enemy, tranquilly mounted the opposite ascent, entered the abattis within pistol shot of the English batteries, and then returned coolly, assuring De Viomesnil, that the abattis were not yet sufficiently broken, and that he must wait, at least, until the parapet was a little more reduced, that the grenadiers might be exposed only for a shorter time. The enemies’ fire at length began to slacken, and Washington thought it a favourable time to make the assault. Lafayette, at the head of the American Light Infantry, was entrusted with the attack of the redoubt on the left of the besieged, and De Viomesnil at the head of the French Grenadiers, with that on the right. Lafayette thought with reason, that to carry, with young troops, entrenchments defended by experienced soldiers, nothing could be depended upon but the boldness and suddenness of the attack. Consequently he ordered all the arms of his division to be discharged, drew it up in columns, and led it himself, sword in hand, with quick step, over the abattis, and in despite of the enemy’s fire, penetrated the redoubt, of which he made himself master in a few minutes. This brilliant success cost him but a few men. He immediately sent his aid-de-camp, Barber, to De Viomesnil

to inform him that he was in his redoubt, and to inquire where he was. The aid-de-camp found the French General at the head of his Grenadiers, waiting patiently, sword in hand, and under a terrible fire from the enemy, until his sappers should have regularly cleared the way to the abattis. Tell Lafayette said Viomesnil, that I am not yet in mine, but that I shall be there in five minutes; and in fact, his troops entered five minutes after, with drums beating, and in as good order as at a parade. This action exhibited the discipline, coolness, and courage of the French Grenadiers, in the highest colours, but cost them a considerable number in killed and wounded. As soon as we were masters of the two redoubts, we established ourselves well along the second parallel, and new batteries were also constructed, which completed the investment of Cornwallis' army, and brought all the interior of the place under a cross fire, from a distance which could not but be highly injurious.

During the night of the 15th and 16th, the enemy made a sortie with six hundred chosen men, under the command of Abercrombie. He found resistance at all our redoubts; but he succeeded in deceiving the French posts of the second parallel, by presenting himself as an American, and by the aid of that artifice, arrived at the second battery, and spiked four guns; when the Chevalier de Chastelleux arrived with his reserve, and forced the British to make a precipitate retreat.

Thanks to the care of General D'Aboville, commander of the French Artillery, the four pieces, which had been badly spiked, were in a condition to re-open their fire six hours afterwards. It seemed that this sortie had for its principal object, to conceal the retreat of Cornwallis and his army. In fact, we learned in a short time after, that the English General had determined to leave his sick and baggage in the place, to pass the river during the night, and to fall unexpectedly on the troops occupying Gloucester; and after having overwhelmed them, to pursue his way by land to New York. The project was bold, and worthy of a man like Cornwallis. His boats were already prepared, a party of his troops were already landed on the opposite shore, when a violent storm suddenly rising, put it out of his power to continue his movement. He considered himself happy in being able to bring back his troops, before dawn of day should betray his secret. From that time he



was convinced that there was no hope for him ; and on the 17th he proposed to treat.

Negotiations were continued until the 19th. They were conducted by the American Colonel Laurens, whose father was a prisoner in England, and by the Viscount De Noailles. The terms of capitulation were, that Cornwallis and his army should be prisoners of war. That the troops should march out with their arms shouldered, colours flying, drums beating an English or German march ; and that they should lay down their arms on the glacis, in the presence of the allied armies. This capitulation was ratified by the General in chief ; and at noon, detachments from the allied troops took possession of the principal posts. When the English marched out of the town to defile before us, we were ranged in two lines, the Americans on the right of the road, the French on the left. At the extremity of the two lines were all the general officers, in the midst of whom our beloved Washington was easily distinguished by his tall stature, and his fiery war horse, which he managed with inimitable pace. The moment when the head of the English column appeared all eyes were turned to seek Cornwallis, but being detained by indisposition, he was represented by General O' Hara. The latter, whether by accident or design, offered his sword to General Rochambeau, who by a sign directed him to General Washington, saying that the French army being only an auxiliary, he must receive his orders from the American General. O'Hara appeared piqued, and advanced towards Washington, who received him with noble generosity. It was evident to us that the English, in their misfortune, were above all enraged in being obliged to lay down their arms before the Americans ; for both officers and soldiers affected to turn their heads towards the French line. Lafayette perceived it, and avenged himself in a very happy manner. He ordered the band attached to his light infantry to play " Yankee Doodle !" an air which the English had applied to a song they composed in ridicule of us, at the commencement of the war, and which they never failed to sing to us when we became their prisoners. They so sensibly felt this jest, that many of them broke their arms in rage, when they laid them on the glacis before us. Cornwallis himself shared with the soldiers that weakness, which made them blush at being conquered by those whom they always chose to consider rather as rebels, than as citizens, armed in defence of their rights. On the day fol-

lowing the capitulation, when he was amongst the allied Generals, who came to visit him, he affected in speaking of Lafayette, always to distinguish between his character and that of the Americans. "I decided with more willingness to surrender," said he, addressing our young General, "because I knew that at the side of the Americans were the French, whose character assured me of the humane and honourable treatment of my army. And what, hastily replied Lafayette, has your lordship so soon forgot that we, Americans, also know how to be humane towards capitulative enemies;" this reply which contained an allusion to the taking of the army of Burgoyne by the Americans, sometime before, prevented Cornwallis from again reverting to the subject.

You see said the old soldier, whom I had not once dared to interrupt during his recital, so great was the interest with which I listened to it, you see that Lafayette, was on every occasion a good and ardent friend to us. He did not content himself only by aiding our cause with his council, and with his sword in battle, but he also defended our character and our reputation when they were unjustly attacked, by identifying himself with us, and rendering himself, if I may use the expression, responsible for all our actions. Besides, the English who affected so much disdain for us, would have done well not to have talked so much of humanity, they who every day outraged that virtue by the most horrible conduct. We have never forgotten, that during that campaign in Virginia, so glorious to our arms, and so fortunate for our independence, conflagration, robbery and murder accompanied them through our towns and villages, they often massacred in cold blood their prisoners after a battle, and finally during the siege of Yorktown, despairing to conquer us by force of arms, they attempted to poison us by sending amongst us more than a hundred unfortunate negroes infected with the small pox, whom we out of compassion, removed from the foot of their ramparts. But why should I dwell so long on the crimes of tyranny which we have destroyed, and which half a century of happiness and liberty ought to efface from our memory. Have I not a more agreeable task to fulfil, in speaking to you of the claims which the French army, and their virtuous chief, have acquired to the gratitude of Americans, by their courage and generosity. He then recounted to me, with interest, a great number of circumstances, which prove that no army was

ever better disciplined, nor better understood the duties of an ally, than did the French army; and I ought to add, that this testimony of an old American soldier, speaking to me in the presence as it were, of the facts to which he referred, is not the only one that I received during our long journey; for every where, even in the smallest cottages which were formerly occupied by the French army, I heard praises pronounced on their severe discipline, their profound respect for private property, their patience under fatigue, their courage in battle, their moderation in victory; and I confess this eulogium of the noble conduct of my fellow citizens, every time affected my heart with an agreeable emotion. Why then should not the French restoration in 1815, which in order to identify its colours with past glorious deeds, and to obliterate the war-like achievements of the tri-coloured cockade, continually claims the standard of Henry IV, which was distinguished only in the civil wars, or those of Louis XIV, which witnessed only victories, often dearly purchased, and ruinous retreats, why may it not claim as a legitimate inheritance a part of the glory obtained in the war of American Independence. Was it not under the "Drapeau Blanc," that the grenadiers of Rochambeau marched to the capture of Yorktown? Was it not under the flag of legitimacy, that our marine immortalized itself in securing the freedom of a young nation, by the dispersion of the English fleets, or is that glory to be despised, because it was not acquired by the sacrifice of liberty? I know not. But it is certain, that whilst we were celebrating the capture of Yorktown, commanded by Admiral ———, who was at that time in Hampton Roads, and who could distinguish the acclamations raised by Americans, grateful for the benefits they had received from France, coldly remained a stranger to a fete, which he ought to have regarded as a family fete, common to both nations. We know that that indifference, or that inexplicable repugnance, was not shared by the crews, nor by a majority of the officers. Several of the latter succeeded in secretly leaving their vessels, and concealed in the dress of citizens, were present, without being recognised, at that patriotic scene, where the Americans would have gladly placed them in the first rank, had they been permitted to appear in their appropriate dress, and under their national colours.

When I returned to head quarters, I found my travelling companions much engaged on this subject, and several of

them declared, that the French Admiral would not have conducted himself in that manner, without instructions from a superior authority.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

Route from Yorktown to Richmond, by Williamsburg and Norfolk—History of Virginia—Considerations on the Slavery of the Blacks.

THE acclamations of gratitude, and the tumult of arms, which had temporarily disturbed the customary calmness of Yorktown, had now ceased to be heard, when on the 20th in the morning, we took up our march to return to Williamsburg, the former capital of the State of Virginia ; but which is now a town of moderate size, preserving nothing of its ancient importance. The College, which was established under the reign of William and Mary, and still bears their name, and which half a century since was celebrated as a place of learning, appears to have shared the misfortunes of the city to which it belongs. Williamsburg is situated in a plain between York and James rivers. Two creeks, which fall into the great streams, approach each other a little before the town, forming a narrow causeway, on which General Lafayette had established that excellent post, which Cornwallis attempted to carry without success, when he endeavoured to escape from the snare into which he had been driven by his young adversary. Although the population of Williamsburg scarcely exceeds 14 or 1500 souls, the General was received with great affection, and had the pleasure of embracing a great number of old friends, with whom he passed the day.

Two days after we went to Jamestown to embark for Norfolk. Our navigation on James River was very interesting to General Lafayette, and to several of his aged fellow travellers, who saw a new page in the history of their glorious campaign on every point of the shore.

It was near 5 o'clock when we reached the spacious roads of Hampton. The sun, then on the horizon, threw its rays obliquely upon Old Point Comfort, which appeared to us from a distance, as if resting on the smooth surface of the sea. Beyond, on the waters of the Chesapeake, we

perceived several ships of the line, whose lofty sides rose like walls. They were the ships of the French squadron, and several discharges of cannon which we heard towards the south, with the columns of smoke we saw rising in that direction, indicated to us the situation of Norfolk; which being situated on a flat marshy plain, at the mouth of Elizabeth river, did not appear above the surface of the water until very near. Our vessel soon touched the wharves of the city; and on landing, General Lafayette was saluted by the discharge of artillery from the two forts which defend the entrance of the river, and from the ships of war in the harbour. I will not attempt to describe the fetes prepared by the inhabitants of Norfolk, for the reception of the "Nation's Guest." They were, like the preceding ones, strongly impressed with the patriotic and grateful character of the people. A young Lady who represented the Genius of Norfolk, received General Lafayette under a triumphal arch, and expressed to him the sentiments of the citizens, merits, however, particular remembrance. Her beauty, her eloquence, and the modest self possession, with which she performed her mission, produced upon the spectators an impression, which time will certainly not be able to remove.

Of all the cities which we have visited to this time, Norfolk presents an aspect the least agreeable. The houses are generally badly built, and the streets are narrow and crooked. On account of the marshes which surround it, the air is unwholesome, and diseases are common during the autumn. Its population does not amount to 4000 souls. Commerce is, however, very active, with the northern states, with Europe, and above all, with the West Indies. The port, which is spacious and deep enough to admit the largest ships of war, and large enough to contain at least three hundred, is the only good port in Virginia and North Carolina, and consequently through it pass all the imports and exports of those two states. The exports consist principally of wheat, flour, Indian corn, various kind of lumber, salt meat, fish, iron, lead, tobacco, tar, and turpentine. At Norfolk are found a considerable number of French families, who emigrated from St. Domingo. Those families at first made choice of this asylum, on account of its proximity; and afterwards determined to remain there, on account of the slavery of the blacks, which enabled them to keep and to employ the unfortunate negroes they had been

enabled to bring away in their flight. It is a painful and revolting spectacle, which is still presented at the present day by some of our refugee colonists, who, finding no other way to avoid poverty, than by devoting their unfortunate slaves to severe labour, that they may enjoy its products. Many of the Negroes who work at the port, are slaves thus hired to merchants who feed them, and who pay them seventy-five cents per day, for which they faithfully account every day to their indolent masters.

On the following morning we visited Portsmouth, a very small town, which is situated exactly opposite, on the left bank of James river, and which includes a beautiful national navy yard, in which we saw a superb ship of seventy-four guns, called the North Carolina, which had been launched but a few days. On returning to Norfolk, we were received with great parade by the Free Masons, who had the goodness to receive us all three as honorary members of their lodge. In the evening there was a very splendid ball, at which the citizens of Norfolk expected the attendance of the officers of the French squadron. But it seems that the same motives, which prevented them from appearing at the fete of Yorktown, also deprived them of the pleasure of coming to dance with the ladies of Norfolk; for we did not see one of them, at least not in uniform. On leaving the ball about 11 o'clock, we returned to our steamboat, which immediately proceeded up Elizabeth river, on our way to Richmond, the capital of Virginia, from which we were still distant about one hundred miles. The "Guest of the Nation" was expected with the greatest impatience, because that city contains, in proportion to its population, a greater number of witnesses than any other, of his efforts in favour of American Independence. It was in Richmond, in fact, and around its walls, that those numerous movements took place between Lafayette and the traitor Arnold, supported by General Phillips.

All business was suspended to receive Lafayette, and despite of a very unpleasant rain which fell in abundance, and which indeed detained us several hours on board, the impatient crowd had gone to meet him at Osborne, where he was to land. The solemn *entree* could not take place until the following morning. Forty soldiers who had been in the war of the revolution, were however presented to him immediately after his arrival; and amongst them were several who had served under his orders in Virginia. They

met their old General with affection, and he, full of emotion, astonished them by recognizing, and calling by name, those who had more particularly shared in his labours and dangers.

The next day the bad weather having ceased, the celebrations were renewed with increased brilliancy. In the Capital, which was built after the model of the "Maison carree," of Nismes, situated in the most elevated party of the city, the General was received and addressed by Chief Justice Marshall, in presence of the civil and military authorities, and a large concourse of citizens; amongst whom we had the pleasure to find several Frenchmen, and particularly Mon. Chevalie, who for more thirty years has been an inhabitant of Virginia, and has ever enjoyed the friendship and esteem of his adopted fellow-citizens. Notwithstanding the numerous fetes by which we were engrossed during our stay at Richmond, we were however able to spend a few moments in the private society of the most distinguished men of the city, and from their ever instructive conversation, I collected such details as I wished to obtain of the history, constitution, and manners of Virginia, which I shall here present.

This part of the American continent called Virginia, which was one of the oldest English colonies in the western hemisphere, and now forms one of the largest states in the great republican family of the Union, was first discovered, according to the English, by John Cabot, or as the French say, by Verrazano, who took possession of it in the name of Francis I. But whoever may have been the fortunate navigator who first landed on its fertile shores, it is certain that the first settlements date no further back than 1587, the period at which Sir Walter Raleigh took possession of it, in the name of a company of English merchants. That feeble colony hardly constituted five hundred individuals in 1605; and was soon after reduced to about sixty persons, by different privations, and by reiterated attacks of the Indians. It is probable that the feeble remains of them would have soon been destroyed, if a new expedition of three ships, commanded by Captain Newport, had not arrived, bringing new supplies of men, arms, and provisions. It was then that Jamestown was founded, and its feeble ramparts afforded the colonists a shelter against the arrows of the Savages: but new trials awaited them. To war and famine, was soon added discord; and

the colony would no doubt have been totally destroyed, if the influence of a single man capable of saving them had not prevailed. Captain Smith, by his courage and skill soon became the head of the colony. He carried on the war with success against several tribes of Indians, who refused to treat, and contracted friendly alliances with several others, which soon secured the prosperity of the colony. Its condition was already flourishing; and its former misfortunes had begun to be forgotten, when Captain Smith was made prisoner by Indian enemies, who would certainly have put him to death, if young Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, chief of the tribe, had not by her prayers and tears obtained his pardon, at the moment when the faggots were about to be lighted for his destruction. Having been restored to liberty, in a short time he hastened back to Jamestown, where he found the colony again reduced to the most distressing condition. Only thirty-eight individuals survived, who were preparing to adventure in a frail bark, the existence they had exposed by their shortsightedness and presumption. Captain Smith had still sufficient influence over them to detain them. His activity opened to them new resources; and another reinforcement was brought them by Newport. The colony again began to prosper; but a new occurrence soon plunged them again in want, and was on the point of destroying them forever. They expected to find gold in a brook flowing from a bank of sand above the town; and the foolish desire of amassing it, induced them to abandon the only labours from which they could derive a subsistence. Famine again began to decimate the colonists, who were again obliged to have recourse to him whose prudence had so often been their salvation. Smith taking advantage of the terror with which he had inspired some of the savage tribes, and through the friendliness of others, obtained from them such supplies as filled Jamestown with plenty. He then undertook to reconnoitre the interior of the country to a great distance, to ascertain its resources. For this purpose he embarked in a light boat and explored amidst many dangers, the principal part of the large streams which empty into the Chesapeake, and collected details concerning them and the whole territory, now composing Virginia; so exact, that they still serve as a basis for the best Geographers. Finally, the genius of Smith preserved the colony, and continued to extend its limits until 1610;—a period,



at which an unfortunate accident prevented him from pursuing further advantages. Whilst returning from an expedition, his powder flask exploded, and severely wounded him. His friends urged his return to England. He yielded to their entreaties, and six months afterwards the five hundred colonists whom he had left well armed, well supplied, and beginning to enjoy the fruits from their flocks and harvests, were now reduced to the number of sixty individuals, resembling rather spectres than men. The colony would have been entirely destroyed but for the arrival of three vessels, and a great number of emigrants brought by Lord Delaware.

That unexpected reinforcement restored courage to the colonists; and the wise administration of Sir Thomas Dale soon gave the settlement a new development. It was then that Mr. Rolfe, one of the colonists, married the Princess Pocahontas, who had saved the life of Smith. That alliance produced the greatest advantages to the colony; for Powhatan engaged, with all the tribes under his control, to support the English, and also to furnish them with provisions.

How much it is to be regretted that the example of Mr. Rolfe was not followed by his companions. It would have been easy for them to have secured their prosperity by similar alliances; and they would have spared to humanity much blood and many tears.

After this marriage, the colonists devoted themselves in peace to the culture of tobacco, which yielded them much profit, and lived almost at the expense of their Indian allies; who proved themselves faithful observers of the treaty, although it was very burdensome to them. Sir Thomas Dale took advantage of this state of tranquility, to complete the system of administration. But unfortunately he had for his successor, in 1617, Captain Argal, whose proud and tyrannical disposition had nearly provoked the greatest disorders, and the colony suffered some new vicissitudes. Being recalled by the company, he was replaced by George Hardly; who, to ascertain the best means for repairing the faults of his predecessor, convoked a general assembly of the inhabitants of Virginia. From that period is dated the introduction of the representative system into that colony, which soon produced happy results. The London company gave its assent to this simple form of government, and settled the principles of it by a charter, which it granted on the 24th July, 1621.

This charter declared, that there should be for the future, in Virginia, a legislative body, to be called the General Assembly, consisting of a governor, twelve counsellors, and representatives from the people;—that the counsellors and representatives shall make the laws, and the governor have the power to approve or reject them,—that the laws should not go into effect until they had been ratified by the company,—and that as soon as the government of the colonies should be formed and well established, the orders of the company should have no longer any effect in the colony, without the consent of the General Assembly. The company however reserved to themselves the right of appointing and removing the governor and counsellors at pleasure. Notwithstanding this reservation, the Constitution of Virginia thus became settled; and the inhabitants suddenly found themselves transformed from servants of a company, into freemen and citizens. At the same period, the company sent to Virginia one hundred and sixty young women, poor, but of irreproachable characters. They were received with joy, and married to the young colonists, who paid the expenses of their passage at the rate of 120 pounds of tobacco each.

The rights of the London company, already enfeebled by the concessions made to the colonists, were soon denied by James I.; and three years afterwards, Virginia passed under the immediate domination of the English government. However, the population of Virginia, at first confined to the environs of Jamestown, had now gradually extended itself over an extensive region, along the routes of the great rivers which fall into the Chesapeake. But the colonists, perceiving their strength increase, daily became less cautious in their intercourse with the natives of the country, whom they ill treated in every possible manner.

Powhatan was dead; and the tribes he governed had chosen in his place a warrior of great reputation, who had come from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Opeekan-canough, as the new king was called, entertained a bitter enmity towards the Europeans, because he foresaw how fatal must be their influence to his nation. He had no difficulty in communicating his hatred and his fears to his countrymen, and engaged them in an extensive conspiracy against the common enemy. The secret was scrupulously kept during four years; and was revealed only at the moment of execution, by an Indian who had been baptized

by the English. Notwithstanding this treachery, the plot was partially successful, and four hundred colonists fell under the tomahawks of the savages. Cruel reprisals were made; and they were only suspended by a treaty which concealed a most atrocious design. The Indians, full of confidence in the promises of their enemies, gave themselves up without distrust to the labours of the harvest, when the English fell upon them unexpectedly, and made a terrible slaughter; and the feeble remains of the tribes which escaped massacre, soon perished with want in the forests, and disappeared forever. The colonists, thus rendered sole masters of that extensive country, could now extend their settlements at pleasure. But this advantage also failed to produce any benefit; and they must infallibly have sunk amidst the horrors of famine, if a new reinforcement had not been sent them, of colonists and provisions, to replace those destroyed by the Indians. The assistance, on this occasion, was not rendered by the company, it having been dissolved by king James. This violence on the part of the crown, against a company which had expended more than three millions for the establishment of the colony, and which, notwithstanding its faults, merited the character of possessing astonishing perseverance, greatly afflicted the colonists, but in the end resulted to their benefit.—They knew how to defend themselves against the encroachments of the Royal government, and obtained a confirmation of all the rights which they had acquired before the extinction of the company.

Until 1651, the Colony was peaceful and prosperous, the troubles which had arisen in England, from the violent death of Charles I. produced but little agitation here, and had for their result a treaty, in which Cromwell agreed by a special article, that Virginia should be exempt from taxes, duties, and imposts of every description; and that no charge should be laid upon her without the consent of the General Assembly, to build forts or castles, or even to support troops. But in 1652, the Colonists began to suffer from the narrow views adopted by the Republic of England, during the ten years of Cromwells administration. Their discontent greatly increased, so that when Governor Matthews, appointed by the Usurper, died, and the inhabitants, taking advantage of this interregnum, overthrew the republican authorities, and proclaimed Charles II. an exile in Holland, who thus became King of Virginia, before he became certain of reas-

ceding the throne of England. The death of Cromwell, which took place in the same year, 1660, saved the Colony from the danger to which it would have been infallibly exposed, by its imprudent attachment to the cause of the Stuarts.

The Virginians soon repented of their devotion to the new king, whose ingratitude proved more injurious to them, than the tyranny of Cromwell. Charles II. far from abolishing the restrictions which already depressed the commerce of Virginia, aggravated and rendered them perpetual by the Navigation Act. The re-establishment of the French church in all its intolerance, the passionate revocation of all acts which might have perpetuated the memory of the French Revolution—the spoliation of private property to pay the instruments of the restoration—the continual fall in the value of tobacco—in short every thing concurred to embitter the Colonists, and to dispose them to general insurrection. An opportunity of exciting it was not long in presenting itself, and a civil war broke out in the Colony. A squadron, sent by Charles II. for the assistance of Governor Berkley, arrived at the moment when Bacon the leader of the insurgents, who had already made themselves masters of Jamestown had died. But as no one thought himself possessed of the talents necessary to achieve what that bold and skilful chief had undertaken, the insurgents accepted the amnesty offered them by Berkley. But this attempted insurrection only enraged Charles II. whose despotism knew no bounds. At this period he forbade them by a law, either to complain or speak evil of the administration of the Governor, under penalty of the most severe punishment; and various seditions were repressed by force. However, in spite of the violence and injustice of the mother country, commerce returned with considerable activity, and the population, finding daily new resources in their industry, very rapidly increased. In 1688, it exceeded more than 40000 souls. But whilst the Colonists perceived their strength increasing they also felt a growing hatred against royal authority; and when the first shouts for independence were raised by the New England Colonies, Virginia replied by raising the standard of insurrection. In the month of June, 1776, the representatives of the people assembled to the number of 200 in Williamsburg, drew up and signed a declaration, which broke forever the tyrannical cords, which until that time had bound the Colony to the mother country. This

declaration, by establishing in a clear and precise manner, the rights of each member of the social body, fixed the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and repelled as monstrous the principle of hereditary succession, and the exercise of power. It was soon followed by the publication of the Constitution; the triumph of which was established by the revolutionary war. In 1785, the Assembly passed an act for revising the laws, and the establishment of Religious liberty; and finally in 1788, Virginia completed her revolution, and confirmed her independence by adopting the Federal Constitution of the United States.

The state of Virginia, on account of its early foundation and extent, the fertility of its soil, and the mildness of its climate, ought now to be the richest and most populous state in the American confederation. It however contains only 1,600,000 inhabitants, scattered over a surface of 40,960,000 acres. That is to say, in proportion to its extent, it has only half the population of the state of New York, its contemporary; and hardly more than the state of Ohio, whose existence as a state with its Constitution, dates no farther back than about twenty years.

This difference, which is revealed to the attentive traveler at every step, by the great distances between the towns,—the small size of the villages,—the concentration of large private estates,—and the inferior system of agriculture, will never disappear, until Virginia, better understanding her true interests, and placing them in harmony with the principles of liberty and equality, so clearly established in their Declaration of Rights, and so vigorously defended by her arms, shall have finally abolished the slavery of the blacks.

When the truly great and liberal institutions of the United States are examined with attention, when the operation is well understood and their happy influence admired, the heart is suddenly frozen, and the feelings startled, on learning that in some parts of that vast republic, the dreadful principle of slavery still reigns, with all its sad and monstrous consequences. One then inquires with astonishment—whence arises this contradiction between such sublime theories, and a practice so disgraceful to humanity? This question, which has long been a subject of animated discussion to the philanthropists and politicians of the two hemispheres, but not always with sincerity, will soon be determined, it is to be hoped, by the interests of those who

are most immediately concerned, when they are well understood. In the mean time, I will hazard here a few observations, not in expectation of terminating the discussion, but with the hope of establishing in their true light, some facts which have been misrepresented, either by ignorance or passion, or by the falsehood of certain writers.

Happily we are not now called upon in any part of the civilized world, to decide upon the justice or injustice of the principle of the slavery of the blacks. At the present day, every man of sound mind, acknowledges it to be a great evil; and it would be very wrong to presume, that there are in the United States, more than elsewhere, individuals mad enough to wish to defend it either by writing or public speeches. For myself, who have passed through twenty-four states of the Union, and in the course of more than a year, have daily had opportunity to hear very long and animated discussions on this subject, I declare that I have met but one individual, who has defended its principles; and he was a young man, whose ideas were ill arranged, confused, and extremely ridiculous concerning Roman History, and who was ignorant of that of his own country. "The greatness of the Romans," said he to me, in reply to an expression of chagrin at seeing slavery sadly yoked to American liberty, "the greatness of the Romans was produced by slavery. If, as among those ancient masters of the world, we wish to preserve that austere dignity of character, which led them to virtue, we must not devote ourselves to those employments which are only calculated to repress the spirit. How can we fathom the science of government, for example, if we are obliged to devote our time to the care of our property, the culture of our lands, and the direction of our manufactories? How can we preserve a noble pride in our intercourse with our equals, if we do not first acquire the habit of command, by making our slaves obey us?" This long tirade delivered with emphasis, seemed to me perfectly ridiculous; but I thought proper to make no reply. In many similar cases, however, certain writers have thought proper to declare, that the Americans of the United States, are the obstinate partisans of slavery. For every unprejudiced man, I will here present what I regard as the most essential points in the discussion of the question of slavery, in the United States. 1st. Did the Americans voluntarily introduce slavery? 2d. Since they obtained their independence, have they shown by their acts

an aversion to slavery? 3d. Do they now fully understand the danger of the situation in which slavery has placed them, and are they making conscientious exertions to eradicate the evil? 4th. What would be the most efficacious means, the soonest to effect the liberation of the blacks?

If these four questions were impartially examined, it is probable that those violent declarations would be renounced, which offend without instructing, and present to those against whom they are directed no means of repairing the abuses of which they are accused. I will not enter into a learned examination of those questions which would require more space than I can allow them here. I will only glance at them; but every time during my journey when an opportunity shall present itself, I will carefully record the facts which I may witness, and which I hope will better serve than any discussion, to make known the condition of the slaves, and the progress which appears to be daily making in the feelings of the public with regard to this subject.

That crime by which a man, abusing his strength and his knowledge, subjects to his caprices or the supply of his wants another man, less enlightened than himself, and reduces him to the state of slavery, was committed in Virginia in 1620. It arose from the wretchedness of the colonists, whose few and weary hands, were not sufficient to cultivate the soil, and the avarice of the Dutch, who brought the unfortunate negroes like beasts of burden, whom they had stolen from the shores of Africa, to make merchandise of them.

The English, less avaricious than the Dutch, soon perceived in this abuse of power, which was favourable to indolence, a source of wealth, which they hastened to convert to their own advantage; and from that moment, ships annually vomited out upon the American continent thousands of slaves. Those sentiments of humanity, which had been for a time smothered by famine in the hearts of the Virginia colonists, rekindled on the return of happiness and plenty. The General Assembly of Virginia, about the year 1680, demanded of the mother country that an end should be put to that infamous trade in human flesh; which was also useless, because the population was sufficiently numerous and active to cultivate a soil, which requires only a little labour to yield a rich return. Other colonists repeated this just and philanthropic demand; but the mother country turned only a deaf ear, and replied by this inhuman decision of

Parliament, "That the importation of slaves into America is too lucrative for the colonies, to require its renunciation by England." And this reply was accompanied by threats, to which they were obliged to yield, because they were not in a condition to resist them. The General Assembly, however, renewed its demands several times, which produced no other effect than to obtain, in 1699, an act, by which the importation of slaves into Virginia, was loaded with a heavy tax. This was not a remedy for the evil, but it was at least a palliative.

This state of things continued so long as the colonies were under the yoke of England; for when they had broken it, and secured their independence, the different governments turned their eyes towards slavery, and sought the means to remove it. But this terrible evil had struck its roots so deep, that it had affected the manners of the citizens. From that time the remedy was difficult, and could not produce immediate effects. Those, however, who had engaged to accomplish it, did not lose courage. Their writings and speeches excited the minds of all; and Virginia had again the honour of showing a great example, by first proscribing the importation of slaves into its territory. This example was speedily followed by almost all the other states; and some of them went farther. Several of them, as that of Pennsylvania, declared free all coloured children, who should be born after the promulgation of the law; while others, like the state of New York, declared that after a certain period, no one should be able to hold slaves; and Congress following the general excitement, did, what no European power would have dared to do, proscribed the slave trade, which it assimilated to piracy, by annexing to it the penalty of death. Finally, of the thirteen original states, eight proclaimed the liberty of the blacks by particular acts of their legislatures: only the more southern states remaining behind, where the black population had increased with such rapidity, that in some places it was quadruple that of the white population, among which it excited apprehensions.

The confederation now consists of twenty-four states; thirteen of which have abolished slavery by law. Eleven others have checked it. Among these last, five are old states; and the others have been formed by the dismemberment of the first, or from portions of the territory of Louisiana, after it was purchased from France. In this newest



portion of the United States, the prejudices against the blacks still hold, it must be acknowledged, a bandage over the eyes of a great number of slave holders. Accustomed as they have been, from their earliest infancy, to see in the African race only an inferior species of men, incapable of ever acquiring the qualities which become a free citizen, they do not attempt to give their slaves that instruction, without which it is indeed true that liberty, in their hands, would be only a weapon injurious to society, and themselves; and they think they have done enough for humanity, by softening the horrors of slavery, by kind treatment. But in their blindness, they forget that in a social state, the rights of a citizen cannot be refused to any class of men, without placing them in a manner at war with those who enjoy them; and that, if the oppressed are in sufficient number to call them to an account, it is to be presumed that they will not always quietly suffer such an injustice, at least if they are not crushed under the weight of tyranny. This alarming truth, often repeated in every part of the union by the voice of philanthropy and religion, which, although less powerful at the south than the north, still exercises there a very great influence. However, to convince the minds of men in the slave states, every day witnesses the increase of the number of those, who desire and seek for the means of relieving their country of this terrible scourge. Of all those which have yet been offered, none has produced an efficacious result. It is true that all would be attended with great difficulty in their execution; for although it is said by certain European philosophers, who perhaps might themselves be greatly embarrassed, if they occupied the place of a Carolina or Georgia planter, the instantaneous enfranchisement of the slaves cannot be thought of, without exposing to the greatest misfortunes not only the whites, but also the blacks, who on account of their extreme ignorance, are as yet able to see nothing in liberty, but the power of doing nothing, and indulging in every excess. I will venture to affirm that to at least four fifths of the slaves of the United States, immediate freedom would only be a sentence of death by famine, after laying waste every thing around them.

I believe, therefore, in such circumstances, not immediately to give up to men the exercise of their rights, is not a violation of their rights; nor is it giving protection to the violators of them; it is only to adopt necessary prudence

in the manner of destroying the evil, that the justice which is to be rendered to them, may be the sure means of their happiness. In this case, prudence requires that the liberation should be gradual. Stop then and examine whether in the United States, owners of slaves are doing rightly : what ought to be done for the sure and speedy consummation of this gradual enfranchisement.

Among those who wish to deliver their country from the approbrium and degradation of slavery, all have not the same opinions with regard to the measures which ought to be taken, in relation to slaves. Some persons at first proposed to indemnify the masters for the loss of their slaves, by selling them to the colonies in the French and English West India Islands. But this inhuman idea was rejected with horror by most of the Planters ; who declared that they would never consent to send to perish under the cruel lash of the colonists of Guadaloupe and Martinique, men whom they had habituated to a system of mildness. Others had the idea of devoting a portion of the vast territory, which extends to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, to the establishment of a colony, to which all the young negroes of twenty years, and the negresses of eighteen, might be sent, after having given them, at the public expense, an education of the first order, and having furnished them with all articles necessary for their settlement. This colony might afterwards establish its own government, and become a powerful ally of the United States. But when this proposition was made, the prosperity of the United States was not sufficiently great to furnish funds necessary for such an enterprise ; and we must confess, that public sentiment was, perhaps, not sufficiently ripe, to perceive its importance.

Within a few years this plan has been resumed, modified, and at length put in execution, by a society formed in 1818, of which judge Washington is president.

This society, which now includes among its members all the most distinguished men in the different states of the Union, and of which General Lafayette has been lately appointed Vice President for life, has succeeded in founding, under the protection of the American government, a colony on the coast of Africa, which will probably soon attain the double object of an asylum for the blacks of the United States, as fast as they receive their liberty, and be at the

same time a point from which learning and industry shall hereafter diffuse civilization to that part of the world.

However, whatever may be the success of the Colonization Society for the coloured men of the United States, it cannot be reasonably hoped that it can alone effect the abolition of slavery. If the owners of slaves do not hasten to have the children of their blacks educated, to prepare them for liberty, if the Legislatures of the southern states do not fix a period, more or less distant, at which those states can no longer possess slaves, that part of the Union may ere long, be exposed to the merited reproach of outraging the sacred principle contained in the first article of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are born equally free and independent." But every thing leads to the belief, that the time has arrived when the abolition of slavery must proceed with considerable rapidity. The sentiment of personal interests well understood, at present better comprehended by the southern planters, begins to make them perceive, that within a few years, their productions will with difficulty be able to sustain a competition with those of Mexico and South America, unless they speedily renounce their ruinous system of culture; and many of them already attack without fear the unhappy prejudices of their fellow-citizens, by declaring that they would be much happier and richer, if the black population were so small as to permit the employment of black labour by the day, without danger, and thus, by the emulation excited among free labourers, to remove that mass of children and old people whom they are now obliged to support in idleness.

Thus then in the opinion of men best disposed towards the abolition of slavery, the greatest obstacle to it, whether general or gradual, is found in the excessive numbers of the blacks. The first object then, should be to reduce that population; and the system of colonization has therefore been wisely conceived, as it has for its object to offer a drain to the superabundance of their coloured population. The emancipation of the republic of Hayti, still increases the facilities for drawing off this population offered by the African colony of Liberia, but to avoid exposing the security and prosperity of that colony, and of the republic of Hayti, there should be sent to neither of these points emigrants whose habits and intelligence will not contribute to the happiness of the new establishments. But it is unfortunately too true, that almost all the blacks of the United

States are too much debased by ignorance and servitude, to furnish good citizens for a new colony. All the efforts of the friends of humanity, and of that true liberty, which denies the ridiculous distinction which is founded on a difference in the colour of the skin, ought to be directed to enlighten and form the character of the African race. This noble object cannot be obtained otherwise than by establishing, multiplying, and encouraging free schools every where, for coloured children of both sexes. It is in vain that certain men, blinded by their prejudices, would exclaim, that the hope of improving the African race is to be renounced, and that this race is only intermediate in the scale of beings between men and brutes. Numerous facts already reply to this absurd assertion; and might we not inquire of these men, so proud of the whiteness of their skin, and who judge of negroes only from what they are, and not from what they might be; might we not demand of them, if they can tell precisely, what their descendants would become after a few generations, if slavery were suddenly transferred from the blacks to the whites? But why should we fear this opposition from prejudices which are every day diminishing, and the near extinction of which is intimated by the moderation with which the American planters, in general, now consider themselves obliged to treat their slaves.

Some traits, which I may have occasion to mention, will I hope, complete the evidence, that in relation to slavery, public opinion in the United States has already taken a good direction; that there is nothing required but courage, and a little good advice, as to the means to be employed, would prove much more useful than attacks which are too violent, and often unjust. I will conclude these remarks by mentioning, that the state of Virginia, out of a population of 1,065,366 inhabitants, contains 462,281 persons of colour; of whom, 37,113 only are free. This last number never appears greatly to increase, because it chiefly supplies emigrants to the Colonization Society for Liberia and Hayti; and because the irregular lives of the free negroes in large towns, is unfavourable to the increase of their numbers.

## CHAPTER XV.

Masonic Fete—Journey to Petersburg—Visit to Mr. Jefferson—His house—His mode of cultivation—His slaves—Montpellier—Mr. Madison—Religious liberty—Return to Washington, by Orange Court House—Fredericksburg.

AMONG the brilliant fetes which the citizens offered the Nation's Guest, and the description of which I must omit, there is one which I cannot persuade myself to pass by without notice, because it is calculated to give an idea of that institution existing in the United States, in persecution of which, the Inquisition has so many times lighted its fagots both in Spain and Italy, and which certain governments of Europe tolerate unwillingly. I speak of the institution of Freemasonry.

On Saturday the 30th of October, after having been introduced with the accustomed ceremonies into the Masonic Temple, where were assembled all the members of the different Lodges in Richmond, we proceeded in grand procession to partake of the fraternal banquet, which had been prepared for us in a hotel, at the other end of the city. The procession which consisted of more than three hundred persons, was thus formed.

At the head, a detachment of brethren, armed with swords, opened the march. After them, a band of music; musicians playing American and French national airs, amongst which was the Marseilles Hymn. Following the music, two long files of brethren of inferior grades; between which, were all the grand dignitaries of the Society, bearing in the midst of them a Bible laid upon a rich cushion of velvet, embroidered with gold, and surrounded by masonic symbols. Amongst these great dignitaries appeared in the leading ranks, the Chief Justice of the United States, and many officers of the state. All the brethren bore insignia of their grades; the variety of which, presented a picture truly original. All the streets through which we passed, were filled by a great crowd of spectators, who, by their attitude and silence, expressed the respect with which they were inspired by the ceremony. Before taking our places at table, which was spread in a hall richly decorated, a Protestant minister belonging to the Masonic Order, addressed us a discourse, in which he reminded us that true masonry was founded in Truth, Equality, and Charity;

that to fulfil the duties of masonry, was nothing else than to fulfil those which we owe to God and man. He terminated his discourse by pronouncing a blessing on our repast, of which we began to partake with much gravity, but which terminated with those bursts of joy which particularly distinguish the inhabitants of Virginia.

Before retiring, a great number of toasts were drank by the assembly. That given by General Lafayette, was received with enthusiasm. It was in the following words:—“Liberty, Equality, and Philanthropy, the true symbols of Masonry; may the practice of these principles, ever claim for us, the esteem of our friends, and the opposition of the enemies of the human race.” We then proceeded from the Temple with the same ceremony, and in the order in which we repaired to it, and went to conclude the evening at a large party, which had assembled at our lodgings. I there found amongst the crowd who filled the apartments, a great number of our brethren, and our conversation naturally referred to the ceremonies of that day. One of them having inquired of me what I thought of them, I could not forbear replying, that I thought such a ceremony would appear very extraordinary in France; and I greatly doubted whether a masonic procession could pass through the streets of Paris, without exciting the mirth and jests of the people. “But you have processions in France,” said he, “for I recollect to have seen several during a journey I made in your country, two or three years since; and I did not observe, that they were ridiculed by the people.” “O! said I, but that was a very different thing. The processions which you saw in France, were those of the Catholic church. They have a different end, as well as different forms from our masonic processions. “They are very different, you say,” gravely replied my brother, whom I then recollected to have seen in procession, decorated with insignia of the highest grade; “let us see in what that difference consists. For myself, I declare, begging your pardon, I see nothing but points of resemblance. If it be the aprons and decorations of our brothers which would be thought too ridiculous to be exhibited in public, I must tell you that I consider the caps and the vestments of your priests, no less strange. If we carry relics at the head of our processions, do not the Catholic priests also carry them? And do you believe that the Bible, which contains the word of God, less deserving of being carried at the head of a procession, than a cross

of silver, or even of gold? Our processions, like those of the Catholics, move to the sound of instruments, and the songs of the initiated; and here I think the advantage of the comparison is on our side. First, because our music without being less solemn, is less monotonous; and our songs, being in the language of the people, can be comprehended by all. "Finally, my brother," added he, pressing my hands, "if I pass from the comparison of these exterior forms, to a comparison of the moral ends, I am happy to think we should still find no difference. We propose, as you well know, in our association, to improve the condition of the human race, by enlightening them, and comforting the unhappy by giving them alms. What nobler object can the Catholics hope to obtain by the repetition of their religious ceremonies? And if we co-operate with them for this common object, why should we appear more ridiculous in the eyes of the multitude?" As a stranger, and a Freemason, it became not me to press this discussion further, and I kept silence; from which my companion probably concluded that I had adopted his opinion.

A few moments afterwards, he resumed the conversation on the same subject, and informed me why Freemasonry enjoyed so much favour in the United States. "My countrymen," said he, "are as you know, great travellers, especially by sea. They consequently, are often exposed to the risk of falling into the hands of the pirates who infest the waters of the West Indies, which we often visit. These pirates who rob and hang all without distinction of religion, have a particular respect for Freemasons, whom they almost always treat like brothers. I could show you, without going out of Richmond, a great number of individuals, who owe the safety of their lives and property, to a masonic sign timely made, under the scimeter of the robbers of the sea." I then understood the veneration and zeal felt by Americans for Freemasonry.

General Lafayette designed leaving Richmond to pay a visit to his good and old friend the ex-president Jefferson; but a pressing invitation which he received from the citizens of Petersburg, caused a little change in his plan. He determined immediately to accept this invitation, and then return to Richmond and take the route to Monticello. We were nearly six hours in passing over the wooded and sandy road from Richmond to Petersburg, a distance of only about twenty-five miles. On our way, the

horsemen of the escort, showed us by the light of the moon, an old wooden church, which served General Lafayette as head quarters, when during the war in Virginia, he was manœuvring on this ground to prevent a junction between Cornwallis and General Phillips. As we approached near the city, General Lafayette recognised the position from which we had cannonaded and burnt Petersburg, to dislodge the English, who had entered it by so rapid a march, that he had been unable to intercept them. The details of this part of the campaign of Virginia, so interesting in stratagems, and on account of its manœuvres, are briefly but clearly recounted in that excellent work, Judge Marshall's "Life of Washington."

The twenty-four hours spent by Gen. Lafayette amongst the citizens of Petersburg, were marked by amusements of all descriptions. In passing through the streets, the inhabitants made him remark with much gaiety how much the town had increased since it was burnt in 1784. See, said they, at that period we should have been able to receive you only in miserable wooden houses; now they are large, and well built of brick, and we can offer you all the conveniences of life.

Petersburg presents an agreeable aspect, which discovers the affluence of its inhabitants. It is a pretty little town of about 7000 inhabitants, situated on the south east shore of the Appomatox river, which is navigable from this place to its mouth in James river, for vessels of sixty tons. All the productions of the south part of Virginia, and most of those of North Carolina, may be said to have no other outlet than Petersburg; so that the commerce of this place is particularly great in tobacco and flour; the last of which is chiefly manufactured in numerous mills, situated near the city, below the falls of the Appomatox.

After having returned to Richmond to enjoy forty-eight hours of repose, we set out for Monticello, which is about eighty miles distant. The Volunteer Horsemen, and a deputation from the Committee of Arrangements of Richmond, accompanied us. We slept the first night at Milton, a small village about half way, where a great number of planters of the neighbourhood were assembled, to afford a patriotic repast to Gen. Lafayette. On the following morning, just as we were seating ourselves in the carriage, I was seized with a violent vomiting, so that I could not leave my room. It was believed, and I myself supposed for an instant.



that I was threatened with bilious fever, a very common disease in Virginia at this season of the year, and which is often fatal. A cup of tea, however, and two hours of sleep, sufficiently restored my strength, to permit me to take my place in the coach, and continue the route. Notwithstanding my wishes Mr. G. Lafayette had left the company of his father, to remain with me. This proof of friendship and the tender care he bestowed on me, was a service to me which I can never forget, and greatly contributed, I believe, to my restoration. We travelled rapidly that we might not arrive at Monticello after the General. We found Mr. Jefferson still affected with the pleasure he had experienced in receiving his old friend to his arms. He received us amongst his numerous family with polished manners, which instantly dissipated the timidity of which I could not at first divest myself, on approaching one who has done so much for his fellow men.

When it is recollected how much the life of Jefferson has been devoted to mankind, and how useful it has been, one feels penetrated with a kind of veneration for him. But this sentiment is soon combined with that of confidence and friendship, after being a few hours in his company. It is difficult I think to find a man, whose conversation is at once more agreeable and instructive. Endowed with a memory which easily recurs to any event of his life, familiar with almost all the arts and all the sciences, his conversation easily satisfies all the wishes of a mind desirous of instruction.

Born at Shadwell, in the county of Albermarle, in the state of Virginia, on the 2d. day of April, 1743, Thomas Jefferson was educated at the College of Williamsburg, and devoted the first years of his youth to the study of the law. The advantageous situation in which he was placed by a considerable fortune, left him by his father Peter Jefferson, one of the oldest colonists, and still more, the superiority of his mind and character, caused him soon to be called to the Legislature of Virginia, whence he was sent in 1774 to the Continental Congress. He soon acquired a great reputation in that august assemblage; which in 1776, adopted his draft of a Declaration of Independence; a composition no less remarkable for its depth of thought, than for the clearness, dignity, and energy of its style, and which would of itself have been sufficient to render its author illustrious forever. But Jefferson could not stop after so glo-

rious a commencement in the career of politics, he determined to pursue it in the same spirit, and whilst he pursued it, to seek also the means to pay tribute to the sciences and arts, which he never neglected.

Being in turn a Legislator, Governor, Representative in Congress, Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary of State, and Vice-President of the United States, he passed, during nearly a quarter of a century, through all the highest public offices to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. His appointment which took place in 1801, in opposition to John Adams, was regarded as the triumph of the Democratic party over the Federal party. Then, as at all times, the vanquished party expressed its despair by loud cries, by unreasonable agitation, and by incendiary pamphlets; the journals which were its organs declaimed without measure against this new president, and against all those who had assisted him in suppressing useless offices, to introduce the most rigid economy into all the branches of government, to reduce the army and finally to give the constitution that free action so appropriate to the simplicity of its conception. But Jefferson despised these vain clamours and did not less proceed in the work of reformation and improvement which he had undertaken. Some of his friends in their mistaken zeal in vain advised him to recur to a law to repress abuses of the press; he replied to their dangerous counsels, 'I am very happy, to have this censorship exercised by the journals opposed to my administration, for amongst all this violence dictated by passion some truth may be brought to light and I shall profit by it.' 'Besides,' added he, 'all whose acts are done openly, whose members live among their fellow-citizens to whom all their words are addressed, and under whose eyes all their measures are executed, have nothing to fear unless from bad conduct.' A sublime and severe lesson which European governments well might profit by.

So much wisdom and firmness could not remain unrewarded in a nation of just views. Jefferson was elected President almost unanimously, in 1801. Among the remarkable facts which signalized his administration the accession of Louisiana, in 1803, was not one of the least advantage to the United States,

Finally, in 1809, he returned to private life in his retreat at Monticello. There, on the top of a hill, which far overlooks a smiling and fertile valley, under a simple roof raised with good taste under his direction, and, so to speak, by

his own hands, amidst his children and grand children, by whom he is idolized, he still devotes all his time and powers to the improvement and happiness of his fellow men. By his care Charlottesville has seen an university established, which is now richly endowed and already containing a great number of pupils. In a few years this institution will be to the southern states what Cambridge is to the northern, a source of knowledge to which the students will resort to acquire that information, and those principles which form good citizens.

Mr. Jefferson's retreat enjoys a high reputation for hospitality throughout Virginia. Indeed, I remarked that it was always open, not only to a great number of visitants from its environs, but also to all foreign travellers, who are attracted by curiosity or by the very natural desire of seeing the sage of Monticello. I have already said that he was the architect, and as it were, the builder of his house. It is in the form of an irregular octagon, with porticos on the east and west, and peristyles on the north and south. Its extent including peristyles and porticos is one hundred feet by ninety. The exterior, which is of the Doric order, is surrounded with balustrades; and the interior of the house is ornamented with different orders of architecture. The vestibule is Ionic, the dining room Doric, the saloon Corinthian, and the dome Attic. The apartments are ornamented in different modes with these orders in their accurate proportions after Palladio. Every where in that delightful abode I found proofs of the good taste of the owner, and his refined love of the arts. His saloon is ornamented with a collection of pictures; among which I remarked with pleasure an Ascension, by Poussin; an Holy Family, by Raphael; the Scourging, by Rubens; and the Crucifixion, by Guido. In the dining room were four beautiful busts; of Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and Paul Jones. There are also several other beautiful specimens of sculpture in different parts of the house. The library, without being large, is excellently chosen. But that which excites the curiosity of visitors, is the rich museum, which is placed at the entrance of the house. It contains offensive and defensive arms, clothes, ornaments, and utensils of the different savage tribes of North America; the most varied and complete collection that has ever been made. Mr. Trist, son-in-law of Mrs. Randolph, a young man both amiable and well informed, had the politeness to shew

to me some of the arms belonging to Tecumseh. They had nothing remarkable in their forms or materials; but one cannot help regarding them with interest, when the history of the extraordinary man to whom they belonged is known. It is well known that Tecumseh, who was born among the Chippewa Indians, on the frontiers of Canada, was chief of his nation, and by his courage and genius acquired great influence with all the neighbouring tribes. This child of nature was formed for greatness. His form, which was of the most perfect symmetry, with a commanding countenance, was animated with the soul of a hero; and it may be affirmed, that if he had been born among the improvements of civilization, his great powers of mind would have assigned him a place among the first men of the age. He had long secretly cherished the hope of opposing an insurmountable barrier to the encroaching power of the whites. For this purpose he had for several years travelled among almost all the Indian tribes, to engage them in a league that he wished to form. His persuasive and seductive eloquence secured to him numerous partizans; and he already began to anticipate the approach of a period when he might raise the tomahawk against the whites for the benefit of his brethren, when war broke out between the United States and Great Britain. Tecumseh regarded this event with joy, for he presumed it would be favourable to his plans, by hastening the destruction of his enemies by their own hands. He at first determined to remain a spectator of the contest; but he soon changed his mind. It seemed to him the wisest policy, first to assist in the destruction of the stronger that he might afterwards have only to contend with the weaker; he therefore accepted of the proposals of the English, who solicited his alliance with all his power. He was then forty years old; he had ever since his childhood taken part in every engagement against the whites; but no one could ever reproach him with any of those cruelties so common among his countrymen in the intoxication of victory. He abhorred blood-shed after battle, and he was often seen furiously defending prisoners against his own warriors. With so noble a character he must soon have blushed at the atrocities of his allies, who basely excited the Indians whom they intoxicated, to massacre their wounded prisoners. He expressed to them all the disdain which he felt when he refused, with a noble pride, both the rank of Brigadier General, and the silken

sash which General Proctor offered him in the name of the King of England, as a reward for his courage in the battles of Brownstown and Mayagua. But being still devoted to his vast projects, he thought proper to persist in his alliance with the English, until the Americans, whom he regarded as his most dangerous enemies, should be destroyed. At his formidable voice, new tribes came to array themselves under his orders, and with his chosen warriors he for the last time lent the support of his arms to his allies in a battle fought with General Harrison, on the banks of the river Thames. In the commencement of the action Tecumseh had rushed with fury among the battalions that opposed him, and at first put them in confusion by the boldness of his attack; but these battalions soon returned to order and the battle became furious. The Indians, incited by the example of their valiant chief, continually renewed their attacks, which the Americans repulsed with equal intrepidity. In the midst of the engagement Colonel Johnson advanced alone among a group of Indians who were rallying around Tecumseh. The splendour of his dress, and the whiteness of his horse made him remarkable, and he became the object of every shot. He in an instant fell pierced through with wounds. Tecumseh at that moment came up, and raised his tomahawk to give him his death blow; but, struck with the intrepidity, or the painful situation of his enemy, he hesitated for an instant, and that instant was his death. Colonel Johnson, collecting his remaining strength, and realizing all his danger, drew a pistol from his belt, and fired it almost touching the breast of Tecumseh, who fell dead by his side. Thus perished that extraordinary man, in whom were placed the hopes of so many nations, which are now daily diminishing, and of whose existence civilization will soon have destroyed all traces. The body of Tecumseh was found among the dead after the battle. The Americans recognized him by his commanding countenance; and to pay respect to his courage which they had so often proved, buried him with military honours.

The grounds which surround the house of Mr. Jefferson, and form his estate, are several thousand acres in extent; but only twelve or fourteen acres are cleared, the rest still remain covered with forests. The principal productions are grain and tobacco. The cultivation appeared to be well managed; but, if I may judge from some things I

heard, it must be very expensive, and consequently can yield very little benefit to the proprietor. Like all the planters of Virginia, Mr. Jefferson works his land with slaves : that is to say, if he requires for its management fifty negroes, he must feed, lodge, and clothe one hundred ; for if from one hundred slaves are subtracted the old, young, and women, the feeble or sick, it will be found that scarce fifty remain able to work. Besides, it is to be remembered, that these fifty able bodied slaves will not perform the work of thirty free men well paid. And this is easily accounted for : the free labourer, paid by the day, knows that unless he works with diligence, his employment must cease, and his employer will seek a more laborious one, so that he will be reduced to poverty. The slave, on the other hand knows, that whether he labours much or little the result will be the same to himself. He knows that his master, to preserve his property in him, will be obliged to feed, lodge, and clothe him—to take care of his health, and protect him. Thus without anxiety, as well as without hope for the future, the slave cannot and ought not to have any other wish than that of repose. What, in fact, is it to him whether his master's property increases or diminishes ? Will not the effect be the same to him, must he not still remain in slavery ? From these considerations it may be confidently concluded that thirty free workmen, paid by the day, will do the work of one hundred slaves, whom the planter is obliged to provide for during the whole year, that he may have fifty labourers. I suppose the support of each slave costs the master not less than a franc a day, and the wages of a free labourer three francs ; there would then be a difference of ten per cent. per day, in favour of culture by free hands. This does not appear great at first sight ; but if we take into the consideration, the enormous capital of at least 50,000 francs, which must be expended in the purchase of slaves, if we also consider the fifty-two sabbaths, and the holidays when free labourers are not paid, and during which slaves eat, although they do not work, it will be seen how the difference becomes greater still ; and it will be difficult to comprehend, how an owner and cultivator of the land, (aside from motives of humanity, and regarding only his personal interest,) should not make greater efforts to substitute free labour for that of slaves.

The good condition and gaiety of the negroes at Monticello, would attest all that could be desired of the humani-

ty of their master, if so noble a character needed attestation. All with whom I conversed assured me they were perfectly happy, that they were subject to no ill-treatment, that their tasks were very easy, and that they cultivated the lands of Monticello with the greater pleasure, because they were almost sure of not being torn away from them, to be transported elsewhere, so long as Mr. Jefferson lived. This conversation proved to me, that, whatever the slaveholders may say, there is an infallible means of exciting a love of labour among the blacks, and of gaining their affections: that is, to attach them to the soil, to habituate them to consider themselves as forming an unalienable part of the estate to which they belong, and finally, to give them an assurance of enjoying the improvements and embellishments which they produce by the sweat of their brows. When they once knew that the ground where they were born was to feed them all their lives, they would become attached to it, and take pleasure in rendering it more productive. The masters themselves would better love beings whom they would no longer be accustomed to regard as beasts of burthen, to be got rid of at pleasure. If obliged to keep them they would take more care in training them morally and physically. Then those horrible markets would be at an end, which, breaking without mercy the bonds of nature and affection, tear the child from its mother, separate husband and wife, brother and sister, and the wretched from the friends who were united with him—at least by the same chain!

The objections to general and immediate emancipation are unanswerable; those against gradual emancipation are worthy of discussion; but those against the change from slavery to servitude, as I have just described it, appear to me very easy of refutation. The government of the United States have given a great lesson to the whole world, by branding and punishing the slave-trade as a capital crime. Virginia has acquired great claims to the gratitude of the friends of humanity, by opposing, from its infancy, so to speak, the importation of slaves into her territory; that many palms still remain for her to gather, in this just and philanthropic career; the first, it appears to me, will be due to the state which shall earliest convert its slaves into *Cerfs*.

Before we left Mr. Jefferson's residence, we accompanied him to see the university of Charlottesville. He took

us thither in an elegant calash, constructed by his negroes on his estate : it appeared to me very well made ; and I found in this fact a powerful argument against those who pretend that the intelligence of the negroes can never be elevated to the mechanical arts.

At Charlottesville every thing had been carefully prepared, by the citizens and the students of the college, to receive General Lafayette in a becoming manner. The sight of the guest of the nation, seated at a patriotic dinner, between Jefferson and Madison, excited among the company an enthusiasm which was expressed by flashing sallies of wit. Mr. Madison, who had arrived on that day, to attend the meeting, distinguished himself among all by his originality, and the delicacy of his allusions. Before he left the table he offered as a toast :—“ *Liberty : she has virtue for a guest, and gratitude for an offering.*” His meaning was readily comprehended, and applauded with enthusiasm.

After the entertainment we visited the institution. It consists of two parallel ranges of small buildings, presenting in their construction, all the different orders of architecture. Between those two lines, and at one extremity of them, stands another edifice built on the plan of the Parthenon at Athens, reduced to a fifth of its primitive proportions, containing the library and a large circular hall designed for general meetings. All the buildings were built under the direction of Mr. Jefferson, who delights in spending several hours, every day, partly among the workmen, partly among the professors and students, who equally profit by his advice.

Before we took leave of the youths of Charlottesville, and their respectable professors, Mr. Spotswood conducted us into a small apartment, where he showed us a rattlesnake freely moving about upon the floor. He had been taken a few days before in a wood, to be presented to Mr. George Lafayette, who had expressed a wish to obtain one. We looked upon that dangerous reptile with pleasure, whose piercing look, easy movements, livid body marked with broad black bands, and rattling tail, would doubtless have inspired us with a different feeling if we had not known that his rage had been rendered powerless, by removing the channelled tooth, by the aid of which, this animal so subtly introduces death into the veins of the victims it is able to reach. The poison distilled by the rattlesnake is said to be



so virulent, that it often produces death in less than half an hour. It had long been doubted whether any effectual antidote could be obtained for the bite of this reptile ; perhaps some may doubt it still ; but Dr. Thatcher positively affirms in his excellent Military Journal of 1776, that the use of olive-oil and mercury perfectly succeeded in the following case :

“ On arriving at Ticonderoga, an American soldier had the imprudence to wish to take a rattlesnake, by seizing it by the tail. The serpent turned and bit his hand. In less than half an hour, the arm and shoulder swelled to more than double the natural size, and the skin assumed the colour of an orange. The whole side of the body soon underwent the same change, and a strong disposition to vomit was expressed. Several hours however passed, and death did not ensue ; when Dr. Thatcher and two medical friends determined to administer a great quantity of olive-oil, in frequent doses, and to rub the part affected with mercurial ointment. At the end of two hours the remedy operated effectually ; the alarming symptoms disappeared ; the swelling subsided, and in forty-eight hours health was completely restored.”

The Indians pretend to be in possession of a specific against the bite of the rattlesnake. They state, that when they immediately apply to the wound the bruised pulp of a root resembling a potato, they completely neutralize the poison in its effect, and prevent all ill consequences. I here give only a popular opinion, which may deserve careful examination ; but I had no opportunity to attend to it during our short and rapid journey.

Notwithstanding the happiness which General Lafayette enjoyed with his old friend, Mr. Jefferson, it was necessary to leave him : for other affections and engagements called him to many other parts of that great republic, only a small portion of which we had yet visited, although we had been constantly travelling since we landed at the rate of nearly forty miles a day. On leaving Monticello, we went to Montpelier : the delightful residence of the Ex-President of the United States, Mr. Madison. There we found, with slight shades of difference, the same habits, the same virtues as at Monticello.

Mr. Madison's career has borne a surprising resemblance with that of Mr. Jefferson, with whom he was ever united by the most intimate friendship. Like his illustrious friend,

Mr. Madison early devoted himself to the study of the law, and while quite young, was called by his fellow-citizens, to defend their important interests in the legislative assemblies. Like him, he shone by his oratorical talents, and the boldness of his conceptions, in that assembly which immortalized itself by declaring the *country independent*. Like him, he was twice elected to the Presidency by the people; and during a part of his administration had to support a foreign war, which terminated gloriously. Like him, finally, on leaving the palace of the President of the United States, went into retirement, to cultivate his farm and to devote himself to literature, with which he had never broken off all intercourse, even among the numerous political employments of his life.

Mr. Madison is now seventy-four years of age; but his body, which has been but little impaired, contains a mind still young, and filled with a kind sensibility, which he showed in its full extent, when he expressed to General Lafayette the pleasure he felt in having him in his house. Although the habits of reflection and labour have made his countenance assume an expression of great severity, still all the feelings of his heart rapidly communicate themselves to his features, and his conversation is generally animated with an agreeable gaiety. Mrs. Madison also greatly contributes, by the accomplishments of her mind, and the elegance of her manners, to render doubly delightful the unaffected hospitality with which strangers are received at Montpellier.

I will not enter into particulars concerning the management of Mr. Madison's plantation: it is exactly what might be expected from a man distinguished by good taste and love of method, but unable to employ other labourers than slaves; who, whatever may be their gratitude for the good treatment of their master, must always prefer their own present ease to the increase of his wealth.

The four days we spent at Mr. Madison's, were agreeably divided between walks about his fine estate, and the still more engaging conversations that we enjoyed in the evenings, on the great interests of America, which are known to be so dear to Lafayette. The society which at that time customarily assembled at Montpellier, was almost exclusively composed of neighbouring planters, who appeared to me, in general, at least as intimately acquainted with the great political questions of their country, as those of agri-

culture. General Lafayette, who, while he well appreciates the unfortunate position of slave-holders in the United States, and cannot overlook the greater part of the obstacles which oppose an immediate emancipation of the blacks, still never fails to take advantage of an opportunity to defend the right which *all men, without exception*, have to liberty, introduced the question of slavery among the friends of Mr. Madison. It was approached and discussed by them with frankness, and in such a manner as to confirm the opinion I had before formed of the noble sentiments of the greater part of the Virginians, on that deplorable subject. It seems to me that slavery cannot subsist much longer in Virginia : for the principle is condemned by all enlightened men ; and when public opinion condemns a principle, its consequences cannot long continue.

After the question of corporeal slavery in the United States, they referred to the no less important question of the mental slavery, to which some of the nations of Europe, are condemned by the prevailing religions : the religions of the state. The friends of Mr. Madison congratulated themselves that at least this species of slavery is unknown in the United States ; and they entered into certain particulars, from which I learned that they were not the kind of men to be easily contented with what we always speak of in Europe as a benefit : I mean religious *tolerance*. "Tolerance," said one of them, "is doubtless preferable to persecution ; but it would be insupportable in a free country, because it is marked by an insulting pride. Before the right of tolerating is conceded to any sect or religion, and before the others are reduced to suffer the shame of being *tolerated*, it must first be proved that only one is good, and the others bad. But how is this proof to be obtained, while every body believes his own to be the best ? The word *tolerance* is therefore an insult, and can be reasonably substituted only by the word *liberty*. Religious liberty we possess in the full extent of its meaning ; and may assert, that there is not one out of all our twenty four states in which it is not better understood than in any part of Europe. We, however, have had our periods of tolerance, I will even say of intolerance. Before our glorious revolution, for example, we groaned under the laws by which, for certain degrees of heresy, a father might forfeit the right of educating his children, and his claim to the protection of certain laws, and even be burnt. Now, how great is the difference ! Thanks to our

new laws, worthy of the immortal legislators who were entrusted with framing them, no individual can be compelled to practice any religious worship, nor to frequent any place, nor to support any minister, of any religion whatever ; nor constrained, restrained, disturbed or oppressed in his person or property ; and finally, none can be persecuted in any manner on account of religious opinions : but all men have liberty to *profess, and sustain by argument*, their opinions in matters of religion, and those opinions cannot diminish, increase or produce any thing in respect to their civil rights."

I had lent an attentive ear, as may well be supposed, to this interesting conversation ; and one of those who had taken part in the conversation, and had observed it, took me aside, while Mrs. Madison was preparing tea, and said : " Since you feel so lively an interest in all that relates to our excellent institutions, I will communicate to you a fact, to which my friend has not referred, doubtless through fear of offending the modesty of the master of the house. You may perhaps know, that, before the revolution, the English church was dominant in this state ; and its ministers, discontented with the equality in different sects established by the law of 1776, and still more by the law of 1779, which deprived them of the appointments they had received from the government, declared that they should not be content with voluntary contributions for their support, and laid a petition before the General Assembly, during the sessions of 1784 and 1785, for securing *the support of ministers of the gospel* by the government. That petition, although supported by the most popular talents in the house, seemed likely to receive a majority of votes, when, to prevent its success, several members requested and obtained its postponement to the succeeding session, and had it printed, that it might be submitted to the public opinion. During that time, Colonel G. Mason and Colonel G. Nicholas requested Mr. Madison to draw up an argument against the petition, which was extensively distributed among the people, and with such success, that it soon received a prodigious number of signatures from men of all sects and communions, and in the following session, the petition was rejected with decision. You would, I have no doubt, be gratified with a perusal of that document, which, in my opinion, contains the wisest and strongest arguments that can be used in favour of religious liberty ; and I can send you one to-morrow, as I still possess several copies.

“ Since the declaration of religious liberty which stood its ground against that petition, there has not been any national religion in the United States. The expenses of public worship are defrayed by voluntary contributions. This state of things singularly contrasts with the policy of European nations ; and yet religion is not neglected among us. It is true that the people in the country have not many places where they can perform religious worship ; but it is to be remembered that they are scattered in small numbers, over a new territory ; and that Europe owes the magnificence of her churches, not to the religious zeal of an enlightened period, but to the superstition and bigotry of an ignorant age. Besides, it will be remarked, that in the great cities of Europe, where the excess of population does not correspond with the ancient funds of the church, the edifices for religious worship are still more disproportionate to the numbers of the people than in the United States. In 1817, Boston, with a population of 40,000, contained twenty three churches ; New York, whose inhabitants amounted to 120,000, contained fifty three ; and Philadelphia, with 100,000 inhabitants, had forty-eight ; Cincinnati, in the state of Ohio, containing 8000 inhabitants, although at that time it had been founded scarcely seven years, contained five churches, and two others were building. A comparison can be drawn only between the great cities ; and if the support of churches be regarded as a decisive proof of zeal for religion, we are to remark that new churches are built in Europe by taxes, while in the United States they are raised by means of voluntary contributions.”

On the following morning, before we left Montpellier, I accordingly received the document alluded to, which I perused with interest, and found it deserving of the eulogium which had been bestowed upon it. The principles it inculcates are so simple and so eloquently maintained and defended, that it seems to me difficult to add any thing new on the subject. As I think the publication of such a composition can produce only good effects at all times and in all places, I have thought it proper here to give a translation of it, as faithfully as the genius of the two languages will permit.

[The Memoir and Remonstrances, addressed to the Legislature of Virginia in 1785, which are here referred to, are omitted, as they contain no novelty for an American reader.]

We left Montpelier on the 19th of November for Fredericksburgh, by way of Orange Court-house. A numerous escort, under the command of Captain Mason, had arrived in the morning, to attend General Lafayette and Mr. Madison and insisted on accompanying him. On reaching Orange Court-house, we found all the inhabitants ranged in two lines, between which the General passed, to reach the house of Colonel Barbour, ex-governor of the state of Virginia, who had been appointed by the citizens to make a speech to the Guest of the nation. While passing between the lines, the General received expressions of regret from several old revolutionary soldiers who had been prevented by age or distance, from being present at the celebration at Yorktown; who now consoled themselves with his expressions of friendship and remembrance by which they seemed greatly affected. After Col. Barbour's speech, Miss Derby presented him in the name of her young companions, a nosegay of flowers, which she accompanied with an interesting address. After this, we remained at that place only long enough to partake of a dinner, at which Col. Barbour presided, and at which, according to custom, he gave thirteen official toasts during the dessert. These were succeeded by a great number of private toasts, all which expressed the sentiments of patriotism and gratitude excited by the occasion. After the repast, we separated from Mr. Madison, who, notwithstanding his seventy-four years, mounted his horse with activity, and returned to his peaceful home alone, through the woods. We continued our route in the midst of the escort which had accompanied General Lafayette in the morning, and was considerably increased by a great number of citizens who wished, by following it, to prolong the pleasure they enjoyed in being with him.

After proceeding a short distance, we met a large collection of people on the route, assembled around a triumphal arch, erected at the intersection of the road by a narrow path, which was scarcely distinguishable through the thick wood. We soon learned that this path which young ladies were scattering with flowers, and which the crowd entered with much interest, was the road opened by Lafayette on the 15th of June 1781, to effect a rapid march from the banks of the Rapidan to Michunk creek, where Cornwallis was greatly surprised to find him in order of battle, at a moment when he had thought he should be able to gain

possession of the magazines of the southern states at Albe-  
marle, without resistance. This new proof of the flattering  
recollection preserved by the Americans, of all his actions,  
highly gratified Lafayette; and he was affected almost to  
tears when he saw himself covered with flowers by the young  
ladies, and when on alighting, he was surrounded and affec-  
tionately approached by all the citizens who had awaited  
him at the triumphal arch. He conversed with them a long  
time: and told the young people how much the surround-  
ing places reminded him of the obligations he felt to their  
fathers. "It was exactly here," said he, "and at the mo-  
ment when I effected by this passage a movement which  
might have proved very injurious to me if it had not been  
well performed, that they left their harvests to join my little  
army; and during that whole campaign, the separation  
from their families, fatigues of all sorts, the ruinous neglect  
of their crops, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, did  
not prevent them from remaining with the army, even be-  
yond the time that could have been lawfully required of  
them." But what General Lafayette did not allude to, as  
his modesty prevented it, was the address with which he  
encouraged the most disheartened on that same occasion,  
and succeeded in retaining with him those who were most  
inclined to leave him. The militia having been kept much  
over their time, by the delay of those who were to replace  
them, and becoming more dissatisfied daily, the General  
became convinced that their discontent was reasonable, ex-  
pressed to them how sensible he felt of the injury they would  
suffer from remaining so long at a distance from their  
homes, and especially from the unexpected delay which was  
not foreseen before their departure, adding, that he could  
not imagine the cause of it. He excused himself to them  
for having detained them beyond their time; declared that  
he had not the courage to keep them any longer; and con-  
cluded by granting them all permission to go, adding, that  
he could not himself think of abandoning the post entrusted  
to him, and that he should remain with the few regular  
troops he had. He was well acquainted with the charac-  
ter of those he commanded; and by these means accom-  
plished the object he desired: for, after this speech, he  
would have found it very difficult to force a man to leave  
him, unless he had given him a certificate to show that he  
had compelled him to go. "Who could be bad enough," said  
they to each other, "to leave the Marquis!" Thus La-

fayette was distinguished by the Americans during the whole war. So habitual too was this appellation, that it was still used in the United States, when we arrived at New York. For several days, the newspapers, in giving accounts of his movements and the rejoicings made on the occasion, continually employed it in speaking of him : and they did not renounce it until it was known that the General had uniformly refused to receive that title, since he renounced it in the National Assembly. His contemporaries, however, found great difficulty in divesting themselves of an old custom, which had charms for them, because it transported them back to their youth. I recollect, that in Philadelphia, an old lady who had been acquainted with him during the Revolution, and who probably still fancied him such as she then had seen him, pressed by him in a crowd, saying : " Let me come and see the young Marquis again."

We did not reach the environs of Fredericksburgh until sun-set on the 20th November, where the General was received by the children, drawn up in a battalion under the name of "Lafayette Guards." The night was dark, and the city brilliant with an illumination, when we reached the square, where the mayor addressed Lafayette in a speech. A splendid dinner, and a ball graced by all the ladies of Fredericksburgh, concluded that day. On the following, which was Sunday, we attended divine service in the episcopal church with the Freemasons, who conducted us thither with great ceremony. The officiating minister was a member of the lodge. On monday, we spent the day with the family of Captain Lewis, nephew of General Washington ; and in the evening, set out for Washington City, accompanied for several miles by the people of Fredericksburgh. At the line of the county of Stafford, only a corner of which we crossed, the militia assembled to meet the General and to escort him to the Potomac, where we were awaited by a vessel, which landed us at Washington, after a favourable passage performed during the night.

END OF VOLUME I.





*Joseph Anna Bates*

*16*

LAFAYETTE IN AMERICA

IN 1824 AND 1825;

OR,

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE

TO THE

UNITED STATES:

BY A. LEVASSEUR;

SECRETARY TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE DURING HIS JOURNEY.

VOL. II.

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PHILADELPHIA :

CAREY AND LEA.

1829.

Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit:

Be it remembered, That on the sixth day of November, in the fifty-fourth year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1829, Carey and Lea, of the said district, have deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, to wit:

“Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or Journal of a Voyage to the United States: by A. Levasseur, Secretary to General Lafayette during his journey. Translated by John D. Godman, M. D.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned.” And also to the act, entitled, “An act supplementary to an act, entitled, ‘An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of the maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,’ and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

(Signed) D. CALDWELL,  
*Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.*

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# LAFAYETTE IN AMERICA.

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## CHAPTER I.

Maryland Cattle Show—Indian Deputation introduced to Gen. Lafayette—President's Message—Extraordinary honours paid to the Nation's Guest—National recompense presented by Congress.

ON arriving at Washington, we went to dine with the president; and after reposing for twenty-four hours, we set out for Baltimore, where we were invited as members of the Agricultural Society to the annual meeting of the farmers of Maryland. The object of this society is the distribution of rewards and encouragements to all, who in the course of the year have made improvements in agriculture, or the arts of domestic utility. The different products are exhibited, without the names of their owners, and examined by a committee, upon whose report the society awards the prizes. The show appeared to be rich in products of every description. A great number of horses, cows, and sheep, remarkable for their beauty of form, proved how careful the Maryland farmers are in improving their stock. Models of agricultural implements, linen, cotton, canvass and woollen cloths, wines and grain, so arranged, as to be open to public examination, attested the spirit of investigation and improvement which pervades the industrious class of this rich state. General Harper opened the meeting by a very instructive discourse upon the progress and actual condition of agriculture in Maryland, and General Lafayette was charged with the distribution of the premiums. After these were delivered, the farmers were arranged in two lines, and General Lafayette passed between them, shaking hands with every one. We then gaily seated ourselves at table, where numerous toasts were drunk, "to the nation's guest," "the farmer of La Grange," &c. To these tributes of respect, the general replied by the following toast: "The seed of American liberty transplanted to other shores, smothered hitherto, but not destroyed

by European weeds; may it germinate and grow afresh, more pure and vigorous, and cover the soil of both hemispheres."

Before leaving Baltimore we visited several farms in the vicinity, at each of which General Lafayette took accurate notes of various improvements, whose application he thought would prove useful on his farm at La Grange. He especially admired a fine steam boiler,\* at General Harper's farm, by which numerous flocks could be more abundantly and economically fed. Mr. Patterson presented him a young bull and two heifers of rare elegance of form, said to be of the English Devonshire breed. We also received from several other agriculturists, wild turkeys for the improvement of the European breed, pigs of singular size, figure, &c.; in short, every one wished to present some of his produce to the farmer of La Grange, who accepted them the more gratefully, because he saw in each of these presents means of rendering service to French agriculture.

On returning to Washington, we found the city much more animated than before our departure. The number of strangers and citizens from all parts of the Union, which usually assemble at the opening of congress, were collected this season in much greater crowds, attracted by the wish of being there at the same time with the nation's guest, and to witness the inauguration of the recently elected president. The European ambassadors and ministers of the new states of South America, had returned to their posts, which they left during the fine season; Indian deputations had also arrived from the most distant forests, to make known the wants of their brethren to the American government. These deputations came to visit General Lafayette the morning after our return; they were introduced by Major Pitchlynn, their interpreter; at their head were two chiefs whom we had previously seen at Mr. Jefferson's table during our visit to Monticello. I recognised them by their ears cut into long straps and garnished with long plates of lead. One of them, named Mushulatubbee, made an address to General Lafayette in the Indian language; after he had concluded, Pushalamata, the first of

\* Since our return to France, the general has received a similar boiler from Mr. Morris of Baltimore, which is now in use at La Grange.

their chiefs, also addressed the general, congratulating him on his return to the land for which he had fought and bled in his youth, &c. This chief expired a few days afterwards: feeling the approach of death, he called his companions around him, requested them to dress him in his best ornaments and give him his arms, that he might die like a man. He expressed a desire that the Americans would bury him with the honours of war, and fire a salute over his grave, which was promised. He then conversed with his friends until he gently expired. He was very old and of the Choctaw tribe, as well as part of those who came to see General Lafayette; the rest were Chickasaws.

On his return to Washington, the general found messages from all the southern and western states, expressing the desire and hope of the people of those parts of the Union that he would visit them: the representatives of the different states who had come to sit in congress, daily came to see him, and spoke with enthusiasm of the preparations which their fellow citizens were already making to receive the nation's guest.

He felt that it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to refuse invitations so feelingly and honourably expressed, and determined to accept them all; but on account of the advanced state of the season he could not re-commence his journey till the end of the winter; during part of which he would remain at Washington, where he could attend to the debates in congress. As these debates would not begin for some days, he determined to profit by the intervening time to visit all the members of General Washington's family, residing in the vicinity of the capital. We first went to the house of one of his nieces, Mrs. Lewis, at Wood Lawn; this lady was brought up at Mount Vernon with Mr. George Lafayette, and time had not destroyed the fraternal friendship existing between them. She received us with great kindness, as did her husband and family. We remained four days at Wood Lawn, receiving the most delicate attentions, and departed charged with little presents, of great value to us, because they were almost all objects which had belonged to the hero of liberty, the immortal Washington.

As Wood Lawn is but a division of the ancient property of Mount Vernon, we had but a short walk to Judge Bushrod



Washington's. We then revisited Arlington, the residence of Mr. Custis, of whom I have heretofore had occasion to speak. His house, built according to reduced plans of the temple of Theseus, stands upon one of the most beautiful situations imaginable; from the portico the eye takes in, at one view, the majestic course of the Potomac, the commercial movements of Georgetown, the rising city of Washington, and far beyond the vast horizon, beneath which lie the fertile plains of Maryland. If Mr. Custis, instead of the great number of indolent slaves, who devour his produce, and leave his roads in a bad condition, would employ a dozen well paid free labourers, I am sure that he would soon triple his revenues, and have one of the most delightful properties, not only of the District of Columbia, but of all Virginia.

While General Lafayette was visiting his friends, congress commenced its session on the 6th of December, according to custom. The president's message was received by both houses on the 7th at noon; and, on our return to Washington on the 8th, we read this political paper, always so important in the United States, but still more interesting this year, because it was the last great administrative act of an honest man; and its influence, perhaps, saved the republics of South America, I do not say from the intrigues, but at least from the attacks of Europe. Those who wish to learn how, in a legitimate government, the chief magistrate elected by the people renders an account of the sacred trust they have confided to him, should read Mr. Monroe's message of the 6th December, 1824. They will there see with what candour this wise magistrate informs congress of all the acts of his administration, with what simplicity he speaks of his treaties with all the kings of Europe; with what frankness he exposes the wants, the resources, the situation of the state; but also with what courage and dignity he declares to the whole world that the republic, faithful to its engagements, will regard as a personal offence all attacks directed against its allies, and will always repel, with its whole power, the unjust principle of foreign interference in the affairs of the nation.

After the reading of the message committees were immediately appointed by both houses upon the various articles it contained. The committee charged with what

which, as it has been from my earliest youth, so it shall continue to be to my latest breath.

“ You have been pleased, Mr. Speaker, to allude to the peculiar felicity of my situation, when, after so long an absence, I am called to witness the immense improvements, the admirable communications, the prodigious creations, of which we find an example in this city, whose name itself is a venerated palladium; in a word, all the grandeur and prosperity of those happy United States, who, at the same time they nobly secure the complete assertion of American independence, reflect, on every part of the world, the light of a far superior political civilization.

“ What better pledge can be given, of a persevering, national love of liberty, when these blessings are evidently the result of a virtuous resistance to oppression, and institutions founded on the rights of man, and the republican principle of self-government?

“ No, Mr. Speaker, posterity has not begun for me, since, in the sons of my companions and friends, I find the same public feelings; and, permit me to add, the same feelings in my behalf, which I have had the happiness to experience in their fathers.

“ Sir, I have been allowed, forty years ago, before a committee of a congress of thirteen states, to express the fond wishes of an American heart; on this day, I have the honour and enjoy the delight, to congratulate the representatives of the Union, so vastly enlarged, on the realization of those wishes, even beyond every human expectation, and upon the almost infinite prospects we can with certainty anticipate; permit me, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the house of representatives, to join to the expression of those sentiments, a tribute of my lively gratitude, affectionate devotion, and profound respect.”

I will not attempt to depict the deep impression produced by the reply of the general, and by this simple yet majestic scene on the spectators. I fear that it would be understood but by few. As regards my own feelings, I frankly avow, that I could not avoid drawing a comparison between this touching picture of national gratitude crowning the civic virtues, with those pompous ceremonies, in the midst of which the monarchs of Europe deign to show

themselves, surrounded with the glitter of arms and the splendour of dress: the latter appeared to me only similar to some brilliant theatrical representation, which it would be gratifying to behold, if we could forget that they but add to the misery of the people.

After these testimonies of devotion and feeling, hitherto unknown in the history of nations, thus tendered by congress to General Lafayette, it might have been supposed, that all marks of national gratitude were exhausted. But, in compliance with the message of the president, and above all, with the expression of public opinion which was daily manifested in the public prints and in private letters addressed from all parts of the Union to the members, congress still conceived that more remained to be done, and hastened to appoint a committee to devise a mode of presenting to General Lafayette a recompense worthy of the nation which tendered it. This committee reported a bill on the 20th of December, in which, after detailing the services rendered by Lafayette to the American nation, and the sacrifices he had made in the achievement of its independence, they proposed that the sum of 200,000 dollars, and the fee simple of a tract of land of 24,000 acres, to be chosen in the most fertile part of the United States, should be offered as a compensation and testimony of gratitude. This proposition was received with enthusiasm by the senate, and it was believed that it would pass without discussion, when at the moment it was about to be sent to the house of representatives, a senator observed, "that he had no objections to make either to the sum about to be voted, or to the services for which it was given; that he yielded to no one in gratitude and friendship towards General Lafayette, whose virtues and services, he believed, could not be too highly recompensed; but thought that the proposed method was defective; that charged with the administration of the public revenues, he did not believe that congress was permitted to dispose of them otherwise than for the public service; he thought that each state might claim with justice, a right to testify its gratitude to Lafayette; finally, that he voted against the consideration of the proposition, to avoid establishing a precedent, the consequences of which might hereafter be fatal."

The eloquence of Mr. Hayne easily triumphed over this

opposition, arising from a scrupulous attention and care of the public finances, and the bill having been a third time read, was almost unanimously adopted. Seven votes only were in the negative; and it was universally known that even those who opposed the bill, were among the warmest friends and partizans of the general. Motives of public expediency, and, with some, the habit of opposing every novel measure of finance, were the only reasons for their course of conduct.

The proposition was received with equal warmth and good will in the house of representatives. As soon as the committee presented their report, all other business was postponed, and the consideration of the bill commenced. The discussion that ensued, as in the senate, fully recognized the rights of the general to national gratitude, and only turned on the legality of the proposed plan. After the third reading the bill was passed by an overwhelming majority.

During these discussions in congress, General Lafayette, who was wholly ignorant of their existence, was at Annapolis, whither he had been invited by the legislature of Maryland. It was not until the day after his return to Washington, that the two committees of the senate and the house of representatives waited on him, to acquaint him with the resolutions of congress.

Mr. Smith, the chairman, presented him the act, and observed that the congress of the United States, fully appreciating the great sacrifices made by the general in the cause of American Independence, had taken that opportunity of repaying a part of the vast debt owed to him by the country.

General Lafayette was greatly embarrassed on hearing this munificence of congress towards him. He was at first tempted to refuse it, as he thought the proofs of affection and popular gratitude which he had received from the moment of his arrival in the United States, were a sufficient recompense for all his services, and he had never desired any other. But he nevertheless felt, from the manner in which this offer was made, that he could not refuse it without offending the American nation, through its representatives, and he therefore immediately decided upon accepting it. He replied to the committee with his

usual promptness and feeling, assuring them of the deep gratitude he felt, as an American soldier, and as an adopted son of the country, for this as well as other marks of affection that had been bestowed upon him.

This act of congress was soon spread, by means of the public journals, through all parts of the Union, and was every where received with unanimous approbation. Some states even wished to make an addition to these grants of congress. Thus, for example, Virginia, New York, and Maryland, were desirous to heap additional favours on the guest of the nation. It required all the determined moderation of the general to repress this excess of gratitude, which would have ended in placing at his disposal all the funds of the United States; for if the states had once engaged in this struggle of generosity, it is difficult to say where it would have ended.

Nevertheless, the newspapers, the organs of public opinion, in applauding these acts of congress, attacked, with a severity which distressed General Lafayette, those few members of the senate and house of representatives, who had voted against the national donation. These attacks, in fact, were the more unjust; for, as I have already said, the majority of the opponents of the measure were personal friends of the general, and wholly devoted to his interests; but in voting, not against the proposition, but against its form, they remained faithful to a principle they had always adopted, of not disposing of the public funds for other purposes than those of the public service. Some of them deemed it proper to explain this to the general. "Not only," said they, "do we partake of the gratitude and admiration of our fellow citizens towards you for the services you have rendered us, but we also think that the nation can never repay them, and yet twenty-six of us voted against the proposition in congress." "Well," replied the general, in taking them cordially by the hand, "I can assure you, that if I had had the honour of being your colleague, we should have been twenty-seven, not only because I partake of the sentiments which determined your votes, but also because I think that the American nation has done too much for me." This reply soon appeared in all the journals, and, as may be supposed, only added to the popularity of him who made it.

I have already observed that during the deliberations of congress, General Lafayette had accepted the invitation of the legislature of Maryland, who also wished to bestow on him the honour of a public reception. We left Washington on the 16th of December, accompanied by Dr. Kent, Mr. Mitchell, members of the house of representatives from Maryland, and a detachment of volunteer cavalry. On our route, we visited the family and beautiful farm of Capt. Sprigg, ex-governor of Maryland, and arrived at Annapolis in the afternoon. The deputies of the city met the general at a great distance from it, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, and the troops had advanced as far as Miller's Hill. Another corps of militia had marched from Nottingham, which is thirty miles from Annapolis. The storm had retarded its arrival, but had not damped the zeal of the citizens. At Carrol's Lane, about two miles from the city, the general, notwithstanding the remonstrances that were made, descended from the carriage, and with his head uncovered, returned thanks to the troops for the affection they testified towards him. "They have exposed themselves to the severity of the weather on my account, and I cannot permit it to deter me from returning them my thanks," observed he. At the limits of the district an interesting meeting took place between him and some soldiers of the revolutionary army, several of whom had assisted in carrying him from the field of battle at Brandywine, where he had been wounded. Twenty-four discharges of cannon, and the display of the national flag on the state-house, announced his arrival in the city.

Conducted into the hall of the legislature, which was filled with persons of distinction and soldiers of the revolution, he was led to a seat, where he listened to a discourse from the mayor in the name of the city. In his reply, he alluded to the fact, that Annapolis had been the scene of events for ever memorable in the annals of the United States; it was within its walls that Washington had laid down a power conferred on him by the nation; and the inhabitants of that city had always been worthy, by their patriotism, of being the witnesses and participators of this noble act.

The next day, Friday, 17th December, the militia of the county, the volunteer battalion of Annapolis, and the

United States artillery were reviewed by him, displaying great discipline and soldierly precision in their manœuvres.

The following Monday, he received from the legislature of the state, a repetition of the same honours bestowed on him a few days previous by the congress of the United States. The day terminated by a public dinner, at which all the senators and representatives were present, and by a ball given by the mayor of the city.

Annapolis is a city of about 2500 inhabitants, handsomely situated on the river Severn, which empties into the Chesapeake Bay. It is the seat of government of the state of Maryland, but will never become an important place, at least from its commerce, which is wholly absorbed by the port of Baltimore.

In returning to Washington, we went by Fredericktown, where the general was received with enthusiasm by the population, and by a great number of his former companions in arms, among whom he recognized Colonel M'Pherson, with whom we lodged. At the public banquet given him by the town, the table was lighted by a candelabra supporting an immense quantity of candles, the base of which was an enormous fragment of a bomb shell used at the siege of York-town.

Fredericktown is, next to Baltimore, the largest city in Maryland. It is situated in the heart of a fertile country, on the west bank of a small stream called the Monocacy. Its population, which does not amount to more than 3000, are generally engaged in manufactures.

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## CHAPTER II.

Election of the President—Public character of the President—Public officers—Congress—Grand public dinner on the 1st of January.

WHEN we landed at New York, in the month of August, the people of the United States were occupied in the choice of a new political chief. This choice takes place

every four years. It is always accompanied with much popular excitement, which may be readily conceived, as it equally interests every individual. Nevertheless, this excitement does not occasion any tumults. Since the adoption of the constitution, the nation has at nine different times elected a president, and always without the occurrence of any serious disturbance. The public prints, it is true, as organs of the opposing parties, become arsenals in which arms of all description and temper may be found, and which are oftentimes made use of in any thing but a courteous manner; but the exaggeration and violence of these journals are productive of no evil consequences, and never excite the people to transgress the laws.

The election of 1824 has, in common with the nine preceding, completely baffled the penetration of European politicians, who, with an assurance founded on ignorance and duplicity, predicted that the constitution of the United States was about to experience a shock, which it was impossible it could sustain, and that from the bosom of the turbulent democracy of America, would arise civil war and an overthrow of all civil order. These predictions were founded on the circumstance of the American nation having, until the present time, been able to restrict its choice to a few individuals, rendered dear to their country by their revolutionary services, whilst now it found itself obliged to enter on another list, and, consequently, to open the door to the ambitious and designing.

It was during the height of the excitement produced by the discussion of the presidential question that General Lafayette appeared on the American shores. This event, as if by enchantment, paralyzed all the electoral ardour. The newspapers, which, the evening before, were furiously combating for their favourite candidate, now closed their long columns on all party disputes, and only gave admission to the unanimous expression of the public joy and national gratitude. At the public dinners, instead of caustic toasts, intended to throw ridicule and odium on some potent adversary, none were heard but healths to the guest of the nation, around whom were amicably grouped the most violent of both parties. Finally, for nearly two months all the discord and excitement produced by this election, which, it was said, would engender the most dis-



astrous consequences, were forgotten, and nothing was thought of but Lafayette and the heroes of the revolution.

On the evening of the day in which the president had received a notification that his successor had been appointed, there was a large party at his house. I had already been present at these parties, which are very striking from the numerous and various society there assembled, and by the amiable simplicity with which Mrs. Monroe and her daughters receive their guests. But, on this occasion, the crowd was so considerable that it was almost impossible to move. All the inhabitants of Washington were attracted by the desire of seeing the president elect and his competitors, who, it was taken for granted, would be present, and who, in fact, were so, with the exception of Mr. Crawford, who was detained at home by illness. After having made my bow to Mr. and Mrs. Monroe, to reach whom I found considerable difficulty, I looked with impatience for Mr. Adams and the other candidates. It appeared to me, that their being thus thrown together would prove extremely embarrassing to them, and I felt some curiosity to see how they would conduct themselves on the occasion. On entering one of the side rooms, I perceived Mr. Adams; he was alone in the midst of a large circle which was formed around him. His countenance was as open and modest as usual. Every instant persons pressed through the crowd to offer him their congratulations, which he received without embarrassment, and replied to by a cordial shake of the hand. At some distance, in the midst of a group of ladies, was Mrs. Adams. She appeared to be radiant with joy; but it was easy to be seen that she was more pleased at the personal triumph of her husband than for the advantages or pleasures that would result to herself. Whilst I was attentively looking at this interesting scene, a tumultuous movement was heard at the door, and a murmur of satisfaction arose from the whole party; I soon ascertained the cause, in seeing General Jackson make his appearance. Every one pressed forward to meet him, and endeavoured to be the first to salute him. To all these effusions of friendship he replied with frankness and cordiality. I alternately scrutinized both Mr. Adams and the general, being curious to see how these two men, who the morning before were rivals, would now meet. I was not

kept long in expectation. The moment they perceived each other, they hastened to meet, taking each other cordially by the hand. The congratulations offered by General Jackson were open and sincere; Mr. Adams appeared to be deeply moved, and the numerous witnesses could not restrain the expression of their satisfaction. Mr. Clay arrived an instant afterwards, and the same scene was repeated. This, perhaps, produced less effect than the former, as Mr. Clay having had fewer chances of success, was supposed to make less effort to maintain his self-command; but it fully demonstrated the wisdom of the nation in its selection of candidates. The generosity of character manifested by General Jackson entirely satisfied me of the futility of the menaces of the Pennsylvania militia. Whilst these reflections were passing through my mind, I met in the crowd two officers with whom I had dined at York, and whom I had remarked particularly for their zeal and excitement. "Well," said I, "the great question is decided, and in a manner contrary to your hopes, what do you intend to do? How soon do you lay siege to the capitol?" They began to laugh. "You recollect our threats, then," said one of them. "We went, in truth, great lengths, but our opponents disregarded it, and they acted properly; they know us better than we wished them to do. Now that is settled, all we have to do is to obey. We will support Adams as zealously as if he were our candidate, but, at the same time, shall keep a close watch on his administration, and according as it is good or bad, we will defend or attack it. Four years are soon passed, and the consequences of a bad election are easily obviated." "Yes," said I, "much easier than that of legitimacy or hereditary succession." They left me, laughing heartily, and the next day no body spoke of the election.

When the ardour and zeal of the parties in favour of their peculiar candidates are considered, it might be supposed that the president of the United States was an inexhaustible source of benefit to his friends, and that his power was such, that he could at will dispense favours, places, and riches. To remove this error it is only necessary to turn to that article of the constitution which fixes the duties of the head of the government, and any one will be

convinced that it leaves fewer means of corruption in his hands than are with us bestowed on the lowest prefect.

It will be seen that the constitution, in fixing in a precise manner the duties and power of the chief magistrate, has rather kept in view the welfare and interests of the nation, than the gratification of one individual and his family. Hence, the president is placed in such a situation, that whatever may be his personal character, it is impossible for him to injure the liberty, right, or honour of his fellow citizens. He does not, like some kings on the old continent, enjoy several millions of revenue, and immense estates. The law only allows him 25,000 dollars as a salary, but it is not by the sumptuousness of his equipages, by the splendour of a numerous guard, or by the number of his courtiers, that he maintains the dignity of his station.

As he cannot entrench himself behind the responsibility of his ministers, nor protect himself under the infallibility of his character, or the inviolability of his person, which the constitution does not guarantee, the president of the United States is obliged to be extremely circumspect in all acts of executive power, which are delegated to him alone; and the people are so firmly persuaded, that the functions of a chief magistrate are only to be fulfilled by incessant attention and labour, that they would be exceedingly astonished, and, perhaps, indignant, if the newspapers sometimes announced, that the president had been occupied on a certain day for two or even for three hours with one of his ministers.

If the difference which exists between the president of the United States and the kings of Europe are striking, that between the ministers of that republic and ours is not less remarkable. A minister of the United States has but 3000 dollars salary, no hotel, no furniture nor train of servants paid by the nation, no sentries at his door, no servants in a ridiculous dress to attend him when he goes in public, no privileges unconnected with his office, but, at the same time, no responsibility for his actions. Chosen by the president, he is in fact his instrument, and owes him all his time. As he has not under his orders a host of directors general, chiefs of division, and clerks of all kinds, at high wages, he is obliged himself to put his hand to the wheel,

and truly to earn his salary, which is too small, it is true, to enable him oftentimes to give sumptuous dinners to members of congress; but is sufficient, nevertheless, for a wise and conscientious man, who well knows that it is only by his activity and probity, and not by intrigues and corruption, that he will fulfil the duties of his station, and repay the confidence reposed in him.

The habits of the American ministers are so simple, and differ so little from those of their fellow citizens, that nothing, absolutely nothing, in their exterior serves to mark them in public. During our first visit to Washington, when we wished to return the visits they had had the politeness to pay us, we were several times obliged to ask, not for their hotels, for we should not have been understood; but for their residences, although situated in the same street in which we were living. Sometimes, when we had knocked at the door of their houses, they have themselves opened them. We have often met them with their port folios under their arms, returning on foot from their offices to their respective houses, where a modest family repast awaited them. All this, doubtless, would appear very *bourgeois* with us, but in the United States, where the people think more of a good administration than the luxury and splendour of its administrators, it is thought natural and proper, and, I believe, with reason.

This extreme simplicity of the ministers extends to all other public officers, and is the true secret of that economy of government we so highly praise, and which, in all probability, we shall never attain.

A senate, and a house of representatives form the legislative power of the United States, power which emanates immediately from the people, and which counterbalances the executive power, so that if it should happen that the people, in a moment of error, should bestow the presidency on an incompetent or ambitious candidate, the injurious influence of such a man would be neutralized by that of congress.

Congress assembles on the first Monday in the month of December of each year, and continues in session according to the importance of the business before it, but rarely beyond the month of May. From the middle of November, the senators and representatives of the different states be-

gin to arrive in Washington. Among them there are many who, to fulfil the duties of their appointment, have been obliged to traverse hundreds of leagues of uninhabited forests, and over most perilous roads. On arriving they lodge at a hotel, where they are obliged, in some instances, to sleep in a room with four or five of their colleagues. The table is open to all who reside in the house. It is usually there, after a frugal meal, that those interesting conversations occur, in which most part of the questions likely to come before congress during the session are amicably discussed. When the first Monday in December arrives the session opens, and business commences immediately, for all are at their posts. During the whole time every day is conscientiously employed by the representatives of the nation in the discussion of the dearest interests of the people. As soon as the session closes, each member returns to his constituents, and finds, in the reception they give him, the dearest recompense he can hope for, if he should have fulfilled his duty to their satisfaction.

The first of January was fixed upon by the two houses, for a grand dinner to General Lafayette. The representatives of the people wished to consecrate American hospitality, by seating the guest of the nation at a table at which the whole people could be present in them. Mr. Gailliard, president *pro tempore* of the senate, and Mr. Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, presided at the dinner. Mr. Gailliard had General Lafayette on his left, and Mr. Monroe the president of the United States on his right; who, overlooking on this occasion the rule he had made of never attending any public dinner, had accepted the invitation; Mr. Clay had on each side of him, the secretaries of the different departments. Among the guests, were General Dearborn, minister of the United States to the court of Portugal; Generals Scott, Macomb, Jessup, and our worthy countryman Bernard, by whose side I had the honour to be placed; Commodores Bainbridge, Tingy, Steward and Morris, as well as many other public officers of highest rank. Among the guests, General Lafayette had the pleasure of finding some of his old companions in arms. Captain Allyn of the Cadmus, who had recently arrived from France, was also present. The hall was decorated with great splendour, and the guests were animated by a

feeling of union, which demonstrated how completely they considered this ceremony as a family festival.

It is in such assemblies, that the public feeling of a people can be studied, particularly where its representatives, chosen freely, and having no reason to flatter those in power, or to dissimulate, give a free vent to all their sentiments. After a variety of toasts, highly complimentary to the general, and to which he replied with great felicity, the entertainment was concluded with a universal wish of the guests that all the American people could have been present at it.

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### CHAPTER III.

Departure from Washington—American Feelings—Sea-Lion—Family of Free Negroes—Raleigh—Fayetteville—North Carolina.

ABOUT the first of February, General Lafayette had received from all the southern and western states such pressing invitations, that he could no longer hesitate as to what course he should pursue; and immediately we were all actively employed in determining our order of march, and the means of surmounting the difficulties which every one assured us, would be very great in a journey of this nature and length. We had, indeed, a distance of more than twelve hundred leagues to pass over, in less than four months, to enable us to be in Boston on the seventeenth of June, where the general had promised to assist at the celebration of the anniversary of Bunker's Hill; and a part of the country through which we were obliged to travel, was scarcely inhabited, and the roads, rough and difficult, were imperfectly laid out.

But thanks to the experience of General Bernard, to the information of the post master general (M'Lean,) and to the assistance of the members of congress who were in Washington, Mr. George Lafayette was enabled to trace out an such an excellent itinerary, that his father had no fear of neglecting in his course any places of importance in

the various states we had to visit, although most of these places were often many miles to the right or left of our main line of march; and his time was so exactly proportioned, that, unless prevented by sickness or some serious accident, we were to arrive in Boston on the day promised.

We neglected no precaution adapted to aid us in surmounting the obstacles which, in the opinion of every one, threatened us in the course of this new journey. The general's friends could not think without fear of the fatigues and dangers to which, they said, he was about to expose himself. Mrs. Eliza Custis, of the Washington family, pressed him to accept of her commodious and easy carriage. We purchased good saddle-horses to substitute for the coach on very bad roads; reduced our baggage as much as possible, and on the 23d of February, at nine o'clock in the evening embarked upon the Potomac, which we descended to its outlet in the Chesapeake Bay, and thence proceeded to Norfolk, where we landed early on the morning of the 25th, after a pleasant passage of two nights and one day. On the day following we went to dine at Suffolk, a small village, where they waited for the general with all the eagerness and kindness he had hitherto met with at every step.

Favoured by a good road and pleasant weather, our march was very rapid. A few miles from Norfolk we were obliged to stop some time before a small, solitary inn upon the road, for the purpose of refreshing our horses. We were sitting in our carriage when the landlord presented himself, asked to see the general, and eagerly pressed him to alight for a moment and come into his house. "If," said he, "you have only five minutes to stay, do not refuse them, since to me they will be so many minutes of happiness." The general yielded to his entreaty, and we followed him into a lower room, where we observed a plainness bordering on poverty, but a remarkable degree of cleanliness. *Welcome Lafayette*, was inscribed with charcoal upon the white wall, entwined with boughs from the fir trees of the neighbouring wood. Near the fire-place, where pine wood was crackling, stood a small table covered with a very clean napkin, and covered with some decanters containing brandy and whiskey; by the side of a plate covered with glasses was another plate

filled with neatly arranged slices of bread. These modest refreshments were tendered with a kindness and cordiality which greatly enhanced their value. Whilst we were partaking of them the landlord disappeared, but returned a moment after accompanied by his wife, carrying her little boy, about three or four years of age, whose fresh and plump cheeks evinced the tenderness and care with which he had been cherished. The father, after first presenting his wife, next took his child in his arms, and, having placed one of his little hands in the hand of the general, made him repeat, with much emphasis, the following: "General Lafayette, I thank you for the liberty which you have won for my father, for my mother, for myself, and for my country!!" While the child was speaking, the father and mother eyed the general with the most tender regard: their hearts responded to the words of their boy, and tears they were unable to suppress, proved that their gratitude was vivid and profound. Were I to judge from what I myself felt on witnessing this simple and yet sublime scene, General Lafayette must have found this one of the most pleasing moments of his life. He could not conceal his emotions, but having tenderly embraced the child, took refuge in his carriage, bearing with him the blessings of this family, worthy of the freedom they enjoyed.

The same day, shortly before reaching Suffolk, some negroes stopped us with an invitation to enter their cabin, situated on the road side, to see a very extraordinary animal, which they told us was a sea-lion. It was about seven feet long, covered with a hairy skin of the colour of the fallow deer, spotted with black: the size of its body near the shoulders was about that of a calf, from whence it diminished gradually till it terminated at the tail in large fins; its head was small, round, and slightly flattened, resembling a little that of the tiger; its mouth was furnished with long, strong and sharp teeth; its extremities were very short and had the shape of a hand; the fingers were united by a membrane capable of great extension, and armed with very strong and sharp claws. The negroes told us that in walking along the shores of Elizabeth River at low water, they perceived this animal upon the sand, where it appeared to have been left by the tide. As soon as it saw these men it moved towards them, but without



any apparent hostile intentions. The negroes, however, ran away at first, whilst it followed them for some time, but at a slow pace, as it is easy to conceive on examining its short extremities, which appeared better adapted for swimming than walking. After having retreated a hundred steps, one of the negroes, who was armed with a musket, turned and fired at the animal, which received the charge in the flank, and almost immediately expired.\*

A few compliments accompanied with some small money made these poor negroes very happy, and we left them to go and visit a neighbouring habitation, which was said to belong to a large family of free blacks. The house was very well kept, both externally and internally; I was struck with the order and neatness which prevailed, as well as the fine appearance of the inhabitants, who seemed to enjoy a state of comfort and ease superior to that of most of our European peasantry. One of our travelling companions, a citizen of Norfolk, assured us that this family had more than doubled the value of their property some years, by their intelligence and industry. I invite those who still persist in believing that the negroes are incapable of providing for themselves in a state of freedom, to visit this family, which, however, is not the only one of the kind which could be found in the state of Virginia.

After stopping a few moments among the citizens of Suffolk, we continued on our route to Murfreesborough, where we were to lodge. Our late arrival had the appearance of a nocturnal journey. The bad condition and length of the road had tired our horses, and we thought for a while that we should be compelled to sleep at the foot of the hill on which the town is built. An enormous bonfire, lighted on a neighbouring mountain, whose light displayed our distressed situation; the illuminations of Murfreesborough, which exhibited the appearance of a city in flames; the noise of cannon resounding on our right, with the effect of battery on our flank; the cries of our escort; the whipping and swearing of our drivers, all was insufficient to stimulate our horses, which, sunk in the mud to their knees, appeared to have taken root, refusing to

\* This animal was a common seal, *phoca vitulina*, vulgarly called *sea-dog*. The *sea-lion* is another species of seal.—T.

make the least exertion to draw us out of this sad situation, in which we remained about an hour. At length we arrived, and were very amply compensated by the cordial hospitality of the inhabitants of Murfreesborough, who neglected nothing to prove to General Lafayette that the citizens of North Carolina were not less sincerely attached to him than those of the other states.

From Murfreesborough, we went the next day to Halifax, where we crossed the Roanoak, in a ferry-boat, amidst the thunder of artillery which awaited the arrival of General Lafayette on the opposite shore. Halifax was formerly the head quarters of Cornwallis, during his campaign in North Carolina. It was there that the English chief adopted the resolution, which proved so unfortunate, of entering Virginia. We only slept at Halifax, and in two days, after travelling over frightful roads, reached Raleigh, a pretty little town, situated on the west bank of the river Neuse. It is the seat of government for North Carolina, and contains about two thousand seven hundred inhabitants, of which about fifteen hundred are blacks, both free and slaves. One of the most precious monuments of this town, is the superb statue of Washington, executed in marble by Canova. It is preserved, with the greatest care, in one of the halls of the capitol.

The governor of the state, officers of government, militia, and, in fine, all the population, were prepared to receive and entertain, with proper dignity, the guest of the nation. Such was the height of the prevailing enthusiasm, that, in spite of bad weather, a company of volunteer dragoons had marched nearly one hundred and fifty miles, to assist at this family festival. The gallant men who composed it, had solicited and obtained leave to perform, for this day, the duty of guard to Lafayette; and they had founded their pretensions upon the circumstance, that the county of Mecklinburg, to which they belonged, was the first in the state where independence was declared, during the revolution. "Whenever it becomes necessary to serve for liberty or Lafayette," said they, "we shall always be found among the foremost." Nothing was neglected by Governor Burton, in doing the honours of his dwelling to the national guest.

The morning of our arrival at Raleigh was near being

marked by a very unfortunate accident. In one of the calashes which followed us, was General Daniel of the militia, and a young officer of his staff; their horses ran off, and, the driver not being able to guide them, dashed violently against the trunk of a tree. The force of the shock threw both the riders and the coachman to some distance, but the one most hurt was poor General Daniel, who lay almost senseless upon the spot. Our progress was immediately suspended, and General Lafayette, who, at the time, was a considerable distance in advance of the procession, hastily returned to assure himself of the nature of the accident. General Daniel already began to recover, when the hasty zeal of his friend, General Williams, was upon the point of placing him in greater danger than arose from the fall. This gentleman insisted upon his being immediately bled, and already held the fatal lancet in hand to proceed with the operation, when Mr. George Lafayette besought him seriously to forbear, representing that we had just left the table, and that a bleeding immediately after dinner might be attended with injurious consequences. After having rendered General Daniel the first attentions which his situation demanded, we had him carried to the house of a rich planter, whom we had visited in the morning, some miles off; and, the next day, our wounded friend joined us at Raleigh, entirely recovered from his fall, returning his warmest thanks to Mr. George Lafayette, for having averted the employment of the lancet.

I was, at first, much surprised to see this lancet drawn upon such an occasion, but one of our travelling companions informed me, that in the southern and western states, and especially in those where the population is widely scattered, the art of blood-letting is familiar to almost all the great planters. The difficulty of finding a surgeon at the moment of accident, often makes it necessary to bleed themselves, which they sometimes do so profusely, that the most hardy phlebotomists of the French school would be alarmed at the sight.

On the 4th of March, we arrived at the pretty little town of Fayetteville, situated on the western bank of Cape Fear river. The weather was dreadful, the rain pouring in torrents, notwithstanding which, the road for many

miles in front of the town was covered with men and boys on horseback, and militia on foot. In the town, the streets were crowded with ladies elegantly dressed, hurrying, regardless of consequences, across the gutters, to approach the carriage of the general, and so occupied with the pleasure of beholding him, that they did not appear to notice the deluge which seemed ready to engulf them. This enthusiasm may be more readily conceived, when we consider that it was manifested by the inhabitants of a town, founded forty years ago, to perpetuate the recollection of services rendered by him whom they were this day honouring.

General Lafayette was conducted to the front of the town-house, where, upon an elevated platform, he was received and addressed by Chief Justice Troomer, on behalf of the town council. In the course of his harangue, the orator recapitulated, with enthusiasm, the obligations which America owed to Lafayette, retraced some of the persecutions to which he had been exposed in France and Austria, for having remained faithful to the cause of liberty and the rights of man, which he had been the first to proclaim in Europe, and concluded by drawing a forcible parallel between the young republics of the United States and the old monarchies of the ancient continent of Europe.

After General Lafayette had expressed his gratitude for the reception given him by the citizens of Fayetteville, and his sympathy for the sentiments of the orator, we were conducted to the residence of Mr. Duncan M'Rae, where, by the attentions of Mrs. Duncan, our lodgings had been prepared in an elegant and commodious manner. The general was there received by the committee, appointed to supply all his wants. "You are here in your own town," said the chairman of the committee to him, "in your own house, surrounded by your children. Dispose of all—every thing is yours." Every moment of our short stay at Fayetteville was occupied by festivals of gratitude and friendship. Notwithstanding the bad weather, which never ceased to oppose us, the volunteer militia companies, assembled to render military honours to the last surviving major-general of the revolutionary army, would not quit the little camp which they had formed in front of the

balcony of the house, whence the general could easily see them manœuvre. They were still under arms, on the morning of our departure, and we passed in front of their line on leaving the town. It was then that General Lafayette, wishing to give them an expression of his gratitude, alighted, and passing through the ranks, took each officer and soldier affectionately by the hand. This conduct excited the spectators to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that a great portion of the population, willing to prolong the pleasure of seeing him, accompanied his carriage a considerable distance on the road, and only quitted him when the sun was nearly set.

The commerce of Fayetteville is very flourishing, and must still increase from the vicinity of Cape Fear river, which is navigable to the sea. The products of the surrounding country consist principally of tobacco and grain. Its population is nearly four thousand souls, and increases with remarkable rapidity. Unfortunately more than a third of this population consists of slaves, who increase in the same proportion with the free inhabitants; a circumstance which will probably continue for some time to retard the full developement of its resources. What I here say of Fayetteville is applicable to the whole state of North Carolina, which, in a population of six hundred and forty thousand souls, has above two hundred thousand slaves.

The climate of North Carolina is said to be healthy, and very well adapted to every species of culture. Nevertheless, the part through which we passed did not present an agreeable aspect. We met with numerous pine forests overflowed by the rivers which watered them; many sand plains, and but little cultivated ground; that which is cultivated producing only rice and indigo. The mountainous parts of the state are stated to produce abundant crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, Indian corn, tobacco, hemp and cotton. This last article, when prepared for manufacturing, is produced in the proportion of one hundred and fifty pounds for each slave.

It is also in the highest grounds where native gold is found in considerable quantity. It is obtained by simply washing the earth. Its purity is very remarkable, having been found twenty-three carats fine, and superior in quality

to the American or English gold coins. The pieces are of various weights. The heaviest yet found weighed nearly five pounds. In 1810, the mint of the United States received one thousand three hundred and forty-one ounces, the value of which amounted to twenty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine dollars. In Montgomery county, many persons live by hunting for this metal. Every one has permission to seek, upon condition that he gives half he finds to the owner of the soil.

Notwithstanding all its rich resources, North Carolina appeared to me one of the least advanced of all the states we have hitherto visited. Slavery, in my opinion, should be regarded as the principal cause of this condition. Its constitution, though in general founded upon those of the other states, differs from them in some points, and retains some traces of aristocracy. Thus, for example, to be elected a senator, a person must be owner of three hundred acres of land; to be a representative, he must possess one hundred: finally, no man can be elected governor unless he be the free proprietor of an estate yielding one thousand dollars. In the midst of promises of religious liberty, the constitution of North Carolina has nevertheless the misfortune to have preserved an unhappy distinction between sects: thus, any man who denies the truth of the protestant religion, can have no pretensions to any public employment.\* I am well aware that in a government which supports no established order of clergy, the inconvenience of such a distinction is not so great, but it is nevertheless a serious blow aimed at the equality established and recognized by law. A wrong of still more consequence in this state, is that of having so long neglected the means of propagating primary instruction. In 1808 the legislature

\* See Art. 32 of the Constitution of North Carolina.

[Whatever may be the condition of the statute on this subject in North Carolina, it can be little better than a dead letter or nullity, since it is so entirely inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. We do not recollect to have read of any instance in which this offensive peculiarity has been productive of practical disadvantage. It is unquestionably a blemish that calls for removal.—T.]

The 31st article excludes from the senate, the house of representatives, and the state councils, all members of the clerical profession, without distinction of faith or sect, so long as they continue in the exercise of their pastoral functions.

first ordered schools to be provided at the public expense. But in spite of the defects which I have pointed out, the inhabitants of North Carolina, from their patriotism, are unquestionably worthy to form a part of the great confederate family of the United States. To prove this, it will be sufficient to cite one fact, which is, that during the revolutionary war, the enemy could never procure a pilot upon the coast of this state. I might add, that the brilliant successes which attended the battles of Briar Creek in 1779, of Waxhaws in 1780, and of Guilford in 1781, were due to the militia of this state.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Entrance into South Carolina—Route from Cheraw to Cambden—Monument erected to Baron de Kalb—Road from Cambden to Charleston—Rejoicing in Charleston—Colonel Huger—History, Institutions, and Manners of the South Carolinians.

TWENTY-FOUR hours after our departure from Fayetteville, in the midst of a pine forest, we met the deputation of the state of South Carolina to General Lafayette. This meeting took place on the confines of the two states. Our kind and amiable travelling companions from North Carolina delivered us to their neighbours, with the most lively expressions of regret at a separation which cost us as much as them, and we continued our route in new carriages, with a new escort of friends, till we arrived at Cheraw, a pretty little town, which, three years previous, had not more than four houses built, and now contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants. The next day's journey was long and difficult; sometimes, indeed, the road was almost impassable, being, in some places, entirely cut up by the overflow of rivers, whilst in others we could only cross the marshes by moving gently over a road formed of badly arranged trunks of trees. In fact, we travelled so slowly, that night overtook us on the road, and it soon became so dark that many of the gentlemen of our escort lost the road, and not being able to trace it in the sand, wandered into the forest. The car-

riages of the party also began to stray from each other, and towards ten o'clock Mr. George Lafayette and myself discovered that the one we rode in was at a great distance behind the others. A few minutes after we felt a violent shock, and heard a loud crash. Our carriage tongue was broken, and we were left in the midst of the marsh. Our situation was extremely disagreeable, and we should have had some difficulty to escape from it but for the assistance of two dragoons who had never left us, and who obliged us to mount their horses, which, after some minutes, brought us in sight of the fires of the guard surrounding the house that was to serve us for an asylum, where the general had arrived an hour before. In this house, which stood altogether alone in the midst of the woods, we were well accommodated. We had an excellent supper, and good beds, in which we might probably have slept soundly but for the trumpet, which was sounded all night for the purpose of rallying our scattered escort.

On arising, an entirely novel scene was presented to my view. We were in the midst of what is called in America *a new settlement*, that is to say, a clearing or erection of a new habitation in the woods. The house in which we had passed the night was the only dwelling in the place, and it was still unfinished. By its side they had begun to raise the frames of some other buildings, doubtless intended for granaries and stables. Numerous trunks of half hewn trees collected together showed that it was the intention of the owner soon to erect other buildings, and already the forest was prostrated to a considerable extent. But a few vast trees were standing in the clearing, whose branches were not only lopped off, but some of them were deprived of their bark, and blackened for their whole length by the action of the flames which had been employed to burn the brush about them. It is difficult to imagine any thing more desolate than such a scene. "It is, nevertheless, in this way," said one of our travelling companions, "that all our little towns, which are so attractive and lively, begin. Cheraw, where you slept yesterday, and with which you were so much pleased, but a few years ago resembled this, and, perhaps, should you return in four or five years, you may here find another Cheraw. See," continued he, taking me to a part of the forest which the axe and the fire had



still spared, "with what care and skill the founder of this future city has laid the basis of a fortune which he anticipates enjoying in a short time. Look at this lot of several acres, surrounded by a strong fence, in which his cows, horses, and hogs are enclosed. These last named animals, raised thus at large, and in the enjoyment of abundance of food, soon multiply without number, and afford him a certain part of his subsistence. The next year, that portion of his land which comes to be cleared, will probably yield him a rich harvest of corn or rice; but the proprietor, whilst waiting for the growth of his crops, is obliged to obtain his bread by trading, and pays for it in turpentine, collected from the enormous pines which surround him. A small notch cut in the body of the tree, gives issue to a liquid which is received in a trough. Three thousand trees furnish annually seventy-five barrels of turpentine. But it is not only the young and vigorous trees which contribute to his wants; he has recourse also to those time has destroyed. From the dead trees he extracts tar, obtained by burning the wood upon a grate, a kettle being placed beneath to receive the boiling liquid. Sometimes from the plants which he clears away from around his house, he obtains a considerable quantity of potash, which still augments his wealth. Every year sees the cleared land increase around him, and soon other *settlers*, encouraged by his success, place themselves about him, and assist in erecting the new village, in which he may be permitted to enjoy the public employments conferred by his fellow citizens as a tribute to his talents and patriotism."

Whilst we were thus engaged in casting a rapid glance over the resources of our host and his future destinies, General Lafayette concluded the preparations for his departure, and, at a signal given by the trumpets, we resumed our journey, passing through the sands and pines on our way to Cambden, where we were to lodge. The weather had changed during the night, and our march was now favoured by a clear sky. Although it was the month of March, we felt the heat of the sun considerably, and every thing around bore the appearance of advanced spring. On approaching Cambden, where we saw a considerable number of well cultivated gardens, we were a good deal surprised to find the trees in flower, and the balmy air

perfumed by the plants, as in France during the month of June.

Cambden is not a large town, containing only about two hundred inhabitants. We nevertheless found there a very numerous population, collected from more than eighty miles around, to receive General Lafayette, and assist in laying the corner stone of a monument which they were about erecting to the memory of Baron de Kalb. General Lafayette was received a little in advance of the town, near the old quarters of Cornwallis, by all the citizens under arms, and was conducted with great pomp, and in the midst of companies of young ladies, to the dwelling prepared for him, where he was addressed by Colonel Nixons, jr. with a remarkable warmth of feeling. The attentive crowd applauded the orator with transports, when he told the general that his visit to the United States had added a new page to history, and that the splendour of Greek and Roman triumphs faded before the unanimity and harmony of this popular ovation.

On the morning of the next day, a long procession, formed chiefly of free masons, followed by the civil authorities and deputations from the different associations of South Carolina, came to the general's lodgings, and conducted him with solemn music towards the spot where De Kalb's funeral ceremony was to be performed. There the consecration of the monument raised by the generous inhabitants of South Carolina to unfortunate bravery, was performed. An inscription, in a style at once noble and unaffected, reminds the country of the services and glorious end of De Kalb.

It is well known that De Kalb was a German, who, after he had served a long time in France, came to America, like Lafayette and Pulaski, to offer his services in the cause of liberty. He was second in command in General Gates's army during the unfortunate affair of Cambden, where the Americans were completely defeated. He had performed prodigies of valour at the head of the Delaware and Maryland troops, when, towards the close of the battle, he fell from his eleventh wound, an event which deprived the American cause of one of its most able and devoted defenders.

After his remains, which had been carefully preserved,

were deposited in the monument, and had received military honours, the stone which was to cover them was laid by General Lafayette. It contained the following inscription:—*This stone was placed over the remains of Baron De Kalb by General Lafayette, 1825.*

The hand of the general resting upon the stone, followed it as it slowly and gradually descended, whilst the multitude, in religious silence, contemplated the French veteran, after almost half a century, rendering the last offices to the German soldier, in a land which they both had moistened with their blood, and which their arms had contributed to set free. How many glorious and painful recollections must this scene have awakened in the mind of Lafayette! Alas! during his long triumph, how many tombs was it his lot to visit, from that into which he descended at Mount Vernon, to the one soon to be raised at Bunker's Hill!

The ceremony concluded by a discourse from the general, in which he paid to his old companion in arms, that tribute of esteem which was due to his civil virtues, his military talents, and undaunted courage, in defending the cause of freedom.

We left Cambden on the 11th, to go to Columbia, the capital of the state of South Carolina. This town is pleasantly situated upon a fertile and healthy plain, on the shore of the river Congaree. We found all the streets, through which the general and his escort were to pass, ornamented with flags and triumphal arches. Upon one of these, three young and beautiful girls supported flags, upon each of which were inscribed, in letters of gold, the names of Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski. Under another, placed near the house we were to occupy, the general was met and addressed by the mayor of the town, a young man of distinguished talents, who, during our stay at Columbia, paid us the most kind and delicate attentions. Governor Manning also addressed the general, in the presence of the people assembled in the legislative hall of South Carolina, and both the evening and morning were devoted to public rejoicings.

The first evening, after having passed through the streets, which were brilliantly illuminated, we paid a visit to the academy, under the superintendence of the celebrated Dr.

Cooper. We were agreeably entertained by the professors, who are all of the first merit. Two of them spoke French with great fluency. They informed us, that they had resided a long time in Paris, where they were proud to have acquired that knowledge which they were called upon to impart to their pupils. The next day, several companies of militia, among which a corps formed by the students of the academy, under the name of Lafayette Guards, were distinguished, came to exercise under the general's windows. We passed the remainder of the day, in the midst of some of Lafayette's veteran companions in arms, who took a pleasure in recalling to his memory, the times in which they had fought and suffered with him for the independence of their country. In the evening, at a ball, rendered remarkable by the beauty of the ladies gracing it, as well as for the good taste displayed in the arrangements, we made acquaintance with a young lady who inspired us with the most lively interest. She was the wife of one of the professors. Born in Paris, she had only been transplanted into this new soil about three months, in the midst of manners which at first were altogether strange, but with which she now appeared perfectly reconciled. She was introduced to the general, who received her with great kindness. Towards the close of the evening, her French and American feelings, strongly excited by the testimonials of friendship and admiration she saw lavished upon Lafayette, suddenly broke forth in transports which she was unable to suppress. "Heavens!" exclaimed she, "how proud and happy I feel, to-day, in being a native of France, and of the same country with General Lafayette!" Then, after having sprung towards the general and kissed his hands, she returned to me with great animation, and said: "Tell the general's family, I beseech you, how happy we should be to receive them here as we have received him! And say to them, that for myself, I feel for the children of La Grange the friendship of a countrywoman, and for Lafayette himself the gratitude of an American." This scene made a lively impression upon all who witnessed it, and the general thanked the young lady with all the ardour of a strongly agitated heart.

On the 14th of March, we set out for Charleston, intend-

ing to lodge some miles from this city, as General Lafayette was not to make his entry until the 15th. An escort of Columbia volunteer cavalry were formed in line before the door, at the moment of our departure, anxious to accompany the general all the way to Charleston; but he thanked them, and insisted that they should not leave the town, as the road he had to travel was both long and difficult, and there was moreover the appearance of a heavy rain. It was, in fact, at a very late hour that we arrived at our destination. The night and the rain caught us in the midst of a thick forest, across which it was difficult to find our narrow and devious way. About nine o'clock in the evening, the carriage I rode in broke down. That of the general, which went before with the governor and some officers of his staff, continued its route without perceiving the accident; but that of Mr. George Lafayette, which at this time happened to be in the rear, found its passage obstructed, and the horses taking fright, plunged amongst the trees, where it stuck fast. Mr. George, and his travelling companions, Colonel Preston and the Mayor of Columbia, immediately alighted, and, by main strength, dragged their carriage before mine. They offered me a seat along with them to continue the journey, directing the servants to mount the horses and go in search of light and assistance to repair the broken vehicle. I accepted their offer, but had scarcely joined them, when Colonel Preston, who had taken the reins, deceived by the darkness, carried us into the thickest of the woods, and in such a situation, that we must have infallibly upset had we proceeded a step further. Nothing was left for us now, but to remain nearly an hour, under a driving rain, for the return of the servants, who brought with them great pine torches. They now assisted us out of our embarrassment, and at eleven o'clock at night, wet and extremely fatigued, we reached the house of Mr. Izard, where we found the general and his companions, who had arrived a long time before. The hospitable table of Mr. Izard, his kind reception and that of his family, soon made us forget our misfortunes, at which we were the first to laugh over the dessert.

That the citizens of Charleston, who had made immense preparation to receive the guest of the nation, might not be kept waiting, we resumed our journey at a very early hour.

At the moment when we were preparing to take leave of the family of Mr. Izard, we saw an escort of volunteer cavalry arrive from the city, with which we immediately set out. In proportion as we advanced towards Charleston, the monotony of pine forests disappeared. Our eyes now rested with pleasure upon clusters of verdant and beautifully shaped saplings, among which superb magnolias were majestically elevated. The entrance to the city appeared to us like a delicious garden. The coolness of the night had condensed the perfumes from the orange, peach, and almond trees, covered with flowers, and embalmed the air. We stopped a few minutes to change the carriage and allow the procession time to form, when, on a signal given by a cannon, we commenced our entrance into Charleston.

The inhabitants of Charleston, as residents of the city which had received the young Lafayette on his first arrival on American ground, in 1776, were eager to prove that no where more than among themselves, had a stronger recollection of his devotion to the cause of liberty been preserved. Accordingly, the reception which they gave him may be compared, for the splendour of its decorations and public enthusiasm, to the finest we had seen in the principal cities in the United States. The militia of Charleston were joined by the militia from the most distant parts of the state. Some companies of volunteer cavalry had, we were told, marched fifty miles a day to take the post assigned them by their patriotic gratitude.

Among the various corps which left the city to meet the general, there was one which particularly attracted our attention. Its uniform was precisely similar to that worn by the national guard of Paris at the time of the French revolution. The language in which the men composing this corps sounded forth their *vivat*, when the general passed before them, showed us that they were Frenchmen, and we experienced a pleasing emotion on hearing our countrymen unite their voices with those of liberty and gratitude.

The French company joined the procession, and, actuated by a sentiment of extreme delicacy, the Americans ceded to them the place of honour, near the carriage of the general. The procession was soon increased by a great number of parties, composed of the clergy, associa-

tion of Cincinnati, veterans of the revolutionary army, students of the different faculties, officers of the United States army and navy, judges of the different courts, children of the public schools, German, French, Jewish, and Hibernian beneficent societies, the association of mechanics, &c. &c. All these detachments were distinguished by the form, colour, and devices of their flags; and the rest of the population following on foot and on horseback, made the air resound with cries of *Welcome, Lafayette*, which sounds, for nearly two hours without intermission, were mingled with the thunder of cannon from the shipping in port, and the ringing of all the bells. But amidst all these expressions of public affection, that which penetrated the general's heart most was the touching and generous plan adopted by the citizens of Charleston to share the honours of his triumph with his brave and excellent friend Colonel Huger.

It is well known that during his imprisonment in the fortress of Olmutz, General Lafayette was upon the point of being liberated by the devotion of two men whom the same generous feelings had associated in this dangerous enterprize. These were Dr. Bollman, a German physician, and young Huger, an American, son of a descendant of a French family proscribed by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in whose house Lafayette was received on his first landing in Charleston. A series of unfortunate incidents caused the failure of this generous attempt, which nearly cost them their lives, and occasioned Lafayette to be treated, by his keepers, with increased severity. Upon his release from the Austrian dungeons, young Huger returned to his country, where he found, in the esteem of the public, the reward of his noble and perilous enterprize. At present the father of a family, a planter, and colonel of militia, he lives retired and generally beloved, on a fine estate within a few leagues of Charleston. General Lafayette had already enjoyed the pleasure of pressing him to his grateful heart, upon his arrival at New York. When we entered Charleston, his fellow citizens insisted upon his taking a place by the side of the nation's guest, in his triumphal car, where he shared the public felicitations and plaudits. At the feast, at the theatre, or ball, every where, in fact, the name of Huger was inscribed by the side of that of Lafayette, upon whom the citizens of Charleston

could confer no greater favour, than by testifying such a high degree of gratitude for one who had formerly exposed himself in attempting to restore him to liberty.

After the procession had passed through all parts of the town, it halted at the court-house, where the mayor, at the head of the municipal authorities, and in the presence of the people, addressed General Lafayette.

The acclamations of the people followed the words of the orator, and the reply of the general, who, with an eloquence rendered more impressive by the grateful feelings of his heart, recalled the ancient obligations which he owed the citizens of Charleston, the noble devotion of the ladies of this patriotic city, and the courage of the Carolinians during the whole course of the revolution.

Colonel Drayton also addressed the general on behalf of the association of Cincinnati, after which we were conducted to the sumptuous lodgings prepared for us, where, during the whole of the next day, the general received the visits of all the corporations of the city. The company of French fusileers we had observed on entering the city, presented themselves first, the martial music at its head, saluting the general with the two patriotic airs of *Yankee Doodle* and the *Marseillois*. Mr. Labatut and one of his companions then addressed the object of their homage, after which the company filed off before him, blending with the military honours they paid him, testimonies of the most tender affection. When the general complimented the officers on the fineness of their discipline, and good taste of their uniform, "We could not," said they, "have chosen one more honourable. Lafayette and our fathers wore it in the glorious days of liberty in our country, and it incessantly reminds us that the first duties of an armed citizen are, the maintenance of public order, and the defence of the rights of man." We passed among these brave men some delicious moments, consecrated to the recollections of our country. All spoke of it with tenderness and enthusiasm, all expressed ardent wishes for her happiness. Among them were some exiles!

Shortly after the French company had retired, we saw all the members of the clergy arrive, assembled under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Farnham, whom they had chosen for their orator. Among them were seen Episcopalians,



Presbyterians, Jews, Roman Catholics, and German and French Protestants. To witness their touching union, and the testimonies of their reciprocal liberality, one might have thought that they all belonged to the same communion. I cannot introduce here the long and eloquent discourse of Dr. Farnham, but I can assert, that, like that pronounced by Bishop White of Philadelphia, it confirmed what I had heard of the liberality of the clergy, which, without the support of a government that seems ignorant of their existence, feels the necessity of conciliating public esteem by the practice of true virtue.

I pass over the account of the balls, displays of artificial fire-works, and entertainments given during our stay in Charleston, since it would be nearly a repetition of what I have already said in relation to so many cities. But, leaving the general surrounded by his old fellow soldiers, at the head of whom he still found the worthy General Pinckney, to be entertained with the glorious recollections of their youthful days, I shall attempt a rapid sketch of the history of South Carolina.

This portion of the North American continent was explored for the first time by Jean Ponce de Leon, the Spanish governor of Porto-Rico. Struck with the beauty of the vegetation, and the smiling aspect of the country, he gave it the beautiful name of Florida. But not finding either gold or silver mines, he gave up the plan of forming a settlement. For a long time this country was coveted by the kings of France, England, and Spain; but it was not till the year 1562 that France decided upon asserting her claims. At the request of Admiral Coligny, who was desirous of finding an asylum for the protestant party, a naval officer named Ribaut, a native of Dieppe, was despatched with two vessels and troops to survey the coast and form a settlement. Jean Ribaut landed at the mouth of a river, under the thirtieth degree of latitude, and established the right of possession by the erection of a stone column, upon which he engraved the arms of France. After remaining some time upon the coast, during which he entered into treaties of peace with the natives of the country, he arrived at the mouth of Albemarle river, where he formed his first settlement, which he called Carolina, in honour of Charles IX. He raised for its protection a small fort, which he

garrisoned with about forty men, and leaving it under the command of one of his officers named Albert, returned to France. This governor being very severe in carrying into effect the discipline he had established, was soon murdered by his soldiers, who, anxious to return to their country, very soon embarked, and sailed for France. But scarcely had they lost sight of the coast when they experienced such a dead calm as kept them so long at sea that their provisions became exhausted; and they had already begun to devour each other, when they were met by an English vessel, which carried them to England, where queen Elizabeth made them relate to her, with their own lips, the account of their horrible adventures.

Two years afterwards, a new expedition sailed under the command of René de Landonnière, to establish and protect the colony; but whether owing to misfortune, or want of knowledge in the leader, the expedition was attended with the most melancholy results. The complaints of the colonists against Landonnière reached France, and determined the government to send out Ribaut to take charge of their affairs. This person was surprised at the mouth of May river by a Spanish squadron of six vessels, which attacked him so fiercely that he could only escape by entering the river. Determined to resist the Spaniards with vigour, Ribaut landed his men, carefully entrenched them, and going in search of the best troops of Landonnière, whom he left in Fort Carolina, with all those who were unable to bear arms, embarked again to pursue the enemy. But he was assailed during the night by a violent storm which drove his vessels upon the rocks. It was with the greatest difficulty that he and his companions gained the shore to surrender themselves to the Spaniards, by whom they were basely murdered without mercy. The sick, together with the women and children who remained in the fort, met with the same fate. Landonnière, and a few of his family, were all that escaped, and after a long time, succeeded almost by a miracle in getting back to France, where they carried the news of the melancholy end of their companions. By the court of France the horrible event was treated with indifference, but the public did not conceal its indignation, and many of the most influential men demanded vengeance. One of these, named

Dominic de Gourges, a gentleman of Gascony, resolved upon being the avenger of his countrymen. He fitted out three vessels at his own expense, took on board two hundred soldiers and eighty marines, arrived at the mouth of the river May, where he showed himself under the Spanish flag, landed under this disguise without being recognized, marched rapidly upon Fort Carolina, of which, with two others, aided by the natives, he soon obtained possession, conquered the Spanish garrisons, razed the fortifications, and returned in triumph to France laden with booty. This daring enterprise struck terror into the Spaniards, and for ever disgusted them of Carolina, which, until the reign of Charles II. of England, was abandoned to all the nations of Europe.

It was at this time that the English government, who had previously made a settlement at the mouth of May River, under pretext of protecting some families who had escaped the tomahawk of the Indians in Virginia, took possession of all the country, situated between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude, and granted it to eight gentlemen of the court, the king, *as proprietary of the royal castle of Greenwich*, reserving to himself supreme authority, together with the fourth part of all the gold and silver which might be found within the bounds of the territory. The celebrated Locke was appointed to prepare a charter for the new colony. By this constitution a species of royalty was transferred to the oldest of the colonists, supported by an aristocracy which exhibited the whimsical assemblage of lords, barons, landgraves and caciques, whose powers and pretensions incessantly coming into collision, were soon subjected to the tyranny of the palatine, for such was the title of the superior officer whose precedence was derived entirely from his age. This constitution, the abortive conception of a great genius, was destroyed in 1720. The population of the colony soon increased rapidly, in consequence of the political and religious persecutions, which at that period desolated Europe. It received, almost at the same time, English royalists, the parliamentists, and the non-conformists. France sent the choicest of her citizens, proscribed by the edict of Nantes. In 1730, the mountains of Scotland saw their vanquished inhabitants going thither in search of an asylum; and in 1745, it was further enriched by the arrival of Swiss and German emigrants. From this

time Carolina began to be sensible of its strength, and to resist the abuse of power manifested by the English government. She refused to pay taxes imposed without her consent, and gave her sanction to the resolutions of the colonial congress, to which she sent deputies in 1765. Nevertheless, when, in 1775, it was resolved to break the chain which united Carolina to the mother country, a division of opinion occurred among the colonists, a considerable number of whom armed in favour of the British government. A civil war was near breaking out, when a very extraordinary occurrence led to the reconciliation of the parties. On the same day that hostilities commenced at Lexington in Massachusetts, despatches from England arrived at Charleston. The revolutionary committee seized the mail containing the letters addressed to the governors of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia and East Florida, by which they were directed to employ the force of arms to reduce the colonies to subjection. About the same time, intelligence was received at Savannah, of an act of parliament, authorising these governors to deprive the colonists of the protection of the law and royal privilege, and confiscate their property.

These various accounts having been published by the committee, inspired all the citizens with the same sentiments of indignation, and the councils being immediately called together, the question was proposed, *Shall we die slaves, or live free?* The reply could not be doubtful. All swore to take up arms and defend their rights. Some indiscreet Tories, who attempted to maintain possession of the country by the assistance of Indians, whom they had taken into pay, were soon annihilated by the patriotic militia, who, after a long and painful struggle against the English troops of Savannah, at length secured the independence of Carolina by the celebrated victory gained at Eutaw Spring, in the year 1781.

It was in the midst of the troubles of war, in the year 1778, that Carolina formed her first constitution. This, though very much in conformity with the principles of the revolution, perhaps exhibited some indications of the haste with which it was prepared. It was revised, modified, and adopted in its present form, at Columbia, on the 30th of June, 1790. Such as it now is, it would be considered in

Europe highly democratic ; but, compared with the constitution of Pennsylvania, for example, and those of some other states in the Union, it appears altogether aristocratic. The conditions imposed upon the candidates for governor, senators, and members of the assembly, restrict the eligible to a very small number. The senators, chosen every four years, to the number of forty-three, must be at least thirty years of age, have resided in the state five years previous to the election, and possess an unincumbered property worth three hundred pounds sterling. Should the candidate not dwell in the district by which he is supported, his property must be worth a thousand pounds sterling.

The representatives, to the number of twenty-four, are elected for two years. They must be free white men, at least twenty-one years of age, and the owners of property worth one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, or instead, a plantation containing five hundred acres, and ten slaves. Should the candidate not reside in the district where he is supported, the value of his property is required to be five hundred pounds. He must be a citizen of the state, in which he shall have lived at least three years previous to the election.

It is obvious that both houses of the legislature are composed of a portion of the richest proprietors only. It is from this legislative power, blemished as it is with aristocracy, that the executive authority springs ; nor it is by the union of the two houses that the governor, in whom this power resides, is chosen. The conditions of eligibility for governor are very high, and restrict the choice to a very small circle. Every candidate for this office must be thirty years of age, a citizen of the state, in which he must have resided at least ten years previous to the election, and possess a clear estate worth fifteen hundred pounds sterling. The powers of the governor only continue for two years. The worst condition in the constitution is that imposing an obligation on the senators to own slaves. I am well aware that it must necessarily disappear before the abolition of slavery takes place, but does it not appear to be placed there as an obstacle to abolition ? And might not the repeal of this article prove a salutary effort in favour of abolition ?

As in all the other states of the Union, religious organization is in no way connected with government, which only

guarantees to the various sects the free exercise of their religious rites, so long as such a privilege is unattended by licentiousness, or is compatible with the peace and security of the state. Ministers of religion are ineligible to the office of governor, lieutenant-governor, and member of assembly, so long as they continue in the exercise of their pastoral functions. The sects are numerous and variable, as one may easily perceive from the composition of the religious body that waited upon General Lafayette. It may, perhaps, have been observed, that it was only whilst speaking of the sects in South Carolina, that I mentioned the Jews. It is, in fact, in this state alone, that they appear sufficiently numerous to attract attention. Their number is computed at about twelve hundred, of whom the city of Charleston contains about five hundred, who, during the late war, distinguished themselves by their courage and patriotism, furnishing a company of sixty volunteers for the defence of the country. The rest of the United States contains little more than five thousand Israelites, the most of whom are of English and German origin. Those of South Carolina are more particularly of French and Portuguese descent. The synagogue in Charleston was built in the year 1794. Previous to this time the Jewish congregation of this city had only a small place for the exercise of their religious rites. According to Dr. Theact's description of Charleston, the Israelites began to form into a society about the year 1750. As soon as ten of them had united, (for this is the number required by the Hebrew law for the public exercise of their religion,) they procured a place convenient for their purpose. The present edifice is spacious and elegant. The society that built it is called *Kalh kadosh beth Eloem*, that is to say, the religious society of the house of God. *Kalh*, or *society*, is the name common to the whole Hebrew congregation. The actual number of subscribing members is about seventy, which gives rather more than three hundred persons having the privilege of the synagogue, as well as the other advantages connected with this privilege. The society of Reformists amount to about fifty members, which, with their families, make above two hundred of this order.

South Carolina is situated between the 32d and 33d degrees of latitude. Its superficies contains about twenty-



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South Carolina is situated between the 32d and 33d degrees of latitude. Its superficies contains about twenty-



nine thousand square miles, the soil being very variable. From the coast of the Atlantic to about twenty-four miles within the interior, the country is a vast plain rising imperceptibly about two hundred feet above the level of the sea; its surface is divided into forests of pine, which grow in a sandy soil of little value; extensive morasses, which render the air insalubrious during the autumn; savannas, which produce only grass; and higher lands, which are adapted to the growth of cotton. Rice is cultivated with success near the rivers, whose inundations fertilize their borders. Beyond the plain the country is mountainous, productive, and more healthy than the lower districts, where the humidity of the rivers, and the changeableness of temperature during the whole season, render diseases very common.

This state contains 502,741 inhabitants, who may be divided into three classes; 237,460 free whites, 6,806 free blacks, and 258,465 slaves. It appears, that the number of slaves considerably surpasses that of the free whites, so that this state has begun to feel the inconveniences of slavery to such a degree, that fear has induced them to adopt measures of safety, which infringe both the laws of humanity and the rights of property. By a recent law, every traveller, who enters Carolina with a black servant, finds that he is immediately taken from him, imprisoned, and only returned to him when he is about to leave the state. What is the utility of this measure, is a question I find myself very much embarrassed to answer. It is, say they, to prevent dangerous communications, between the slaves of that state and the free black strangers, who never fail to talk to them of liberty.

This state of things in relation to slavery in South Carolina, is the more distressing from its singular contrast with the character of the inhabitants of that state. The Carolinians are particularly distinguished for the cultivation of their minds, the elegance of their manners, their politeness and hospitality towards strangers. This last virtue is so common in Carolina, that one finds very few taverns out of the large towns. Travellers may boldly present themselves at the houses of the planters which they find on their road, and are sure of being well received. The disposition to assist the indigent is so great at Charleston, that

besides a great many private associations, they have five public charitable societies, whose revenues, already very considerable, are still daily increased by the liberality of the citizens.

The three days which General Lafayette passed at Charleston were marked by entertainments whose brilliancy and refinement delighted him; but of all the delicate attentions that were paid him, the most touching, perhaps, was the gift, made him by the city, of a beautiful portrait of his friend Colonel Huger. This beautiful miniature, of an appropriate size, unites the merit of perfect likeness with the most admirable execution. It strongly resembles the style of our celebrated Isabey, and would not have been disowned by him. It was executed by Mr. Frazer of Charleston, who already enjoys a great reputation in the United States, but has probably surpassed himself in this work. The frame of solid gold, is more valuable for the elegance and delicacy of the workmanship than the richness of its material. It came from the workshop of two artists of Philadelphia, and would have done honour to our most experienced French jewellers.

The governor presented the general, in the name of the state, with a beautiful map of South Carolina, enclosed in a rich case of silver. Many other persons came also to offer handsome keepsakes, which he gratefully accepted.

On the 17th of March he left Charleston, carrying with him the regrets of his friends, and the blessings of the people.

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## CHAPTER V.

Fort Moultrie—Edisto Island—Alligators—Savannah—Funeral Monuments—Augusta—State of Georgia.

THE roads of South Carolina being generally very bad, the Charleston committee resolved to conduct the general by sea to Savannah, where he had been expected for some time. We embarked on the 17th of March, on board of

an elegant steamboat, prepared and well provisioned by the attentions of the committee, and took leave of the inhabitants of Charleston, who, assembled on the wharf and crowding the vessels, responded, by their acclamations, to the parting salutations of their guest. Before losing sight of Charleston, we directed our course towards Sullivan's Island, upon which stands Fort Moultrie, which saluted General Lafayette with all its guns. This fort, commanding the pass by which the vessels are obliged to enter the port of Charleston, was defended with extraordinary courage by the Carolinian militia, on the 28th of June, 1776, against the English forces, superior both in numbers and experience.

The militia were commanded by General Moultrie, who, during the revolutionary war, sustained the highest reputation for the valour and ability with which he defended this important post. We afterwards continued our navigation between the continent and the islands which border it, and extend as far as Savannah. We landed on one of these, called Edisto, where General Lafayette was expected; but, as it was impossible for him to remain there more than two or three hours, the inhabitants, who were collected at one of the principal proprietor's, decided to offer him at once all the festivals they had prepared for several days. We had, at the same time, the harangue, the public dinner, the ball, and even the baptism of a charming little infant, to which the name of Lafayette was given. We then rapidly traversed the island in a carriage, to join our steamboat, which awaited us on the side next the ocean. What we saw of the island, in this short ride, appeared to us enchanting; the vegetation was particularly striking from its variety; odoriferous shrubs of the most elegant form, were agreeably interspersed among large forest trees; and, in the downs which border the sea-shore, we saw some beautiful palm-trees, which gave to the small dwellings they shaded an aspect altogether picturesque. This island, which lies at the mouth of Edisto river, forty miles south-west of Charleston, is twelve miles in length and five broad. It has been inhabited since 1700.

During the rest of our voyage to Savannah, we coasted the islands of Hunting, Beaufort, Port Republican, Hilton Head, &c.; and often through passages so narrow, that our

vessel almost touched the land on each side, and had rather the appearance of rolling on the surrounding meadows, than of gliding on the water which disappeared beneath us. It was nearly midnight when we passed Beaufort, and all on board were asleep; but we were soon awakened by the acclamations of citizens, who were waiting on the shore, and General Lafayette having arisen, yielded with readiness to their desire that he would land for some moments among them.

At sunrise, as we approached the mouth of the Savannah river, we began to see some alligators extended on the shore, or swimming round our vessel. Our captain shot one, and sent the boat for it. It was about eight feet long, and we were assured that it was but of a middling size; some of them extend to twelve feet, and sometimes even, it is said, to fifteen or eighteen. The size of their body is then equal to that of a horse. When of this size, the alligator is a formidable animal, from its prodigious power and agility in the water. Its form is nearly like that of a lizard; it differs from it only by its cuneiform tail, flattened on the sides, and which, from the root to the extremity, diminishes insensibly. Like all the rest of the body, it is covered with a scaly coat, impenetrable to all arms, even to a musket-ball.\* The head of an alligator of the largest size is about three feet; the opening of the jaws is of the same dimensions; its eyes are very small, sunken in the head, and covered; its nostrils are large, and so much developed at the summit, that, when it swims, its head at the surface of the water resembles a large floating beam. Its upper jaw, only, is moveable; it opens perpendicularly, and forms a right angle with the lower jaw.† On each side of the upper jaw, immediately below the nostrils, are two long and strong teeth, slightly pointed and of a conical

\* This is a common but inaccurate saying; an oblique shot will certainly glance from the skin of the alligator, but one striking perpendicular to the surface will as certainly penetrate, if within a proper distance.—T.

† This is another very common and ancient error, which has been repeated from the days of Herodotus, who said it of the Egyptian crocodile, to the present. The deceptive appearance is produced by the manner in which the lower jaw is articulated; the joint being situated very far back, when the mouth is opened, casual observers easily mistake the part actually moved. See the article *Alligator*, in the lately published *Encyclopædia Americana*.—T.

form. They have the whiteness and polish of ivory, and being always exposed, give to the animal a frightful aspect. In the under jaw, just opposite these two teeth, are two sockets proper to receive them. When the alligator strikes his jaws together, it produces a noise absolutely like that made by slapping a board violently against the ground, and which may be heard a great distance.

When, on the morning of the 19th, we arrived in sight of Savannah, we perceived all the population on the shore, and the militia assembled, who had waited during several hours. We soon heard the majestic salute of the artillery, and the acclamations of the people. We replied to them by a salute from the guns of our vessel, and by the patriotic airs with which our music caused to re-echo from the shore. To this first feeling of pleasure caused by the reception of the citizens of Savannah, a sentiment of painful regret suddenly succeeded. We had to separate from our travelling companions of South Carolina. Among them were the governor of this state, several general officers, and some members of the committee who had received us at Charleston. The governor, faithful to the laws which inhibited his passing beyond the limits of the state, resisted all entreaties to induce him to land, and bade farewell to the general with all the emotion of a child who separates himself from a parent he is to see no more. Some minutes after, we were in Georgia, at the entrance of Savannah, where the general was received and addressed by Governor Troup, in the midst of an eager crowd. The triumphal car and arches, the acclamations of the people, the wreaths and flowers scattered by the ladies, the sound of bells and cannon, every thing proved to Lafayette that though he had passed into another state, he was nevertheless among the same friendly and grateful people.

A commodious lodging had been prepared in the elegant mansion of Mrs. Maxwell; thither they conducted General Lafayette with a grand escort. After he had reposed some moments, the mayor and council of the city came to compliment him, and the day was terminated by a public repast, at which the civil and military authorities of the state and of Savannah, the members of the bar, the clergy, and a great number of citizens, were present. After the thirteen usual toasts, the company offered many volunteer

toasts, all strongly indicative of the patriotic and republican character which always distinguishes American assemblies. General Lafayette replied to the toast addressed to him, by the following: "*To the City of Savannah*—May her youthful prosperity prove more and more to the old world, the superiority of republican institutions, and of the government of the people by themselves." A hymn to liberty, to the air *la Marseillaise*, terminated the banquet, and we returned to our quarters by the light of an illumination which blazed over all the city.

The next day, Sunday, the general received, at an early hour, the visit of the French and the descendants of Frenchmen residing in Savannah. At their head was Mr. Petit de Villers, who spoke in their name, and who, in a discourse fully expressive of the sentiments of his compatriots towards Lafayette, portrayed with ardour the benefits of American hospitality towards proscribed Frenchmen, forced by every kind of despotism successively to demand an asylum in the United States.

To the visit of the French, succeeded those of the officers of the different bodies; the clergy came afterwards; at their head was the reverend Mr. Carter, who, in complimenting the general, felicitated him above all, that his efforts in favour of American independence had also resulted in the establishment of religious liberty.

To his acknowledgments, general Lafayette joined the expression of his satisfaction in seeing America giving so good an example of true religious liberty to old Europe, which still enjoys a very limited toleration. "In religious, as in political societies," added he, "I am persuaded that the election by the people is the best guaranty of mutual confidence."

The citizens of Savannah had for a long time cherished the intention of paying a tribute of gratitude to the memory of General Greene, justly considered as the southern hero of the revolutionary struggle; and to that of General Pulaski, the brave Pole, who, despairing of the cause of liberty in his own country, came to sacrifice his life in the cause of American independence. They thought that the presence of General Lafayette would add to the solemnity of the ceremony, and resolving to profit by his sojourn at Savannah, obtained his consent to lay the first stone of the

funeral monuments they intended to raise. Consequently, every thing being ready, they made the proposition, which he accepted with the more readiness and ardour, as he was gratified to have an occasion of publicly testifying his esteem for the character of General Greene, to whom he had been particularly attached.

The ceremony was strongly characterized by the association of those exalted religious and patriotic feelings, which particularly distinguish the actions of the American people. Agreeably to the resolution adopted at a meeting of the citizens, of which Colonel John Shellman was president, the masonic society, which was charged with all the details relative to the construction of the monument, formed itself into a procession on the 21st March, at nine in the morning, and moved to the sound of music, to the lodgings of General Lafayette. The high priest, the *king* and other officers of the *royal* chapter of Georgia, were decorated with their finest apparel and richest masonic jewels. Before them was carried a banner elegantly embroidered. When they marched with the general, the procession was augmented by the militia and citizens.

On arriving at the site of the destined monument, the troops formed a line to the right and left to receive the procession between them. The children of the schools uniformly dressed, and carrying baskets filled with flowers, which they scattered beneath the steps of General Lafayette, were already assembled. The people, collected in a crowd behind them, seemed placed there to protect their feebleness, and to present them to the nation's guest. After a silence the most profound was obtained among the attentive crowd, the masons, and the monument committee arranged themselves at the west of the foundation, and the other part of the procession occupied the east. General Lafayette then advanced to the place prepared to receive the corner stone. He was surrounded by the grand master, the grand keepers, the chaplain, the grand priest, the king, and the secretary of the chapter of Georgia, the governor, Colonel Huger, George Lafayette, &c. A national air, executed by a band of musicians, announced the commencement of the ceremony. Then the president of the monument committee advanced, and de-

livered a very impressive and appropriate address, which he concluded by the following words.

“Very respectable grand master, in conformity with the wishes of my fellow citizens, and in the name of the monument committee, I pray you to celebrate, according to the rites of the ancient fraternity to which you belong, the laying of the corner stone of the monument we are about to raise to the memory of General Greene.”

After the orator had made this invitation, General Lafayette made a sign that he wished to speak, and immediately the silence and attention of the multitude were redoubled, and all fixing their eyes upon him. He advanced a little, and said with a solemn voice—

“The great and good man to whose memory we this day pay a tribute of respect, of affection and profound regret, acquired in our revolutionary war a glory so true and so pure, that even now the name alone of GREENE recalls all the virtues, all the talents which can adorn the patriot, the statesman, and the general; and yet it appertains to me, his brother in arms, and, I am proud to be able to say, his very sincere friend, to you, sir, his brave countryman and companion in arms, here to declare, that the kindness of his heart was equal to the force of his elevated, firm, and enlightened mind. The confidence and friendship which he obtained, were among the greatest proofs of the excellent judgment which characterized our paternal chief. By the affection of the state of Georgia towards him, the army also felt itself honoured; and I, sir, present myself before you, before new generations, as a representative of this army, of the deceased and absent friends of General Greene, to applaud the honours rendered to his memory, and to thank you for the testimonies of sympathy which you have accorded me in this touching and melancholy solemnity, and for the part which your wishes have caused me to take in it.”

When the aged companion of Greene had ceased to speak, a brother of Solomon's Lodge, invested with masonic insignia, advanced from the crowd, and joining his voice to the grave tones of the music, sung a hymn, the last strophe of which was repeated in chorus by the assembled company, and the prayer of the people ascended to



heaven with the solemn reports of the reverberating cannon.

During this time the corner stone had been prepared ; and, before placing it, the grand chaplain, Mr. Carter, pronounced the prayer with a loud voice.

After this prayer, which was heard in religious silence, the grand master ordered the secretary of the committee to prepare the different objects which were to be placed in the foundation as memorials of the event. These were several medals with the portraits of the nation's guest, of Washington, of General Greene, and Franklin ; some pieces of money of the United States, struck at different periods, and also some paper money of the state of Georgia ; some engravings, among which were the portraits of General Charles Pinckney, and Doctor Kollock, and all the details relative to the ceremony ; lastly, a medal, on which were these words : " The corner stone of this monument, to the memory of General Nathaniel Greene, was laid by General Lafayette, at the request of the citizens of Savannah, the 21st of March, 1825."

The stone was then lowered, amid strains of funeral music, to the bottom of the excavation. The general then descended to the stone, and struck it three times with a mallet ; all the brethren came successively to render their duties, and the grand priest of the royal chapter of Georgia came, with the censor in his hand, to bless the corner stone. When all these ceremonies were ended, the grand master remitted to the principal architect all the objects requisite to be employed in the completion of the monument, charging him by all the ties which bound companions in masonry to acquit himself of his duty, in a manner honourable to his workmen and himself.

With these, and other ceremonies common on these occasions, the stone was then sealed while the music played a national air. The whole was terminated by a triple volley discharged by the United States' troops.

The procession then marched back in the same order as before, and repaired to Chippeway place, where the ceremony was repeated in laying the corner stone of the monument of Pulaski.

Before returning to his lodgings, General Lafayette went to Brigadier-general Harden's to assist at a presentation of

colours embroidered by Mrs. Harden, and presented by her to the first regiment of the Georgia militia. On these colours, very richly worked, was the portrait of General Lafayette, and several inscriptions recalling various glorious epochs of the revolution. The burst of enthusiasm on receiving them extended alike to the officers and soldiers, who swore that under these colours, presented by beauty, and consecrated by Lafayette, they would ever be assured of vanquishing the enemies of liberty and their country.

Some hours after, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of the citizens, and above all, the ladies, who had prepared a ball for the same evening, the general, pressed by time and his numerous engagements, was obliged to quit Savannah, and we embarked on board the steamboat *Alatamaha* with the governor of Georgia, and the committee of arrangement, to visit Augusta, which is situated a hundred and eighty miles from the mouth of the river Savannah.

We found at Savannah a young man whose name and destiny were calculated to inspire us with a lively interest; this was Achille Murat, son of Joachim Murat, ex-king of Naples. On the earliest news of the arrival of General Lafayette in Georgia, he precipitately quitted Florida, where he has become a planter, and came to add his homage and felicitations to those of the Americans, whom he now regarded as his countrymen. Two days passed in his company, excited an esteem for his character and understanding, not to be withheld by any who may have the same opportunity of knowing him. Scarcely twenty-four years of age, he has had sufficient energy of mind to derive great advantages from an event which many others, in his place, would have regarded as an irreparable misfortune. Deprived of the hope of wearing the crown promised by his birth, he transported to the United States the trifling remains of his fortune, and sufficiently wise to appreciate the benefits of the liberty here enjoyed, he has become a naturalized citizen of the United States. Far from imitating so many fallen kings, who never learn how to console themselves for the loss of their former power, Achille Murat has become a cultivator, has preserved his name without any title, and by his frank, and altogether republican manners, has rapidly conciliated the regard of all who know him. He possesses a cultivated mind, and a heart filled

with the most noble and generous emotions. For the memory of his father he cherishes a profound and melancholy veneration. Mr. George Lafayette, having cited in conversation some traits of that brilliant and chivalric bravery which Murat so eminently possessed, he appeared to be much affected by it; and, some moments after, when alone with me, he said with warm emotion, "Mr. George has caused me a great happiness; he has spoken well of my father to me."

The conversation turning upon European politics, he explained himself with great freedom on the subject of the holy alliance, and, in general, upon every kind of despotism. I could not avoid saying to him, in pleasantry, that it was a very extraordinary circumstance to hear such discourse from the mouth of an hereditary prince. "Hereditary prince," replied he with vivacity, "I have found the means to be more than such a thing—I am a freeman!" One circumstance, however, caused me pain and surprise, which was, that Achille Murat, free to choose his residence in the United States, should come to establish himself exactly in the country afflicted by slavery. This choice could only appear to me reasonable for a man who had decided to labour all in his power for the gradual emancipation of the blacks, and to give to his neighbours an example of justice and humanity, in preparing his slaves for liberty; but, I believe, this noble project has not entered into the thoughts of our young republican, who, to judge by some peculiarities of his conversation, seems but too well prepared to adopt the principles of some of his new fellow citizens as to the slavery of the blacks. Is it then, thus, that the original sin of royalty must always show the tip of its ear?\*

Savannah is the most important city of the state of Georgia. It is situated on the right bank of Savannah river, and about seventeen miles from its mouth. Its large and straight streets cross at right angles, and are planted on each side with a row of delightful trees, called the *Pride of India*, and for which the inhabitants of the south have a marked predilection. Although elevated forty feet above the level of the river, the situation of Savannah is unhealthy;

\* See the fable of the ass disguised in the lion's skin, as related by Æsop, Phœdrus, or Lafontaine, in explanation of this allusion. T.

an autumn seldom passes without the yellow fever making cruel ravages. Commerce is notwithstanding very active there; its port, which can admit vessels drawing forty feet, annually exports more than six millions of dollars worth of cotton. Its population is 7523 inhabitants, divided thus: 3,557 white individuals, 582 free people of colour, and 3,075 slaves. The number of persons employed in the manufactories nearly equals that of those occupied in commerce, which is about six hundred.

On quitting Savannah, we sailed at first for more than sixty miles between low marshy grounds whence issued many rivulets, and which was covered by a vegetation the most rich and varied that it is possible to imagine. Among the tallest trees we observed four or five species of pines, nine of oak, tulip trees, poplars, plantains, sassafras, &c., beneath which grew more than forty kinds of shrubs, of which the form, flower, foliage and perfume, constitute the delicacies of our most brilliant parterres. Beyond this plain, the soil rises rapidly about two hundred feet above the level of the sea, and presents at intervals fine table lands, on which are established rich cotton plantations.

As we approached Augusta, two steam boats, crowded with a great many citizens of that town, came to meet us, and saluted General Lafayette with three cheers, and the discharge of artillery. We answered them by the patriotic air of *Yankee Doodle*, and by three rounds of our guns. They joining us we ascended the river together, each forcing the steam in rivalry of speed. There was something frightful in this contest; the three roaring vessels seemed to fly in the midst of black clouds of smoke, which prevented us from seeing each other. The *Alatamaha* was victorious, which produced a lively joy in our brave captain, who seemed to be a man who would blow up his vessel rather than be beaten on such an occasion.

The general, forced to adhere rigorously to his calculations for travelling, had at first resolved to pass but one day at Augusta; but it was impossible for him to resist the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants to remain two days, that the greater part of the preparations made for him should not become useless. He yielded, and the entertainments they gave him were so multiplied, that for the first time since the commencement of this prodigious journey,

he suffered a fatigue which caused us a momentary inquietude.

Among the citizens who received the general on the wharf at Augusta, we again met our fellow-passenger in the *Cadmus*, Mr. King, a young lawyer much esteemed by his fellow citizens. This meeting was to us not only very agreeable, but also very useful; in leaving the river Savannah, our communications with the Atlantic would become more difficult; it was therefore important for us to transmit our despatches from Augusta, that our friends in Europe might once more have news from us before we should have entirely passed into the interior of the country; and Mr. King had the goodness to undertake to forward them after our departure, as well as some effects which we retrenched from our baggage, in order to lighten ourselves as much as possible, for we foresaw that we were going to travel the worst roads that we had yet encountered since leaving Washington.

The day after our arrival, the general was engaged to visit, on the other side of the Savannah river, a sort of prodigy, which proves to what extent good institutions favour the increase of population, the developement of industry, and the happiness of man. It is a village named Hamburg, composed of about a hundred houses, raised in the same day by a single proprietor, and all inhabited in less than two months by an active and industrious population. This village is not yet two years old, and its port is already filled with vessels, its wharves covered with merchandise, and its inhabitants assured of a constantly increasing prosperity. Hamburg being on the right bank of the Savannah, belongs to South Carolina.

On the 25th we left Augusta, which is well built and containing more than four thousand inhabitants, to visit Milledgeville, passing through Warrenton and Sparta. The general was very affectionately received in each of these small towns; but we found the roads every where in a bad condition, and so much broken up, that we were obliged to travel a part of the way on horseback. Happily the carriage in which the general rode, resisted all accidents, but it was near breaking down twenty times. The first day the jolts were so violent, that they occasioned General Lafayette a vomiting which at first alarmed us, but

this entirely ceased after a good night passed at Warrenton.

We arrived on the 2d of March, on the banks of little river Oconee, near to which Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, is built. This town, which, from the dispersion of its houses, and the multitude and extent of its beautiful gardens, rather resembles a fine village than a city, containing a population of two thousand five hundred souls, among whom General Lafayette was received as a father and friend. The citizens, conducted by their magistrates, came to receive him on the banks of the river, and the aids-du-camp of the governor conducted him with pomp to the state house, which claimed the honour of lodging him. The day was passed in the midst of honours and pleasures of every kind. After the official presentation in the state house, where the general was addressed by an American citizen of French descent, Mr. Jaillet, mayor of Milledgeville; after the visit which we made to the lodge of our masonic brethren, and the review of all the militia of the county, we dined with Governor Troup, who had assembled at his house all the public officers and principal citizens, with whom we spent the evening at the state house, where the ladies of the place had prepared a ball for General Lafayette; but at this ball there was neither possibility nor wish for any one to dance; each, anxious to entertain or hear the nation's guest, kept near him, and seized with avidity the occasion to testify gratitude and attachment. Affected almost to tears with the kindness evinced towards him, the general completely forgot that Georgia was a new acquaintance. He also forgot, it seemed, that to-morrow we were to depart early in the morning, and that some hours of repose would be necessary, as he passed a great part of the night in conversing with his new friends.

Before continuing the narrative of the subsequent journey, which conducted us from the bosom of the most advanced civilization, into the centre of still savage tribes, the aboriginal children of America, I shall make some observations on the state of Georgia.

This state, situated between the 30th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and the 3d and 9th of longitude west from Washington, is bounded on the north by the state of

Tennessee, to the north-east by South Carolina, to the south-east by the Atlantic ocean, to the south by Florida, and to the west by the state of Alabama. Its surface is 58,000 square miles, and its population 340,989 inhabitants, of which nearly 150,000 are slaves; a proportion truly alarming, and which will, some day, bring Georgia into an embarrassing situation, if its government does not adopt some measure to diminish the evil. Here, as in all the slave states, the blacks are goods and chattels, which are sold like any other property, and which may be inherited; but their introduction into the state as an object of commerce is severely prohibited. According to existing laws, a person who brings into the state a slave, which he sells or exposes to sale within the year immediately succeeding his introduction, is subjected to a penalty of one thousand dollars, and an imprisonment of five years in the state prison. The prejudices against the coloured race is very strong among the Georgians, and I have not remarked that they have made any great efforts for the abolition of slavery; the laws even interpose a barrier to gradual emancipation, for a proprietor cannot give liberty to his slave without the authority of the legislature. The ancient code of slavery introduced by the English, and which was a code of blood, is fallen into disuse, and has been supplied by some laws protective of the slaves. Thus, for example, whoever now designedly deprives a slave of life or limb, is condemned to the same punishment as if the crime had been committed on a white man, except in a case of insurrection; but we feel that this law is to be administered by judges who are themselves slave-holders, and under the influence of the same prejudices as their fellow citizens; thus may one say with truth, that if the slaves of Georgia do not perish under the whip of their master, as too often happens in the French colonies, it is owing solely to the naturally mild and humane dispositions of the Georgians, and not to the efficacy of the laws, which admit that a slave *may accidentally die on receiving moderate correction*, without the author of the infliction being guilty of murder.

Georgia, it is said, was that one of the ancient colonies in which the revolution obtained the fewest suffrages. The royal party, for a long time, preserved there a great

influence, which, augmented by the presence of a numerous body of English, under the orders of Colonel Campbell, maintained the royal government until the end of the war; thus the patriots had more to suffer in Georgia than elsewhere.

It was not until 1798, that the constitution, which had been adopted in 1785 and amended in 1789, was definitively and vigorously enforced by a general assembly of the representatives. This constitution is very nearly similar to that of South Carolina.

If Georgia is not yet one of the richest states of the Union, by the abundance and variety of its productions, the cause should be attributed to the influence of slavery alone. No country, perhaps, is more favoured by nature than this, and all the products of the most opposite climates may be easily and abundantly drawn from its soil. The seashores and the adjacent islands produce six hundred pounds of long cotton per acre, of which the medium price is thirty cents per pound; and the same soil will produce four crops without manure. Sugar may be cultivated in the same soil, with an equal success. The white mulberry grows there in such quantities, that Georgia could easily liberate the United States from an annual tribute of several millions which they pay to Europe, if the culture of silk was confided to skilful and interested hands; that is to say, to the hands of freemen. Tea grows without culture in the neighbourhood of Savannah; in some choice places, three crops of indigo are annually produced; and, in the interior, the lands produce abundantly of grain and maize; finally, pulse and fruits of all kinds grow here with an unusual facility. But to fertilize the sources of such abundant riches, there are requisite an industry and activity, rarely possessed by men accustomed to confide the care of their existence to the devotedness of unhappy beings brutalised by slavery.\*

\* See the excellent work of Captain Hugh M'Call, published in 1811, entitled "*The History of Georgia.*"



## CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Milledgeville—Macon—Indian Agency—Meeting with Indians during a Storm—Hamley—M<sup>c</sup>Intosh's Tribe—Uchee Creek—Big Warrior—Captain Lewis—Line Creek—Montgomery—Farewell of M<sup>c</sup>Intosh—Cahawba—State of Alabama—Mobile.

ON the 29th of March, after having taken leave of the citizens of Milledgeville, and expressed our thanks to the committee of arrangement, the authorities of the town and the state, for the kindnesses with which we had been loaded, we resumed our route with some aides-de-camp of Governor Troup, who, with a skilful foresight, had previously arranged every thing, so that the general should experience the inconveniences inevitably to be encountered, as little as possible, in a journey across a country without roads, towns, and almost without inhabitants; for, to enter the state of Alabama, we had to traverse that vast territory which separates it from Georgia, and which is inhabited by the Creek nation; a people which civilization has blighted with some of its vices, without having been able to win them from the habits of a wandering and savage life.

The first day, after travelling for some hours, we arrived at Macon to dinner, where the general was received with enthusiasm by the citizens, and a number of ladies, whose elegance and manners formed a singular contrast to the aspect of the country we had traversed. Macon, which is a small and handsome village, tolerably populous, did not exist eighteen months since; it has arisen from the midst of the forests as if by enchantment. It is a civilized speck lost in the yet immense domain of the original children of the soil. Within a league of this place, we are again in the bosom of virgin forests; the summits of these aged trees, which appear as records of the age of the world, waved above our heads, and, when agitated by the winds, gave rise alternately to that shrill or hollow tone, which Chateaubriand has termed the voice of the desert. The road we pursued was a kind of gully or fissure, over the

bottom of which the general's carriage was with difficulty drawn, and often at the risk of being shattered in pieces; we followed on horseback, and arrived in the evening at the Indian agency.

This is an isolated habitation in the midst of the forests, built during the last year for the conferences between the Indian chiefs and the commissioners of the United States. It was there that the treaty was formed, by which the tribes inhabiting the left bank of the Mississippi consented to retire to the right bank, on the payment of a considerable sum of money to them. The year 1827 was assigned as the time for their evacuation, and it is not without sorrow that the Indians find that it is drawing near; they will relinquish with regret the neighbourhood of civilized man, although they detest him; and accuse their chiefs of having betrayed them in making this cession, which, it is said, has already cost the life of McIntosh, one of the chiefs who signed the treaty.

We passed the night at the Indian agency; we had been expected the evening before by about a hundred Indians, among whom the name of Lafayette has existed by tradition for fifty years; but the delays we had met with had exhausted their patience, and they had gone to prepare for our reception elsewhere. On the second day we had to traverse thirty-two miles over a road which became more and more difficult. A storm, such as is never seen in Europe, and which, however, I cannot pause to describe, now assailed us, and forced us to halt for some hours. Happily we found a shelter in a cabin built by an American, not far distant from the road. Some Indian hunters, accustomed, no doubt, to seek refuge here, were drying their garments around a large fire; we took our place among them without being known, or attracting any particular attention. Mine, on the contrary, was strongly excited by this interview, the first of the kind I had met with. I had heard much of the manners of these sons of nature, and, like every inhabitant of a civilized country, I entertained such singular ideas respecting them, that the slightest of their gestures, and every minutiae of their dress and accoutrements, induced an astonishment which the Indians did not appear to share in seeing us. As far as I could, by signs, I proposed a multitude of questions, to which they

replied by a pantomime, which was at once expressive and laconic. I had heard much of the apathy of Indians as a natural faculty, but also singularly augmented in them by education. I wished to make a few experiments on this point, but did not know how they would receive them. I provoked one of them by hostile gestures; but my anger, though tolerably well assumed, did not appear to excite more emotion than the tricks of a child would have done. He continued his conversation without attending to me, and his countenance expressed neither fear nor contempt.

After some other trials of the same kind, always received with the same calm indifference, I recurred to signs of kindness; I offered to the Indians a glass of brandy: this succeeded better. They emptied it. I showed them some pieces of money, which they took without ceremony. I soon quitted them, and it appeared to me that we separated very good friends. The termination of the storm now permitted us to resume our route, and we arrived at a resting place rather better than that of the preceding evening. This was a group of cabins constructed of logs, and covered with bark. The owner was an American, whom a reverse of fortune had forced to take refuge here, where he carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians by exchanging goods from the coast for furs. His small farm was composed of some acres in tolerable cultivation, a well furnished poultry yard, and the dwelling I have spoken of above. On arrival, we found two Indians seated before his door, one young, the other middle aged, but both remarkable for their beauty and form. They were dressed in a short frock, of a light material, fastened around the body by a wampum belt. Their heads were wrapped with shawls of brilliant colours, their leggings of buckskin reached above the knee. They arose on the approach of the general, and saluted him, the youngest, to our great astonishment, complimenting him in very good English. We soon learnt that he had passed his youth in college in the United States, but that he had withdrawn several years before from his benefactor, to return among his brethren, whose mode of life he preferred to that of civilized man. The general questioned him much as to the state of the Indian nations. He replied with much clearness and precision. When the last treaty of the United States was spoken of,

his countenance became sombre, he stamped on the ground, and, placing his hand upon his knife, murmured the name of M<sup>c</sup>Intosh in such a manner, as to make us tremble for the safety of that chief; and when we appeared to be astonished, "M<sup>c</sup>Intosh," exclaimed he, "has sold the land of his fathers, and sacrificed us all to his avarice. The treaty he has concluded in our name, it is impossible to break, but the wretch!" He stopped on making this violent exclamation, and shortly afterwards quietly entered on some other topic of conversation.

Hamley, (the name of the young Indian,) when he found we were somewhat rested, proposed to us to visit his house, which he pointed out to us on the slope of a hill at a little distance. Two of the governor's aides-de-camp and myself accepted the invitation, and followed the two Indians. On our route they showed to us a fenced enclosure, filled with deer and fawns, which they called their reserve, and which served them for food when they had been unsuccessful in the chase. Hamley's cabin adjoined this enclosure. We entered it. There was a large fire on the hearth, and evening having commenced, the whole building was illuminated by the flame of the burning pine wood. The furniture consisted of two beds, a table, some rude chairs, whilst wicker baskets, fire arms, and bows and arrows, with a violin, were hanging on the walls. The whole arrangement indicated the presence of man in a half civilized state. Hamley's companion took down the violin, and handling the instrument with vigour rather than lightness and grace, played some fragments of Indian airs, which induced a desire of dancing in Hamley, but whether from courtesy, or from a wish of inducing a comparison which would result to his own credit, he begged us to begin. The grave Americans who accompanied me, excused themselves. Being younger, or less reserved, I did not wait for a second invitation, and executed some steps of our national dances; this was all that Hamley desired. I saw him throw off every thing that might embarrass him, seize a large shawl, and triumphantly spring into the centre of the apartment, as if he would say, it is now my turn. His first movements, slow and impassioned, gradually became animated, his movements, incomparably bolder and more expressive than those of our opera dancers, soon became

so rapid that the eye could scarcely follow them. In the intervals, or when he halted for breath, his steps softly beating time to the music, his head gently inclined, and gracefully following the movements of his pliant body, his eyes sparkling with an emotion which reddened the coppery hue of his complexion, the cries that he uttered when he awoke from this reverie in order to commence his rapid evolutions, had the most striking effect upon us, which it is impossible to describe.

Two Indian women, whom I afterwards learned were Hamley's wives, approached the house, during the time that it resounded with his exertions, and our plaudits, but they did not enter, and I therefore merely saw them. They had the usual beauty of this race; their dress was composed of a long white tunic, and a scarlet drapery thrown over their shoulders; their long black hair was wholly unconfined. On their neck, they had a necklace of four or five strings of pearls, and in their ears, those immense silver rings so generally worn by Indian women. I believed, from their reserve, that Hamley had forbidden them to enter, and therefore made no inquiries respecting them. There were also some negroes about the house, but they did not appear to be slaves. They were fugitives to whom he had granted an asylum, and who repaid his hospitality by their labour.

I would willingly have remained several days as Hamley's guest and companion in the chase; but we were obliged to continue our journey. We retired, and the next day, the 31st March, resumed our route. As we plunged deeper into this country of forests, the Indian soil seemed to efface from our minds those prejudices which induce civilized man to endeavour to impose his mode of life on all those nations who still adhere to primitive habits, and to consider the invasion of districts in which this pretended barbarity still exists, as a noble and legitimate conquest. It must, however, be stated, to the praise of the Americans, that it is not by extermination or war, but by treaties, in which their intellectual superiority, it is true, exercises a species of gentle violence, that they pursue their system of aggrandizement against the Indian tribes to the west and north. With them, civilization is not sullied by crimes to be compared with those of Great Britain in India, but in

rendering this justice to them, we, at the same time, cannot help feeling a strong interest in the fate of the unhappy Indians. Thus, in meeting at every turn the bark cabin of the Creek hunter, now the habitation of peace and savage yet happy ignorance, we could not think without sorrow how soon it might be overthrown and replaced by the farm of the white settler. It was on the banks of the Chatahooche that we met with the first assemblage of Indians, in honour of the general. A great number of women and children were to be seen in the woods on the opposite bank, who uttered cries of joy on perceiving us. The warriors descended the side of a hill at a little distance, and hastened to that part of the shore at which we were to disembark. The variety and singular richness of their costumes presented a most picturesque appearance. Mr. George Lafayette, who was the first that landed, was immediately surrounded by men, women, and children, who danced and leaped around him, touched his hands and clothes with an air of surprise and astonishment, that caused him almost as much embarrassment as pleasure. All at once, as if they wished to give their joy a grave and more solemn expression, they retired, and the men ranged themselves in front. He who appeared to be the chief of the tribe, gave, by an acute and prolonged cry, the signal for a kind of salute, which was repeated by the whole troop, which again advanced towards the shore. At the moment the general prepared to step on shore, some of the most athletic seized the small carriage we had with us, and insisted that the general should seat himself in it, not willing, as they observed, that their father should step on the wet ground. The general was thus carried in a kind of palanquin a certain distance from the shore, when the Indian whom I have spoken of as the chief, approached him and said in English, that all his brothers were happy in being visited by one who, in his affection for the inhabitants of America, had never made a distinction of blood or colour; that he was the honoured father of all the races of men dwelling on that continent. After the chief had finished his speech, the other Indians all advanced and placed their right arm on that of the general, in token of friendship. They would not permit him to leave the carriage, but dragging it along, they slowly ascended the hill they

had previously left, and on which one of their largest villages was situated.

During our progress I drew near to the Indian chief; I supposed that as he spoke English, that he, like Hamley, had been educated in the United States, and this I found to be the case. He was about 28 years of age, of a middle height; but the symmetry of his limbs was perfect, his physiognomy noble, his expression mournful; when he was not speaking he fixed his large black eyes, shaded by a heavy brow, steadfastly on the ground. When he told me that he was the eldest son of M'Intosh, I could not recall, without emotions of sorrow, the imprecations I had heard poured forth against this chief, on the preceding evening. This, in all probability, occasioned the air of depression and thoughtfulness I remarked in the young man; but what I afterwards learned in conversation with him explained it still more satisfactorily; his mind had been cultivated at the expense of his happiness. He appreciated the real situation of his nation, he saw it gradually becoming weaker, and foresaw its speedy destruction; he felt how much it was inferior to those which surrounded it, and was perfectly aware that it was impossible to overcome the wandering mode of life of his people. Their vicinity to civilization had been of no service to them; on the contrary, it had only been the means of introducing vices to which they had hitherto been strangers; he appeared to hope that the treaty which removed them to another and a desert country, would re-establish the ancient organization of the tribes, or at least preserve them in the state in which they now were.

When we arrived at the brow of the hill we perceived the glitter of helmets and swords; troops were drawn up in line along the road. These were not Indians; they were civilized men, sent by the state of Alabama to escort the general. The singular triumphal march to which he had been obliged to submit, now ceased. The Indians saw with some jealousy the American escort range themselves round the general; but we approached the village, and they ran on in order to precede us. We there found them on our arrival, with their garments thrown off, and prepared to afford us a sight of their warlike games.

We arrived on a large plain, around which were situated

about an hundred Indian huts, crowned by the rich verdure of the dense thickets ; one house was distinguished for its greater size, it was that of the American agent. He also kept an inn, and his wife superintended a school for the instruction of the Indian children. All the men were assembled, deprived of a part of their dress, their faces painted in a grotesque manner, and some wearing feathers in their hair, as a mark of distinction. They then announced to us that there would be a mock fight in honour of their white father. In fact, we soon perceived them separate into two divisions, and form two camps at the two extremities of the place, appoint two leaders, and make preparations for a combat. The cry that was uttered by each of these troops, and which we were told was the war-whoop of the Indian tribes, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary modulation of the human voice that can be conceived, and the effect it produced on the combatants of all ages, was still more so. The sport began. They explained the plan to us as follows : Each party endeavoured to drive a ball beyond a certain mark, and that which attained this object seven times would be the victor. We soon saw the combatants, each armed with two long rackets, rush after the light projectile, spring over each other in order to reach it, seize it in the air with incredible dexterity, and hurl it beyond the goal. When the ball was missed by a player, it fell to the ground, when every head was bent, a scene of great confusion ensued, and it was only after a severe struggle that the players succeeded in again throwing it up. In the midst of one of these long combats, whilst all the players were bent around the ball, an Indian detached himself from the group to some distance, returned on a run, sprung into the air, and after making several somersets, threw himself on the shoulders of the other players, leaped into the circle, seized the ball, and for the seventh time cast it beyond the mark. This player was McIntosh. The victory was obtained by the camp which he commanded ; he advanced to receive our congratulations under a shower of applause from a part of the Indian women, whilst the wives of the vanquished appeared to be endeavouring to console them.

The general, after this game, which much amused him, visited the interior of some of the huts, and the Indian



school. When we were ready to resume our journey, young M'Intosh re-appeared dressed as an European. He requested permission from the general to accompany him to Montgomery, where he wished to carry his brother, who was about ten years of age, in order to place him under the care of a citizen of Alabama, who had generously offered to educate him. The general consented to it, and we all set out for Uchee Creek, an American tavern, situated on the banks of a creek of that name. We arrived at that place at an early hour, and visited the neighbourhood, which was charming. Accompanied by M'Intosh, I soon made an acquaintance with the Indians of that district. We found them exercising with the bow. I wished to try my skill, M'Intosh likewise armed himself; he had the arm and eye of William Tell. Some proofs of his skill would scarcely be credited were I to relate them. I was most struck with the skill, with which, whilst lying on the ground, he discharged an arrow, which, striking the ground at a few paces distance, made a slight rebound, and flew to an immense distance. This is the mode employed by the Indians when they wish to discharge their arrows to a great distance without discovering themselves. I tried in vain to accomplish it; each time my arrow, instead of rebounding, buried itself in the earth.

We returned to Uchee Creek, and met an Indian chief on his way to the tavern. He was on horseback, with a woman behind him. When he arrived within a few paces of the house, he dismounted and went forward to salute the general, and to make some purchases. During this time his wife remained with the horse, brought it to him when he wished to depart, held the bridle and stirrup when he mounted, and afterwards sprung up behind him. I asked my companions if this woman was the wife of the Indian, and if such was the condition of the females of the nation. They replied, that in general they were treated as we had seen; in the agricultural districts they cultivated the ground, among the hunters they carried the game; the culinary utensils, and other necessary articles, and thus loaded could travel great distances, that even maternal cares scarcely exonerated them from these laborious occupations. However, in the excursions I afterwards made in the environs of Uchee Creek, the condition of the women did not appear

to me as unhappy as I was led to expect. I saw before almost all the houses the women sitting in circles, engaged in weaving baskets or mats, and amusing themselves with the games and exercises of the young men, and I never remarked any signs of harshness on the part of the men, or of servile dependence on the part of the women. I was so hospitably received in all the Indian cabins at Uchee Creek, and the country around was so beautiful, that it yet appears to me as the most beautiful spot I ever visited. From Uchee Creek to the cabin of Big Warrior, which is the nearest resting place, is about a day's journey, through a country inhabited by Indians. We several times met parties of them, and were greatly assisted by them in extricating ourselves from dangerous places in the road, for the storm had encumbered them, and swelled the streams. On one of these occasions, the general received a touching specimen of the veneration these sons of nature held him in. One of the torrents we were to cross had risen above the unnailed wooden bridge over which the carriage of the general was to proceed. What was our astonishment, on arriving at the stream, to find a score of Indians, who, holding each other by the hand, and breast deep in water, marked the situation of the bridge by a double line. We were well pleased at receiving this succour, and the only recompense demanded by the Indians, was to have the honour of taking the general by the hand, whom they called their white father, the envoy of the Great Spirit, the great warrior from France, who came in former days to free them from the tyranny of the English. M'Intosh, who interpreted their discourse to us, also expressed to them the general's and our own good wishes. The village of the Big Warrior is thus named on account of the extraordinary courage and great stature of the Indian who was its chief. We arrived there at a late hour; the chief had been dead some time; the council of old men had assembled to name his successor, and had designated one of his sons, remarkable for the same strength of body, as worthy of filling his place. This son had much conversation with Mr. George Lafayette; he expressed himself in English, and astonished us by the singular apathy with which he spoke of the death of his father. But the Indians have not the slightest idea of what we call grief and mourning. Death does not appear an evil to them,

either as regards the person who has quitted this life, or those who are thus separated from him. The son of Big Warrior only appeared to regret that the death of his father, which had occurred a short time before, did not permit him to dispose of his inheritance, and to present one of the dresses of this celebrated chief to the general.

We only passed one night with the family of Big Warrior; the next day we arrived at Line Creek, that is to say, at the frontier of the Indian country. We were received there by an American who had married the daughter of a Creek chief, and had adopted the Indian mode of life. He was a Captain Lewis, formerly in the army of the United States; his house was commodious, and was furnished with elegance for an Indian cabin. Captain Lewis, who is distinguished for his knowledge and character, appeared to us to exercise great influence over the Indians; he had assembled a great number, well armed and mounted, to act as an escort to the general. One of the neighbouring chiefs came at the head of a deputation to compliment the general. His discourse, which appeared studied, was rather long, and was translated to us by an interpreter. He commenced by high eulogiums on the skill and courage the general had formerly displayed against the English; the most brilliant events of that war was recalled and recounted in a poetical and somewhat pompous strain. He terminated somewhat in these words: "Father, we had long since heard that you had returned to visit our forests and our cabins; you, whom the Great Spirit formerly sent over the great lake to destroy those enemies of man, the English, clothed in bloody raiment. Even the youngest amongst us will say to their descendants, that they have touched your hand and seen your figure, they will also behold you, for you are protected by the Great Spirit from the ravages of age—you may again defend us if we are attacked."

The general replied, through the interpreter, to these compliments of the Indians; he again counselled them to be prudent and temperate; recommended their living in harmony with the Americans, and to always consider them as their friends and brothers; he told them that he should always think of them, and would pray for the welfare of their families and the glory of their warriors. We now directed our course to the stream which separates the

Creek country from the state of Alabama. The Indians under Captain Lewis, mounted on small horses as light and nimble as deer, some armed with bows and arrows, and others with tomahawks, followed us in a long file, the rear of which was hidden in the darkness of the forest. On arriving at the brink of the stream, they turned back, uttering loud cries; some of the chiefs, however, bid us a final adieu as we left their territory.

We passed the night on the banks of Line Creek, in a small village of the same name, almost entirely inhabited by persons whom the love of gain had assembled from all parts of the globe, in the midst of these deserts, to turn to their own profit the simplicity and above all the new wants of the unfortunate natives. These avaricious wretches, who without scruple poison the tribes with intoxicating liquors, and afterwards ruin them by duplicity and overreaching, are the most cruel and dangerous enemies of the Indian nations, whom, at the same time, they accuse of being robbers, idlers, and drunkards. If the limits to which I had determined to restrain my narrative had not already been overstepped, I could easily show, that these vices with which they reproach the children of the forest, are the result of the approach of civilization, and also in how many instances they are surpassed by the whites in cruelty and want of faith. I will content myself with citing but two facts from the thousands, which are an eternal stigma on men so proud of the whiteness of their skin, and who call themselves civilized.

A short time since, a trader, living in the state of Alabama, went into the Creek country for the purposes of his business. Having met with one of the chiefs of the nation, he bargained with him for peltries; but, as the conditions he proposed were all disadvantageous to the Indian, to induce him the more readily to consent to them, he intoxicated him with whiskey. After the bargain was concluded, they set out together for the nearest village. On the way, the Indian reflected on what he had done, and perceived that he had been duped; he wished to enter into some other arrangement with the trader, but the discussion soon caused a violent quarrel, which ended by the Indian striking his adversary so violent a blow with his tomahawk, as to stretch him dead at his feet. Twenty-four hours after-

wards, on the first complaint of the whites, the murderer was arrested by his own tribe, who, after having assembled their great council, pronounced him guilty of a base assassination, in thus having killed a white who was without arms or means of defence. They then conducted him to the banks of Line Creek, where they had requested the whites to assemble to witness the justice they rendered them, and shot him in their presence.

The evening of our arrival at Line Creek, I went into a store to make some purchases, and whilst there, an Indian entered and asked for twelve and a half cents worth of whiskey. The owner of the shop received the money, and told him to wait a moment, as the concourse of buyers was very great. The Indian waited patiently for a quarter of an hour, after which he demanded his whiskey. The trader appeared astonished, and told him if he wanted whiskey he must first pay him for it. "I gave you twelve and a half cents a few moments since," said the Indian. The poor wretch had scarcely pronounced these words, when the trader sprung forward, seized him by the ears, and, assisted by one of his men, brutally turned him out of the shop. I saw him give the money, and was convinced of the honesty of the one and the rascality of the other. I felt strongly indignant, and notwithstanding the delicacy of my situation, I would have stepped forward to interfere, but the whole scene passed so rapidly that I hardly had time to say a few words. I went out to see what the Indian would do. I found him a few steps from the house, where he had been checked by his melancholy emotions. An instant afterwards, he crossed his arms on his breast, and hurried towards his own country with rapid strides. When he arrived on the margin of the stream, he plunged in and crossed it without appearing to perceive that the water reached above his knees. On attaining the other side, he stopped, turned round, and elevating his eyes towards heaven, he extended his hand towards the territory of the whites, in a menacing manner, and uttered some energetic exclamations in his own language. Doubtless, at that moment he invoked the vengeance of heaven on his oppressors; a vengeance that would have been just, but his prayer was in vain. Poor Indians! you are pillaged, beaten, poisoned or excited by intoxicating

liquors, and then you are termed savages! Washington said, "Whenever I have been called upon to decide between an Indian and a white man, I have always found that the white had been the aggressor." Washington was right.

The conduct of the American government is of an entirely different character, as regards the Indian tribes. It not only protects them against individual persecution, and sees that the treaties made with them by the neighbouring states are not disadvantageous to them, and are faithfully adhered to, but it also provides for their wants with a paternal solicitude. It is not a rare circumstance for congress to vote money and supplies to those tribes, whom a deficient harvest or unforeseen calamity have exposed to famine.

We quitted Line Creek on the 3d of April, and the same day General Lafayette was received at Montgomery, by the inhabitants of that village, and by the governor of the state of Alabama, who had come from Cahawba with all his staff and a large concourse of citizens, who had assembled from great distances to accompany him. We passed the next day at Montgomery, and left it on the night of the 4th and 5th, after a ball, at which we had the pleasure of seeing Chilli M'Intosh dance with several beautiful women, who certainly had little idea that they were dancing with a savage. The parting of M'Intosh with the general was a melancholy one. He appeared overwhelmed with sinister presentiments. After having quitted the general and his son, he met me in the courtyard; he stopped, placed my right arm on his, and elevating his left hand towards heaven, "Farewell," said he, "always accompany our father and watch over him. I will pray to the Great Spirit also to watch over him, and give him a speedy and safe return to his children in France. His children are our brothers; he is our father. I hope that he will not forget us." His voice was affected, his countenance sad, and the rays of the moon falling obliquely on his dark visage, gave a solemnity to his farewell with which I was deeply moved. I wished to reply to him, but he quitted me precipitately and disappeared.

At two o'clock in the morning, we embarked on the Alabama, on board the steamboat Anderson, which had

been richly and commodiously prepared for the general, and provided with a band of musicians sent from New Orleans. All the ladies of Montgomery accompanied us on board, where we took leave of them; and the moment the reports of the artillery announced our departure, immense fires were lighted on the shore. Our voyage as far as the Tombigbee was delicious. It is difficult to imagine any thing more romantic than the elevated, gravelly, and oftentimes wooded shores of the Alabama. During the three days we were on it, the echoes repeated the patriotic airs executed by our Louisiana musicians. We stopped one day at Cahawba, where the officers of government of the state of Alabama had, in concert with the citizens, prepared entertainments for General Lafayette, as remarkable for their elegance and good taste, as touching by their cordiality and the feelings of which they were the expression. Among the guests with whom we sat down to dinner, we found some countrymen whom political events had driven from France. They mentioned to us, that they had formed part of the colony at Champ D'Asile. They now lived in a small town they had founded in Alabama, to which they had given the name Gallopolis. I should judge that they were not in a state of great prosperity. I believe their European prejudices, and their inexperience in commerce and agriculture, will prevent them from being formidable rivals of the Americans for a length of time.

Cahawba, the seat of government of Alabama, is a flourishing town, whose population, although as yet small, promises to increase rapidly, from its admirable situation at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama.

The state of Alabama, which, like Mississippi, was formerly part of Georgia, and with which its early history is intimately connected, received a territorial governor from congress in 1817, and was admitted into the federation as an independent state in 1816. Its population, which in 1810 was only 10,000, had risen to 67,000 in 1817, and is at present 128,000. In this estimate of the population I do not include the Indian tribes of Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, residing in the east and west of the state.

From Cahawba we descended the river to Claiborne, a small fort on the Alabama. The general was induced by

the intreaties of the inhabitants to remain a few hours, which were passed in the midst of the most touching demonstrations of friendship. Mr. Dellet, who had been appointed by his fellow citizens to express their sentiments, acquitted himself with an eloquence we were astonished to meet in a spot, which, but a short time before, only resounded with the savage cry of the Indian hunter.

A little below Claiborne, I remarked that the banks of the Alabama were much lower; when we had passed the mouth of the Tombigbee, we found ourselves in the middle of low marshy meadows, but apparently very fertile. Finally, we arrived on the 7th of April, in Mobile bay, at the bottom of which is situated a city of the same name.

The distance we had traversed in three days, and which was more than three hundred miles, on account of the windings of the river, formerly required a month or six weeks in ascending, and half the time in descending. This shows what a prodigious revolution the application of steam to navigation will effect in the commercial relations of a country.

The city of Mobile, which is the oldest establishment in the state, is very advantageously situated for commerce, on a beautiful plain, elevated more than twenty feet above the general level of the water. This town had languished for a long time, under the despotism of the Spanish inquisition, and the wretched administration of the French government. It has often been devastated by the yellow fever. At present, all its wounds are healed; a few years of liberty have sufficed to render it prosperous. When the Americans took possession, it did not contain more than two hundred houses; at present, its population is more than 1800 souls. Formerly it scarcely exported four hundred bales of cotton; this year it has despatched upwards of sixty thousand.

The arrival of the steam boat in the bay, was announced by discharges of artillery from Fort Conde; and when we reached the wharf at Mobile, the general found the committee of the corporation and all the population assembled to receive him. He was conducted to the centre of the town under a triumphal arch, the four corners of which were adorned with the flags of Mexico, the republics of South America and Greece. In the centre was that of the



United States. Here he was complimented by Mr. Garrow in the name of the city, and in presence of the municipal body. He was then led to an immense hall, expressly constructed for his reception. He there found all the ladies, to whom he was presented by the governor; after which Mr. Webb addressed him in the name of the state. In his speech, the orator retraced with much truth, the debased situation into which despotism and ignorance had formerly plunged the city of Mobile, and the rich territory that surrounded it; he then painted the rapid and increasing progress that liberty and republican institutions had produced in the arts, in industry and commerce, which had now rendered these very spots rich and prosperous; he attributed this happy change to the glorious and triumphant exertions of the revolutionary patriots, whose courage and constancy had been sustained by the noble example of Lafayette; and he terminated by expressing his regret that the efforts of the French patriots had not resulted in consequences equally beneficial to their country.

In returning his thanks to the orator and the citizens of Alabama, the general took a rapid survey of the struggles for liberty in which he had borne so important a part, and concluded by expressing his deep conviction of the necessity of the closest and most intimate union among the states.

The inhabitants of Mobile, hoping that the general would pass some days with them, had made great preparations for entertainments to him, but the most part were rendered useless. Limited in his time, he was obliged to yield to the solicitations of the deputation from New Orleans, who pressed him to depart the next morning. Nevertheless he accepted a public dinner, a ball and a masonic celebration; after which we went on board the vessel which was to take him to New Orleans, to obtain a few hours of that repose, which a day filled with so many pleasant emotions had rendered absolutely necessary.

## CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Mobile—Gulf of Mexico—Passage of the Balize—Landing at the entrenchments near New Orleans—Entrance into the city—Entertainments and Public Ceremonies—Battle of New Orleans.

THE vessel on board of which we had retired, on leaving the ball, was the Natchez, an excellent and handsome steam boat, sent by the city of New Orleans to transport the general from Mobile to the shores of the Mississippi. An experienced captain, Mr. Davis, commanded her; she had on board the Louisiana deputation, at the head of which was Mr. Duplantier, an old friend and companion in arms of the general. At the break of day, cannon were heard, at which signal we weighed anchor. The general stationed on the deck, received the farewell of the citizens who pressed in crowds to the shore, and testified their sorrow by expressive gestures and a gloomy silence. In half an hour, the city of Mobile disappeared from the horizon, which enlarged around us, and in a short time the smoke of the artillery, tinged by the rays of the rising sun, also became invisible. When night returned, it found us in the Gulf of Mexico.

To reach New Orleans, we might choose between two routes; either behind Dauphin, Horn, Dog, Ship, or Cat islands, traversing lakes Borgne and Portchartrain, and disembarking a few miles in the rear of the city, or else boldly cross the gulf to the mouth of the Mississippi, pass the Balize and ascend the river. Our captain, confident of the solidity of his vessel, decided on the latter plan, which was not unattended with danger, but it gained us a whole day. We soon repented of his determination. A storm arose in a short time. The motion of the vessel become so disagreeable that we were obliged to lie down to avoid the sea sickness which attacked almost all of us. During the night, the wind greatly augmented, and the waves became so high, that several of them entering the ports, inundated the cabin and our beds. The noise of the wind,

waves, and engine, with the creaking of the vessel, were so horrible, that we expected to founder every moment. At break of day I ascended to the deck, from whence I beheld the most imposing and awful spectacle; we arrived at the Balize. We could not avoid feeling a strong emotion at the sight of this magnificent river, whose rapid stream and prodigious breadth announced rather a conqueror than a tributary of the ocean. Its waves repelling, to a great distance, those of the sea, heaped on the low islands at its mouth, thousands of immense trunks of trees, which, after having flourished for ages under the polar circle, were now decaying under the burning sky of Mexico, and feeding a new vegetation with their remains. Enormous alligators of a sinister appearance and sluggish gait, attached to the floating trunks of trees, menaced the navigator, and seemed to dispute the entrance of the river with him. For a long time after we had entered the Mississippi we thought ourselves in another sea, so distant are its shores, and so tumultuous are its waves. It was not until after some hours that it became sufficiently narrow for us to perceive its muddy banks, or that the stream diminished in swiftness.

In the morning we passed fort Plaquemine, from which we were saluted with thirteen guns, and night again surprised us before we could perceive the walls of New Orleans. No variety in the vegetation is perceptible for sixty miles from the Balize. Hitherto nothing was to be seen but cypresses covered with the sombre tillandsia, called by the natives of the country, Spanish beard. This parasitic plant, which forms a long and dense drapery on the trees, has a more melancholy appearance, from its only growing in countries subject to the yellow fever. It is said to afford food to those animals which seek a shelter in the woods during the winter. The inhabitants of Louisiana employ it to stuff mattresses and cushions; for these purposes, after having washed it in an alkaline solution, they beat it till the husk is detached; when it is dry it has the appearance of long black hair. It is so durable as to be considered incorruptible. It is employed with success in building, mixed with mortar or tenacious earth.

About midnight, I went on deck for a short time; the night was dark, the sky charged with thick clouds, and the air filled with a hoarse noise. The batteries at New Or-

leans were then firing a salute of a hundred guns, to announce that the day on which the guest of the nation would arrive, was commencing.

Next morning we awoke near those famous lines where twelve thousand picked English troops were overthrown by a few hundred men, the half of whom bore arms for the first time. Astonished at the cries of *Vive la liberté, vive l'ami de l'Amerique! vive Lafayette!* in the French language, we hastened on deck. What was our surprise on seeing the shore covered with French uniforms! For an instant we believed that we were transported back to the bosom of our country, once more freed, and our hearts beat with joy. General Lafayette disembarked in the midst of the thunder of artillery, and the acclamations of an immense multitude, who, regardless of the badness of the weather and the distance from the town, crowded the levee. He was received by a numerous escort of cavalry, and by the twelve marshals who had been appointed to direct the procession. Leaning on the arm of his ancient companion in arms, Mr. Duplantier, and of General Villeré, he proceeded to the house of Montgomery, which had been Jackson's head quarters on the day when he covered himself with glory by his admirable defence of his lines. The governor of the state there waited for him, and received him in the name of the people of Louisiana.

The speech of the governor, depicting Frenchmen enjoying a liberty which is still considered in France as problematical, made a deep impression on the general, and he replied to it with much emotion.

At the conclusion of his reply, every one that could force an entrance into the house were presented to him in turn. There were a great number of the veterans of the revolution, and among others, Colonel Bruian-Bruin, who had served at the siege of Quebec, where the brave General Montgomery perished; Judge Gerrard, who fought at Yorktown, Colonel Grenier, who, after having gloriously assisted in the three revolutions of America, France, and Colombia, still preserved at seventy years of age, all the courage and fire of youth. A great number of ladies also came down to meet the general, and offered him their congratulations through Mr. Marigny, on his safe arrival in Louisiana. After all the presentations had been gone

through, the procession was formed, and, notwithstanding the violence of the rain, we took up the line of march to the city. We advanced but slowly, from the denseness of the crowd, which, as we approached the city, blocked up both the road and the levee. When we arrived at the outskirts of the town we met with bodies of troops drawn up in two lines, through which we passed to the sound of martial music. Notwithstanding the badness of the weather, the general proceeded along these lines on foot, and before he again entered the carriage returned his thanks to the commanding officers. The procession again moved on, augmented by the troops falling into the rear, and, as it advanced, the crowd became still greater in spite of the continuance of the storm. This immense concourse of people, the view of the triple row of houses adorned with hangings, bordering the river side, the sound of the artillery and bells, and the prolonged acclamations of the whole population, produced a sensation which it is difficult to describe; at last, in the midst of these testimonies of strong affection, the general arrived at the barrier of the public square, and was conducted by the committee of arrangement under a triumphal arch of admirable architecture and excellent design. This monument was sixty feet in height, forty of which were below the springing of the arch, by fifty-eight in breadth; the arcade was twenty feet wide, and twenty-five long; it rested on a socle imitating Sera-veza marble; the base, forming a pedestal of green Italian marble, was decorated with colossal statues of Justice and Liberty. This allegorical basement supported an arch of the doric order, adorned with four coupled columns on each face. The key-stones were composed of twenty-four stones, each decorated with a gilt star, united by a fillet, on which was engraved the word, *Constitution*, thus representing the twenty-four states connected by one common tie. The pediment, in imitation of yellow Verona marble, supported two figures of Fame with trumpets, and carrying banners entwined with laurel, having on them the names of Lafayette and Washington; the whole was surmounted by the national eagle. The upper socle supported an entablature of seven feet, on which was inscribed, in English and French, "A grateful republic dedicates this monument to Lafayette." On the top of the monument was a group representing

Wisdom resting her hand on a bust of the immortal Franklin, and the four angles were decorated with rich national trophies. The names of the signers of the declaration of independence, and those of officers who had distinguished themselves during the war of the revolution, were inscribed on various parts of the arch. This beautiful edifice, designed by Mr. Pilié, and executed by Mr. Fogliardi, presented a striking appearance, and the reliefs had an admirable effect.

Under this monument the general was received by the municipal body, at the head of whom was the mayor, Mr. Roffignac, who addressed him in the name of the citizens of New Orleans.

In expressing his thanks to Mr. Roffignac, the general did not permit such an occasion to escape him, of paying a tribute of esteem to the memory of the father of this worthy magistrate. "On my entrance into this capital," said he, "I feel penetrated with gratitude for the reception I have met with from the people of New Orleans and its worthy mayor, whose name recalls to a cotemporary of his father's, recollections of courage and loyalty." Mr. Roffignac appeared extremely affected by this testimony of the general's to the exalted character of his father, and the tears that escaped from his eyes proved the depth of his feelings.

After leaving the triumphal arch, the general was conducted, amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd, to the city hall, where he was complimented by Mr. Prieur in the name of the city council; from here we went to the hotel of the municipality, where our quarters had been prepared, and which the people of New Orleans designated by the name of the "Lafayette house." After taking a few moments of repose, the general went out on a balcony to review the troops. All the detachments that passed were remarkable for the elegance of their uniform, and the exactness of their discipline. The grenadiers, the voltigeurs, Union guards, chasseurs, New Orleans guards, Lafayette guards, each in turn attracted the attention of the general. But when, in the rear of the riflemen, whose name recalls so many recollections of gallantry, he perceived a file of a hundred Choctaws, marching, according to the Indian custom, in a single line, he was much grati-

fied to see, that, by a delicate attention, they had shown him that his name was familiar to the warriors of the most distant nations, and that they had admitted among their troops, these brave Indians, who had been the allies of the Americans in the Seminole war, and, who, for nearly a month past, had been encamped near the city, in order to see the "great warrior," "the brother of their great father Washington."

The next day, the general received the visits of the vice president of the house of representatives, and of those members of the legislature who were then in the capital, and immediately afterwards the gentlemen of the bar, headed by Mr. Derbigny, who had been chosen their orator, were presented to him. In a discourse filled with noble thoughts, and pronounced with a touching eloquence, Mr. Derbigny eulogised with delicacy and address, that rectitude of mind, and firmness of character, which, during political tempests, had always guided Lafayette in the path of justice, and preserved him from participating in the excesses of party.

In his reply, the general, carefully avoiding any allusion to the eulogies that had been heaped upon him, confined himself to the consideration of the general interests of Louisiana, and the individual exertions of those who complimented him; he felicitated the citizens of that state, after having been governed by the criminal laws of France and Spain, that they gradually ameliorated them, and were still occupied in perfecting this part of their code, to such a degree, that it might even serve as a guide to the rest of the United States, whose criminal laws are already so superior to those of every other people.

Being strongly urged to visit both the French and American theatres on the same evening, the general decided by lot which he would attend the first; chance was in favour of the American. We went there at seven o'clock, and was received with an enthusiasm that cannot be described; they gave an appropriate piece, of which neither he nor the audience could appreciate the merit, as every eye was attracted by the hero of York-town, who completely withdrew all attention from the representation of the Prisoner of Olmutz. He afterwards went to the French theatre, where they were impatiently expecting his

appearance. When he entered, the violence of the plaudits, and the repeated cries of "*Vive Lafayette*," suspended the representation. Every body rose; it was like Themistocles appearing at the Olympic games: at last, calm being re-established, the general took his seat in the box that had been prepared for him, and saw with pleasure the last act of that charming comedy, *L'Ecole des Vieillards*, which seemed to me to be as much relished by my former countrymen, the Americans of Louisiana, as by the inhabitants of Paris. Before he retired, the general heard an ode which was performed to his honour, all the allusions of which were applauded with enthusiasm.

In the course of Tuesday morning, a deputation of the Spanish emigrants and refugees presented themselves to compliment the general; and, above all, to testify their gratitude for the manner in which he opposed, in the Chamber of Deputies in France, the invasion of Spain, and the destruction of the liberal constitution.

The general, whose principles had led him to oppose, with all his energy, a measure disapproved of by France—a measure which had produced such disastrous results to Spain, and the heroic victims of which were now before him, was deeply affected by the expressions of gratitude now showered upon him; and, in an eloquent and impressive reply, paid his tribute of esteem, admiration, and regret, to the memory of the unfortunate Riego; he had already, on more than one occasion, openly expressed his opinion on the unhappy death of that generous martyr to liberty, and the whole American nation had partaken of the same feelings, for the consistent and courageous defender of the revolution in the peninsula.

On the following day, many other deputations waited on General Lafayette, and expressed to him their attachment, and devotion to his principles. Among them were those of the militia staff, of the medical society, of the clergy, and of the free blacks, who, in 1815, courageously assisted in the defence of the city; and our two last evenings were occupied, the one by a public ball, and the other by a masonic dinner. I will not attempt to describe these entertainments, which, from the beauty, elegance, and amiability of the ladies, the enthusiasm and frank cordiality of the citizens, the sedulous and delicate attentions of



the magistrates, the richness and profusion of the details, equalled any thing we had ever met with.

Nevertheless, in the midst of the pleasures thus afforded him by the Louisianians, the general experienced moments of inquietude and sorrow. Sinister rumours reached him; he was told of a serious dispute between the staff and the officers of the militia, on the subject of certain prerogatives of the legion, denied by one, and insisted on by the others with equal warmth, which might produce bloody results after the departure of him whose presence was a curb even on the most headstrong. In so serious an affair he did not hesitate on using all his influence to reconcile citizens, whom a moment of error and a false point of honour had temporarily divided; he, therefore, invited all the officers of the different corps to meet at his house. When they arrived, he told them that they were, doubtless, aware of his reasons in thus bringing them together; that he was informed of what had passed, and the evil consequences that would ensue; he observed, that he felt that he was the cause, however unwillingly, and could he have foreseen such unpleasant circumstances, he should have written to decline their invitation. He begged them to consider the injurious reports it would occasion as regarded all parties, and concluded by begging that they would accept of him as a mediator.

One of the superior officers immediately advanced, and with an honourable frankness said to him, "General, I place my honour in your hands, and now agree to whatever you may dictate." The eldest of the complainants then observed, "General, I also confide my honour, and that of my comrades, who freely agree with me, in your keeping." The general took a hand of each of these brave men, and having united them, had the satisfaction of seeing the happiest concord established between men, who an instant before had renounced the pleasing title of brothers in arms. This interesting scene had many witnesses, who soon promulgated the details. The news of it was received with astonishing enthusiasm, as it was a sincere reconciliation between all that Louisiana cherished and revered.

General Lafayette had intended to visit the scene of the battle of the 8th of January, but the continuance of stormy weather, and the necessity for his complying in two or three days to all the kind invitations that were heaped upon

him, obliged him to relinquish the idea. A colonel of the staff, who witnessed the chagrin this sacrifice occasioned me, had the goodness to propose that I should accompany him, whilst the general was paying some private visits. I accepted his invitation with eagerness, and we immediately set out in a carriage he sent for. On the way he informed me that he was born in France; that placed, from his birth, in the privileged class of society, he had, from his infancy, been brought up in the aristocratic prejudices of his caste; and that, although very young at the epoch of the French revolution, he believed it his duty to defend the rights of a few against the natural and sacred rights of the many, and that he had joined the Vendéans. "Then," said he, "I believed in the legitimacy of an absolute monarchy, and in the hereditary succession of virtue, with all the fervour of ignorance, and I at first fought for them, with all the courage and devotion of fanaticism; but the campaign had not terminated before my reason, bursting the bonds with which education had loaded it, taught me, that instead of combating, as I had believed, for justice and truth, I was merely the instrument of a few men, determined to sacrifice every thing, even their country, to their own private interests, and I sheathed my sword, which I ought never to have drawn in so unjust, so absurd a cause." He went on to say, that he would have re-entered France, but was deterred by the scenes of bloodshed and confusion then so prevalent in that country. He, therefore, sought in other lands that happiness he was denied at home. After traversing all Europe, and every where finding the same criminal alliance of royalty, nobility, and clergy, against the welfare and interests of the people, he finally settled in the United States. He added, "I had only lived at New Orleans a short time, when, in 1815, the inveterate enemies of the liberty of others in both hemispheres presented themselves before that city. I flew to arms, happy in finding an occasion of proving my gratitude to my new country, and my sincere attachment to the principles which governed it, and I am happy in being able to say, that my presence was not wholly useless on the field of battle we are about to visit."

My companion had scarcely uttered these words, when our carriage stopped, and we stepped out near the extreme

right of the lines. Before examining them, the colonel had the goodness to explain to me the operations that preceded and brought on the battle of the 8th. I understood, from these details, how difficult it had been for General Jackson, with the handful of men he had at his disposition, to oppose the landing and rapid progress of an army of 15,000 men, or quadruple his own.

The position chosen by the American general to wait for reinforcements, and to arrest the advance of so formidable an enemy, appeared to me to be very judicious. He threw up entrenchments about five miles below the city, along an old canal, the left of which was lost in the depths of a swampy wood, whilst the right rested on the river. The total length of this line was about eight hundred toises, but as three hundred toises of the left were unassailable, the enemy was confined in his attack to a front of about five hundred toises, and obliged to advance in full view over a perfectly level plain. Nevertheless, whether from want of time, or want of reflection, General Jackson committed two serious errors; the first was in erecting his entrenchment in a straight line, and at right angles to the river, so that he not only deprived himself of the advantage of cross fires, but he also exposed himself, if the English, more skilful or fortunate, had sent a few vessels up the river in the rear of his lines; he exposed himself, I say, to the danger of having had his whole line enfiladed by the enemy's artillery. The other fault was, erecting his second line at so great a distance from the first, that if this had been forced, he would never have been enabled to have gained the other, and his troops would have been cut to pieces in the interval. These two faults would have sufficed, as may readily be supposed, to compromit the safety of an army more numerous and better disciplined than that of General Jackson; but the destiny of American liberty, or rather the supernatural courage of the citizens, who, on that day, fought for the preservation of their independence, and the safety of their families, with the inflexible firmness of Jackson himself, shaded with the laurels of a most brilliant victory those faults which would have destroyed a less patriotic army.

I will record the details, which were given me with great clearness and precision, of all the operations that pre-

ceded that glorious day. I refer those who wish to study them to the excellent memoir of Mr. Lacarriere Latour, and to the equally distinguished accounts of Messrs. Brackenridge and Mac Fee ; but I cannot resist the desire of now retracing some of the most brilliant acts which saved Louisiana, and immortalized its defenders.

Notwithstanding all his exertions, General Jackson was unable to collect for the defence of his entrenchments more than 3,200 men, and fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibers, pressed for time, he had been obliged to form the upper part of his works with bales of cotton, brought down from the city. He remained twenty-four hours in this position, expecting an attack every instant, when, on the 8th of January, at break of day, he perceived the English army, 12,000 strong, advancing on him in three columns, the most formidable of which menaced that part of his left wing, defended by the Tennessee and Kentucky militia. Each soldier, besides his arms, carried fascines or a scaling ladder, and marched in the most profound silence. The Americans permitted them to advance within half cannon shot, and then opened on them a terrible fire of artillery, to which the English replied by three cheers, and the flight of some Congreve rockets, and then hurried their march, closing their ranks as they were mowed down by the shot. This coolness and determination, which seemed as if it would ensure them a speedy victory, did not last long. The moment they arrived within musket shot, the Tennesseans and Kentuckians commenced a fire of small arms, which instantly broke their columns, and forced them to seek for shelter behind some thickets, which covered their right. It is true, that infantry never kept up so constant and destructive a fire, as that of these intrepid American militia. The men, arranged six deep, loaded the arms, and rapidly passed them to the front rank, composed of able marksmen, each of whose balls carried certain death to the enemy.

Whilst the English officers, with a courage worthy of a better cause and of a happier destiny, endeavoured to rally their scattered troops, to lead them to a fresh assault, an American artilleryman, in the battery commanded by Lieutenant Spotts, perceived in the plain, a group of officers, agitated and dismayed, carrying off some one with some difficulty. "It is perhaps the

commander-in-chief and only wounded," exclaimed he, "he must not escape so." He levelled his piece against them, fired, and Pakenham the English commander was killed in the arms of his friends. The desire for revenge now rallied the English; officers and soldiers pressed forward in a new column, led on with fury by Kean and Gibbs, the successors of Pakenham. But the fire of the Americans redoubled in intensity and precision; Kean and Gibbs successively fell, the one mortally, the other dangerously wounded, and the column again broken, disappeared, leaving only its wreck on the plain.

Whilst in the centre of the line the American troops were thus crushing their adversaries, without the loss of a single man, fortune seemed as if she wished to try them on the right by a reverse. Twelve hundred English, led by a daring chief, rapidly advanced along the river, and unexpectedly fell on a small redoubt, defended by a company of riflemen and one of the 7th regiment. The Americans, surprised at this point, at first retired in some disorder. General Jackson, whose vigilant eye let nothing escape, at this decisive moment perceived an English officer mounted on the entrenchments, brandishing in one hand his sabre, and with the other assisting his soldiers to scale the rampart. Jackson hastened to the spot, met the runaways, arrested their flight, and, in a terrible voice, demanded of their commander who had given him orders to retreat. "The enemy has forced our entrenchments," replied the captain. "Well," answered Jackson in a severe voice, "go back and with your bayonets force them out." This order was immediately executed. In an instant the English, who at first thought themselves victors, fell under the blows of the Americans. Among the slain, was the intrepid Colonel Rennie, an ancient French emigrant who had entered the English service; the same that had been seen so boldly surmounting the rampart, aiding and encouraging his soldiers in the assault.

This battle, which decided the fate of New Orleans, and perhaps even of Louisiana, only lasted three hours, and cost the Americans but seven men killed and six wounded, whilst the English left near three thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon on the field. General Lambert, the only one of the English generals in a state to command,

ordered a retreat, and hastened to seek shelter for himself and the wreck of his army, on board Admiral Cochran's fleet, who, the evening before, had said with his accustomed boasting, that if he were ordered to attack the American lines, he would carry them in less than half an hour, with two thousand sailors, sabre in hand.

Thus, a small army, composed of citizens hastily collected, and commanded by a general whose military career had just commenced, beheld an English army, which passed for one of the bravest and most experienced in Europe, and which boasted it had expelled the French from Spain, fall before its patriotic efforts.

When I returned to the city, I found General Lafayette surrounded by numbers of ladies and citizens of all ranks, who, knowing that he would leave them the next morning, mournfully came to bid him farewell, and once more to take him by the hand. In the crowd I remarked some ecclesiastics, and among them a capuchin, whose dress being new to me had attracted my attention on the day of our arrival. The account I heard of him interested me strongly, and may perhaps be equally so to my readers.

Father Anthony, for such is his name, is a venerable capuchin friar of the order of St. Francis, and has resided in Louisiana for many years. Animated by an ardent and sincere piety, Father Anthony prays in silence for all the world without asking prayers of any one. Placed in the midst of a population composed of different sects, he does not think it right to trouble their consciences by endeavours to gain proselytes. Sometimes, as being a capuchin, Father Anthony asks alms, but it is only when he has some good action in view, and his slender funds, exhausted by his constant charity, deny him the power of doing it himself. Every year, when the yellow fever, in stretching its murderous hand over New Orleans, drives the terrified inhabitants to the country, to seek an asylum against disease and death, the virtue of Father Anthony shows itself in all its brilliancy and force. During this time of dread and grief, how many unhappy wretches, abandoned by their friends or even by their relations, have owed their recovery and life to his exertions, his care, his piety. Of all those he has saved, (and there are many,) there is not one who can say, "before he lavished his care on me, did

he ask of what religion I was." Liberty and charity, such is the moral code of Father Anthony; hence he is not in favour with the bishop. When he came to visit the general, he was dressed, according to the custom of his order, in a long brown robe, tied about his middle with a thick cord. The moment he perceived him, he threw himself into his arms, exclaiming, "O my son, I have found favour before the Lord, since he has thus permitted me to see and hear the worthiest apostle of liberty!" He then conversed a few moments with him in a tone of the most tender affection, complimented him on the glorious and well-merited reception he had met with from the Americans, and modestly retired into a corner of the room, apart from the crowd. I took advantage of this, to approach and salute him. How deeply was I touched by his conversation!—what sweetness! what modesty! and at the same time what enthusiasm! Every time that he spoke of liberty his eyes sparkled with a sacred light, and his looks were fastened on him he termed his hero, on Lafayette. "How happy must he be," said he, "how pure is the source of all his glory! with what transport he must contemplate the result of his labours and sacrifices! Twelve millions of men happy and free through him! Yes! this man is certainly beloved by God. He has done so much good to others." He came again to see us the morning before our departure. When the crowd had quitted the room, and he was left alone with the general, he hastened to him, and pressing him with transport to his bosom, "Adieu, my son," cried he, "adieu, best beloved general! Adieu! may the Lord attend you, and after the termination of your glorious journey, conduct you to the bosom of your beloved family, to enjoy in peace the recollection of your good actions and of the friendship of the American people. O, my son, perhaps you are still reserved for new labours! Perhaps the Lord may make you the instrument of freeing other nations. Then, my son, think of poor Spain! Do not abandon my dear country, my unhappy country!" The tears flowing from his eyes, moistened his long beard, whitened by age; his voice was interrupted by sobs; and the venerable old man, leaning his forehead on the shoulder of Lafayette, remained in

this attitude a few moments, still murmuring, "My son, my dear son, do something for my unhappy country." It was not without deep emotion that the general tore himself from the arms of this pious patriot, who, before he retired, also bestowed his benediction on Mr. George Lafayette.

But the 15th being fixed for our departure, from the dawn of day the avenues to the general's apartment were filled with even a greater assemblage than that of the evening before. There were present a great number of ladies, and particularly crowds of children brought by their parents, that they might contemplate the features of the benefactor of the country, the friend of the great Washington. The general left the house on foot. Cries of *Vive Lafayette* were heard on every side. In crossing the parade ground, on which were several companies of the legion and troops of the line, lining the avenues, he expressed his gratitude to all the officers whom he met; he again testified to Mr. Gally, the captain of artillery, how much he appreciated the merit of the fine corps he commanded; and, as he understood that this officer intended going to France in a short time, he begged him, in the most pressing manner, to have the goodness to carry news of him to his family at La Grange. He got into a carriage at the extremity of the parade ground, to proceed to the place of embarkation, where the steamboat that was to take him to Baton-Rouge now waited for him. The levee was crowded by an innumerable concourse of people. The balconies, roofs of the houses, all the shipping and steamboats which were near this spot, were filled with spectators; and, when he went on board, he was saluted by a prolonged acclamation, but it was not repeated, and more than ten thousand persons remained in a state of profound silence, until the Natchez was out of sight. The artillery only was heard at intervals, giving a solemnity to this separation that was profound and universal.

The governor and his staff, the mayor and municipal body, the committee of arrangement, to whom we owed so many and great obligations, embarked with us to prolong for a few moments the pleasure of being with the general; but at two miles from the city, the most of them



were obliged to leave us. It was not without profound regret that we separated from these worthy officers, whom we had only known for a few days, it is true, but yet sufficiently long to appreciate them fully.

## CHAPTER VIII.

History and Constitution of Louisiana—Baton Rouge—Natchez—State of Mississippi—Voyage to St. Louis—Reception of General Lafayette in that city.

FOR a long time after the French had founded large and prosperous establishments in Canada, they were ignorant of the existence of the Mississippi; when some of their traders learnt from the Indians with whom they trafficked, that to the westward of their country there was a great river, that communicated with the Gulf of Mexico. This was in the year 1660. Three years afterwards Mr. De Frontenac, governor of Canada, wishing to verify this assertion, sent a Jesuit missionary, father Marquette, at the head of a small detachment to discover this country. The Jesuit ascended Fox river to its source, from thence traversing the Wisconsin, he descended to the mouth of the Mississippi, and found that the account of the Indians was true.

Twenty years afterwards, Count Robert de la Salle not only proved the existence of this river, but ascertained that it offered an easy communication with the ocean. He descended it from the river Illinois to the Mexican gulf, whilst father Hennepin, a franciscan, ascended it as far as the falls of St. Anthony, situated three hundred miles above that river. Count Robert took possession, in the name of the king of France, his master, of the whole course of the river with the adjacent country, and erected some forts for the protection of the settlers, which, as the soil appeared very rich, he expected to see arrive in great numbers. Nevertheless, it was not until 1699, that the first settlement was made at Biloxi, by a celebrated French naval officer,

Lemoine d'Iberville, who was the first to enter the Mississippi from the sea, and ascended the river as far as Natchez, which he chose for the capital of Louisiana, calling it Rosalie, in honour of the name of Chancellor Pontchartrain's lady. To people this new capital, some young girls and well selected soldiers were sent from France. These last were married to the girls and exempted from military duty. Each colonist was allowed some acres of land, a cow and calf, cock and hens, a gun; half a pound of powder and two pounds of lead, with a month's provisions, were distributed to them monthly. Next came missionaries, which, instead of improving the land by the labour of their hands, or developing the resources of the colonists by their wisdom and councils, began to preach to the neighbouring Indians, in order to convert them to the catholic faith. The fruits of these labours soon began to appear; that is to say, the Indians pretended to listen to the new doctrines which were spread before them, and became hypocrites for the sake of obtaining brandy. This liquor, which was the first reward of their conversion, exasperated all the passions to which they were unfortunately predisposed; and from this time they became the most dangerous and cruel enemies of the settlement, instead of the useful neighbours which they would doubtless have been, if, without interfering with the manner in which they worshipped God, their friendly alliance only had been sought. Nevertheless, in the course of a few years, the cordiality and gentleness of the French character counteracted the unhappy influence of the missionaries, and almost all the savage tribes with the exception of the Chickasaws, made peace with the colonists and rendered them important services. Mr. de Bienville, the brother of Iberville, and at that time governor of Louisiana, yielding to his ardour for research, explored the greater part of the rivers tributary to the Mississippi, and laid the foundations of some new settlements on its banks. But none of these succeeded. The number of colonists had considerably diminished, when, in 1712, Antony Crozat, who by the Indian trade, had amassed a fortune of forty millions, purchased the grant to the whole of Louisiana, with the exclusive right of its trade for six years. His letters patent included all the rivers emptying into the Mississippi and all the lands, coasts and islands situated upon the gulf of Mex-

ico, between Carolina on the east and Mexico on the west. But Crozat was not long in discovering how much the expectations he had founded upon this country were exaggerated, and hastened to renounce his contract for the purpose of obtaining another for the period of twenty-five years, in favour of the Mississippi Commercial Company, of which the celebrated Law was the projector. But this company was not more fortunate than Crozat. Instead of enticing into the colony such settlers as would have added to its prosperity, he received only rich and avaricious adventurers, who were attracted by the report of the mines of gold and silver, with which the country was said to abound, and, disappointed in their hopes, quickly returned to Europe. In spite of the efforts of the government instituted by the commercial company, the proprietaries were soon reduced to despair, and established military posts, where they defended themselves until reinforcements were received. The first expedition that arrived was composed of criminals and women of abandoned character, sent out by the French government. The company were justly indignant at this, and declared, that in future they would not suffer the colony to be thus morally and physically polluted.

In 1718, New Orleans, consisting of a few cabins built by Illinois traders, and thus named in honour of the regent Duke of Orleans, passed under the jurisdiction of the governor-general, M. de Bienville, and received a considerable number of new settlers. Two villages were built in its vicinity by Germans, under the command of Arensburg, a Swedish captain, who, in 1709, had fought by the side of Charles XII. at the battle of Pultowa. The colony now began really to prosper, and in 1723 swarms of capuchins, missionaries, jesuits, and pious ursulines, began to arrive from all directions. These last at least were good for something. They were entrusted with the education of orphan girls, and the superintendance of the military hospital, with a pension of fifty thousand crowns per annum. Intolerance, the inseparable accompaniment of all privileges, and especially those of religion, began to show itself in the colony, as soon as the capuchins, jesuits, &c. made their appearance. In 1724, a royal edict expelled the Jews, as declared enemies to the Christian name, and they

were ordered to disappear in the course of three months, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of property. It was thus that the throne and church watched then, as it did before, and has done since, to dry up the most abundant sources of public prosperity. In 1729, the intrigues of England raised the Indians against the colony, and thus gave a sad blow to its prosperity. The war then carried on by General Perrier de Salvert, had a fortunate termination. Meanwhile it was only through the attachment of some Indian women to a few French officers, that the garrison escaped being totally massacred one night; which would have led to the entire destruction of the colony. In consequence of these late hostilities, and the base intrigues carried on in the metropolis, the colonists lost their time together with the fruits of their labours. The company, disgusted and deceived in their hopes of gain, abandoned the country, which, in 1731, returned under the dominion of the king, without being any better governed. In 1759, its financial affairs were in such disorder, that the treasury owed more than seven millions of francs, although the French government had expended for various services in Louisiana, nearly double the amount it had derived from it. Louis XV., at the close of a war badly conceived, and, in 1763, as badly terminated, having lost Canada, was upon the point of having Louisiana taken from him. But his ministers, assisted by Madame Pompadour, his mistress, obtained fifteen millions from the court of Madrid, and this colony was ceded to Spain with such secrecy and despatch, that the governor of Louisiana had not yet received information of the affair when the Spanish ships of war arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, with the officers appointed to take possession of this immense territory. The governor and inhabitants of Louisiana refused to recognise the Spanish authority, so that the commissioners were obliged to return to Europe. Three or four years passed in negotiating with the colonists, who persisted in continuing under the dominion of France. At length, in 1769, Spain becoming provoked, sent out General Reilly with considerable forces. Arrived before New Orleans, Reilly manifested the most conciliatory disposition. His proclamations only spoke of oblivion for the past, and were completely successful. The commotions

ceased, and the Louisianians surrendered themselves. As a sign of reconciliation, Reilly gave a grand entertainment on board his fleet, to which he invited the chief officers of the colony, and principal inhabitants. These accepted the invitation with confidence, but at the moment when they were about to leave the table, Reilly caused them to be seized by his soldiers and shot. One of these, M. De Villeré, had his life spared, but was put on board a frigate to be transported to the prisons of Navarre. His wife and children, informed of the fate that threatened him, wished to go and petition his highness, or at least to receive his farewell. They were already near the frigate, from which he stretched out his arms to them, when the unhappy man fell within their sight, pierced by the bayonets of the villains whom the traitor Reilly had appointed to guard him.

After this horrible execution, the Spaniards, with four thousand troops of the line, and a considerable train of artillery, entered New Orleans, the inhabitants of which were struck dumb. The English protestants, and a few Jews, who had escaped the force of the royal decree of 1724, were soon banished by the new authorities. All commerce with the colony was prohibited except with Spain and her possessions. A court martial was established, and its iniquitous decisions struck at all the French officers who remained. Of these, five were shot, and seven others thrown, for ten years, into the prisons of Havana. The infamous Reilly, having for a whole year gorged himself with blood and plunder, at length set sail, carrying with him the scorn and hatred of the whole population. His successors in the government had great difficulty in doing away the effects of his crimes, and it is due them to say that they succeeded. During thirty-three years of Spanish dominion, the colony enjoyed peace and prosperity, and to this very day, the names of Don Unsuga, Don Martin Navarro, and Don Galvar, are remembered there with veneration.

During all the changes experienced by Louisiana, its boundaries had never been determined with accuracy. In 1795, the government of the United States made a treaty with Spain, in virtue of which the limits were traced, and the free navigation of the Mississippi secured to the two contracting parties. But notwithstanding this treaty the

owners of privateers, and crews of vessels of war, made spoiliations upon the commerce of the United States. Free navigation of the Mississippi, and permission of landing at New Orleans, were refused the Americans. President Adams, therefore, immediately took measures to obtain redress. Twelve regiments were raised, and an expedition fitted out upon the Ohio to descend to Louisiana. But some changes occurring in American politics caused this project to be abandoned for the moment. The next year, Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, re-demanded of Spain the fulfilment of the treaty. This power, sensible of its weakness, and fearing to be compelled to cede the colony, secretly sold it to the French Republic on the 21st of March, 1801. Upon hearing of this cession the American government were justly alarmed. It foresaw, that the activity and intelligence of the French, applied to so rich and productive a soil, would make them more formidable than the Spaniards; that their new neighbours might be able to close the navigation of the Mississippi against them, and possess themselves of the commerce of the Gulf of Mexico and Antilles. It immediately formed the project of forcibly opposing the occupation of Louisiana by France, and joined England against her. But this plan was overthrown by the treaty of Amiens. At peace with England, France feared no further obstacles to her projects, and an expedition was fitted out by her to take possession of Louisiana, and at the same time support her wavering authority in St. Domingo. The American government immediately had recourse to negotiations for the purpose of purchasing Louisiana. Affairs, at that time, changed with such rapidity, that the situation of France had again altered before these propositions reached her. Threatened with a new war by England, wearied with the struggle to defend St. Domingo, loaded with a considerable debt due the United States, the first consul thought that the sale of Louisiana would prove a good operation, the opportunity of effecting which might relieve him from one difficulty, at least. He accordingly sold it. The United States agreed to pay him fifteen millions of dollars, on condition that three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars of this sum, should be retained for the purpose of paying the claims held by the American merchants against France, for the spoiliations

they had suffered. This treaty, signed at Paris the 30th of April, 1803, by Messrs. Livingston and Monroe on the part of the United States, and Mr. Barbé Marbois for France, was ratified in the month of October, and the transfer of the colony to the American commissioners took place on the 20th of December in the same year.

All the parties interested in this bargain had reason to be satisfied with its conclusion. France, freeing herself from the trouble of a distant government, more burthensome than profitable, received sixty millions of francs, which she needed to carry on the war, and, without expending a cent, discharged a debt due the American merchants of nearly twenty millions. The United States strengthened their independence, acquired new frontiers more secure than the old ones, established her commercial preponderance in the Gulf of Mexico and Antilles, and, by the free navigation of the Mississippi, increased an hundred fold the value of the products of the states west of the Allegany. In fine, Louisiana herself, by entering into the great federal compact, secured an honourable and independent existence as a body politic, and soon saw her industry and prosperity freed from the cunning schemes of a capricious master.

Louisiana was immediately erected into a territorial government, by the congress of the United States, which appointed Mr. Clayborne its governor. In 1811, it was admitted a member of the Union, and left to form its own government and institutions. The representatives of the people, freely elected and assembled at New Orleans, framed and signed a constitution, which was laid before, and sanctioned by congress. This constitution was in conformity with, and very similar to those of the other states, except that the Louisianians believed it their duty to adopt every possible precaution against corruption and abuse of power. Thus, for example, it was decided that every person, convicted of having given or offered presents to public functionaries, should be declared incapable of serving as governor, senator, or representative.

If I thought it necessary to seek fresh proofs of the superiority of an independent over a colonial government, whether this last proceed from a monarchy or republic, it would suffice to point out Louisiana, at first a colony for

nearly a century, without advancing beyond the stage of infancy, incessantly taken and retaken, sometimes by the Spaniards, at others by the French, and always incapable of resisting either the one or the other, after an expense to its metropolis of one hundred and eighty-seven thousand dollars per annum; and, in fine, after the numerous emigrations from Europe, exhibiting but a meagre population of about forty thousand souls, spread over a vast and rich territory. I would next show this same Louisiana, after twenty years of independent republican government, having more than trebled its population, defeating under the walls of its rich capital, an army composed of the chosen troops of England; receiving into its ports annually more than four hundred ships to exchange its valuable products for those of all parts of the habitable globe; and, in its cities, offering all the resources, all the enjoyments that can contribute to the happiness of life, and which are ordinarily the products of a long period of civilization.

The state of Louisiana, enclosed within its new limits, is situated between  $29^{\circ}$  and  $33^{\circ}$  n. l. and  $12^{\circ}$  and  $17^{\circ}$  of longitude. It is bounded on the north by Arkansas territory, east by the Mississippi, south by the Mexican gulf, and west by the Mexican provinces of Texas. It contains forty-eight thousand square miles, divided into twenty-six parishes or counties. It has a population of 153,500 souls, among which, unfortunately, nearly 70,000 slaves are enumerated. The capital of this state is New Orleans, a city admirably situated in a commercial point of view, regularly laid out, ornamented with fine buildings, and containing twenty-eight thousand inhabitants. The greatest inconvenience which New Orleans labours under, is its situation upon the alluvial shores of the Mississippi, by whose floods it is often inundated. This is perhaps the principal cause of the yellow fever which is experienced there almost every autumn. The impossibility of finding a single stone in all this alluvial ground, shows why the principal streets have been left unpaved, so that during the rainy season it is difficult to go about on foot. The walks made in front of the houses scarcely serve to keep foot passengers from the mud, and do not prevent the carriages from sinking sometimes to their axles. The authorities, however, have at length begun to procure paving stone



from up the Mississippi, which the vessels bring as ballast. This plan, though tedious and expensive, is the only one practicable.

The greater number of travellers who have visited New Orleans, pretend that the manners of the city are strongly influenced by the presence of the numerous emigrants from St. Domingo. These have the reputation of loving pleasure to licentiousness, and of treating their slaves badly. The love of gambling, and the duels so often occasioned by this passion, give rise, it is said, to much disorder among them. To confirm or disprove this opinion by my own observation, would be, in me, culpable arrogance. My too short stay in this city did not permit me to study the character of its society, and I could only be struck with the patriotic spirit, the freedom and hospitality, displayed with enthusiasm in the presence of General Lafayette.\*

Twenty-four hours after leaving New Orleans, we arrived at Duncan's Point, where the citizens of Baton-Rouge, a town situated eight miles above, had previously sent a deputation to General Lafayette, to request him to stop a short time amongst them. The general accepted the invitation with gratitude, and two hours afterwards we landed below the amphitheatre upon which the town of Baton-Rouge stands. The beach was crowded with citizens, at the head of whom marched the municipal authorities, and the first regiment of the Union came to form itself in line under the same star-spangled banner, which, in defiance of the greatest dangers, had but lately been planted upon the ruins of Spanish despotism, by the inhabitants of these parishes. Accompanied by the people and magistrates, the general proceeded to the room prepared for his reception, in which he found the busts of Washington and

\* In speaking of the morals of New Orleans, it is but just to discriminate between its *permanent* and *fluctuating* population. Being the only mart to a vast extent of country, and the most frequented port on the Gulf of Mexico, it always contains a large number of individuals of the rudest and most licentious class, who can scarcely be said to belong to any country, are certainly of no religion, and are of every shade of colour. It is therefore by no means surprising, that gamblers, brawlers, and stabbers, should be numerous where such a class abounds, more especially, as New Orleans tolerates, by *license granted*, numerous establishments openly devoted to gambling and all its consequences.—T.

Jackson crowned with flowers and laurel. There he received the expressions of kindness from all the citizens, with whom he went to the fort, the garrison of which received him with a salute of twenty-four guns, and afterwards defiled before him. We then entered the main building to examine the interior of the barracks, but what was our surprise, on entering into the first apartment, to find in the place of beds, arms, and warlike equipments, a numerous assemblage of elegantly dressed and beautiful ladies, who surrounded the general and offered him refreshments and flowers. The general was sensibly touched by this agreeable surprise, and passed some delightful moments in the midst of this seducing garrison. On our return to town, we found a great number of citizens met to offer the general a public dinner, among whom the frank cordiality of the American, and the amenity of the French characters prevailed.

It was almost night when we returned on board the Natchez to continue our voyage. On leaving Baton-Rouge, we had the mortification to part again with some of those who had accompanied us from New Orleans, and among others, with Mr. Duplantier, senior, whose active and tender friendship, as well as that of his son, had been of great service to the general.

Baton-Rouge stands upon the left bank of the river, one hundred and thirty-seven miles above New Orleans. In this passage, the navigation of the river is very interesting. For several miles after leaving New Orleans, the eye reposes agreeably upon the shores, enriched with fine cotton and sugar plantations, and embellished with clusters of orange trees, from the midst of which rise the white and showy dwellings of the planters. By degrees the gardens and houses become more rare; but all the way to Baton-Rouge one continues to see fine and well cultivated lands. These plantations spread along the river, sometimes extending nearly a mile back to the thick forests, which serve as their limits. The soil is entirely formed of the fertile sediments deposited by the ancient inundations of the Mississippi, now confined to its channel by artificial banks. A special law enjoins it upon each river proprietor to keep up with care that portion of dike opposite his property, so that one every where sees the slaves continually engaged

in driving down stakes, interlacing the branches of trees, and heaping earth here and there where there is danger that the river will force a passage. But notwithstanding all precautions, the water often rushes furiously over these obstacles, and spreads devastation and death. Not a year passes without some proprietor having the misfortune to see snatched from him in a few minutes the fruits of long and laborious exertions. All the lands which border the Mississippi, from its outlet to six hundred miles above, are subject to inundations. Nevertheless, on leaving Baton-Rouge, the left shore appears sufficiently elevated above the surface of the water to be free from these accidents.

The distance between Baton-Rouge and Natchez, is two hundred and sixty miles. This we ran in thirty-two hours, having had a pleasant passage, in the course of which we met a great many boats of all forms and sizes, laden with all sorts of productions from the most distant points of the Union. Those which more particularly attracted our attention were large and of a square form, without either masts, sails, or oars. They floated down the river at the mercy of the current, and bore more resemblance to enormous boxes than to boats. They are called *arks*, and are commonly manned by Kentuckians, who go in this way to New Orleans, to dispose of their grain, poultry, and cattle. There, after receiving pay for their produce, they sell also the planks of their arks, which cannot ascend the river, and return to their homes on foot, across the forests of the states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. More than fifteen hundred persons, it is said, travel thus, every summer, seventeen hundred miles by water, and afterwards, in returning, eleven hundred on foot.\*

On Monday, the 18th of April, some distant discharges of cannon, which we heard at dawn, announced our approach to a city. Some minutes afterwards, the first rays of the sun gilding the shores of the Mississippi, which, in this place, rose a hundred and fifty feet above the surface

\* Since the establishment of steam navigation, boatmen rarely return by land. They pay a trifle for a *deck passage*; find their own provisions, and aid the crew to bring wood, &c. on board, at the stopping places.—T.

of the water, showed us the tops of the houses in Natchez. Our steam-boat stopped a little while previous to arriving opposite the town, and we went on shore at Bacon's landing, where the citizens, with a calash and four horses, and an escort of cavalry and volunteer infantry, were waiting for the general. We might have landed a little higher up and entered the city by a more direct road, but the members of the committee of arrangement had the address to conduct us by a devious road, along which our eyes were presented with all the beauties of the country. In proportion as we advanced, the escort increased. It consisted of citizens on horseback, militia on foot, ladies in carriages, and nearly the whole population, who came in a crowd to see their beloved and long expected guest. Two addresses were made to the general; one by the president of the committee of arrangement, on entering the city; the other by the mayor, on one of the most elevated spots on the banks of the Mississippi, within view of the town and the river, its source of prosperity. At the moment the general finished his reply, a man suddenly emerged from the crowd, approached the calash, waving his hat in the air, and cried out, "Honour to the commander of the Parisian national guard! I was under your orders in '91, my general, in one of the battalions of the Filles-Saint-Thomas. I still love liberty as I loved it then: Live, Lafayette!" The general was agreeably surprised to meet, on the shores of a distant country, one of his old citizen-soldiers, who recalled to him in so touching a manner the happy times when he could rationally think of the happiness and liberty of his country. He affectionately offered him his hand, and expressed to him the pleasure he felt in thus meeting him in a land of liberty and hospitality.

At the moment we were preparing to enter our hotel, we observed a long procession of children of both sexes approaching us. They were led by Colonel Marshall, who requested of the general for them, and in their name, permission to shake hands with him. The general willingly complied with this wish of the children of Natchez, who marched in order before him, placing successively one of their little hands in that which had fought for the liberty of their fathers. The parents, spectators of this scene, contemplated it with silence and emotion. On its termination,

I heard them congratulate each other on the happy influence which this day would have upon the future characters of their children. "When they have grown up," said they, "and come to read their country's history, they will find the name of Lafayette intimately connected with all the events which led to the freedom of their fathers, they will recall the gentleness of his manners, the mildness of his voice, when he received them in their infancy, and will feel an increased love for a liberty won by such a man."

The inhabitants of Natchez neglected nothing which could contribute to the pleasure of their guest during the twenty-four hours he remained with them. The public dinner concluded with toasts, *To the Nation's Guest—The triumph of Yorktown—France fighting for the liberty of the world—The victory of New Orleans*—in fact to all glorious and patriotic American recollections. It was not until after the ball which closed about daybreak, that the general could think of embarking. The ladies employed all the charms of mind and person to retain him as long as possible, but our minutes were counted; and six o'clock in the morning found us again on board our vessel.

At the moment when the general was about to leave the shore, an old revolutionary soldier presented himself, and uncovering his breast marked with scars, "these wounds," said he, "are my pride. I received them fighting by your side for the independence of my country. Your blood, my general, flowed the same day at the battle of Brandywine, where we were so unfortunate." "It was indeed a rough day," said the general to him, "but have we not since been amply indemnified?"—"Oh! that is very true," replied the veteran, "at present we are happy beyond our furthest wishes. You receive the blessings of ten millions of freemen, and I press the hand of my brave general! virtue always has its reward!" Every one applauded the enthusiasm and frankness of the old soldier, whom the general cordially greeted.

On leaving Natchez, we parted from the worthy Mr. Johnson, governor of Louisiana, who would not consent to leave the general whilst within his own state. He now placed us under the care of the state of Mississippi, and left with us, for the purpose of doing the honours of Louisiana as far as St. Louis, Messrs. Prieur, recorder of the

councils of New Orleans, Caire, his private secretary, and Morse and Ducros, his aides-de-camp. In taking leave of the governor, General Lafayette evinced the most sincere affection, and desired him to express in his name all the gratitude with which he was penetrated by his cordial reception in Louisiana.

Natchez was formerly the capital of the state of Mississippi, but has ceased to be so in consequence of not being in a central situation. Its population is nearly three thousand, and its port is the place of rest and provisioning for vessels passing between New Orleans and the western states, which gives it a great deal of activity. This city was founded in 1717, by some French soldiers and workmen who had been in the garrison of Fort Rosalie, and who, finding the situation good, established themselves upon it after obtaining their discharge. The most of them bought their lands from the Indians, who lived at some distance from the river, where they had five villages situated very near each other. That which they called the *Great Village*, where the principal chief of the nation resided, stood on a small stream called White River. It was to the west of this village that the Frenchmen, led by Hubert and Lepage, had erected Fort Rosalie.

When one has viewed the environs of Natchez, it is easy to conceive how readily the first settlers renounced their own country to fix themselves in these then savage wilds. It is difficult to find a more fertile soil, a more vigorous vegetation, or more agreeable and varied situations. The valleys afford fertile pastures, the hills are crowned with sassafras, catalpas, tulip-trees, and the superb magnolia grandiflora, the tops of which rise more than one hundred feet high, while their large white flowers deliciously perfume the air. Nevertheless, one cannot exclude the thought, that these verdant meadows, cool groves, and cheerful and vigorous nature, are sometimes visited and rendered melancholy by the yellow fever.

Natchez is the only town in Mississippi which we visited, so that I have little to say relative to this state. I shall only mention, that for a long time, with Alexandria, it formed a part of the state of Georgia, from which it was separated in 1800; that in 1817 it took its place in the Union as an independent body politic, and framed for

itself a constitution. The fertility of its soil, and facilities of sending its productions to market, have contributed, in a singular degree, to the increase of its population. In 1800, it had only six thousand eight hundred and fifty inhabitants, while it now contains seventy-six thousand. If in this number, about thirty-thousand slaves are included, its prosperity must still be regarded as very great. Many large fortunes are found in this state, where it is not uncommon to meet with planters having incomes of seven or eight thousand dollars. The staple products are cotton and Indian corn.

The state of Mississippi is situated between the 30th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and the 11th and 14th degrees of west longitude from Washington. Its surface contains forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty square miles. It is bounded on the north by the state of Tennessee, east by Alabama, south by Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico, and west by Louisiana and Arkansas. Although the population is very much scattered, the land bears a considerable price, being on the banks of the river from fifty to sixty dollars per acre. The price lessens in proportion to the distance which the products have to be transported.

In leaving Natchez, we parted as it were from the civilized world. From this town to St. Louis, we did not meet with a single assemblage of houses that deserved the name of town or even village. The banks of the Mississippi again became flat, and presented nothing but grounds overflowed and covered with thick forests, impenetrable to the rays of the sun. The swarms of musquitoes which rose out of it and settled in thick clouds upon travellers, rendered the voyage almost insupportable, especially during the night, if we had not taken the precaution to provide musquito curtains. The only habitations we met with were large cabins, situated upon places a little elevated above the level of the river. These were inhabited temporarily by hardy speculators from the north, who, always abandoning the *good* in hopes of finding *better*, retreat incessantly before the advance of civilization, and seek their fortunes in the wilderness. The dangers of the navigation increase with the monotony of the shores. Every moment presents some evidence of recent disaster.

Here, one beholds the ravages of a hurricane which has crossed the river, and, in its devastation, has on both shores uprooted and carried off, as if they had been weak reeds, thousands of trees, which by their prodigious size were the pride of the forest. There, our captain showed us a snag or sawyer, the inclined point of which had pierced the bottom of a boat, immediately afterwards swallowed up by the flood. Further on, the wood-choppers, in giving us the necessary supplies of wood, told us of the explosion of a boiler which occasioned the death of near forty passengers; and it was not long before we ourselves saw the bank covered with travellers, who were impatiently waiting until their boat which had been pierced by a snag, should be repaired so as to be in a condition again to brave the danger from which they had so narrowly escaped.

These snags and sawyers, so formidable to the navigator, are very numerous all along the river. Snags are thrown into the stream by high floods, and, having floated some time, become fixed to the bottom of the river, with their tops either above or below the surface according to their length, but always inclining in the direction of the current. The sawyers differ from snags only in being firmly stuck in the bed of the river, and in this situation the current keeps them in constant vibration, alternately raising and depressing their summits. As their position often changes, it is difficult to avoid them; and, if vessels in ascending the river are so unfortunate as to strike against them, their destruction is almost inevitable, for they are pierced in such a manner, that the water pours through the opening, and sinks them, sometimes in a few minutes.

But persons are little disposed to be uneasy on account of these dangers, when, as in our case, they are on board a vessel skilfully managed, with all the delicacies of life, and inexhaustible resources afforded by the society of good and agreeable travelling companions. The committee of New Orleans were joined by two gentlemen from Natchez, as representatives of the state of Mississippi, near the person of General Lafayette. To the attentions and gaiety of the members of both these deputations, we were indebted for not having known a moment of tediousness or inquietude,



during our long voyage. After having sailed for five days, with the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, on our left, and the states of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, on our right, we arrived at the mouth of Ohio, without any delays but those necessary to take in wood. This fuel was sometimes supplied us by the woodmen on the borders of the river, who live by the unlimited forests which surround them. When we could find no woodmen we often supplied ourselves. In this case, our captain, after having made his men take in the necessary quantity, left in exchange a note nailed to a tree, upon which was inscribed the number of cords he had taken, the name of his boat, his place of residence, date of his passage, and signature. This kind of commerce with the Mississippi woodmen is very common, and I have heard it said that there never has been known an example of bad faith on the part of the purchasers, who always show themselves most scrupulous in paying their accounts, which are often presented months afterwards at Natchez and New Orleans.

When arrived at the mouth of the Ohio, we had come from the city of Natchez four hundred and fifty miles. Our pilot assured us then, that the upper part of the Mississippi was too little known to him, to permit him to conduct us through the midst of dangers which were met with at every moment. In consequence of this declaration, our good Captain Davis made us enter the Ohio for the purpose of obtaining a new pilot, at the distance of four miles from its mouth, whom we were so happy as to procure immediately. On going thither, we met a steam-boat, whose narrowness and unsteady motion induced us to think, that, destined for the navigation of small streams, it only appeared upon the agitated waters of a large one upon extraordinary occasions. This steam-boat was the Artizan, bearing the Tennessee deputation, sent to desire the general to ascend the Cumberland river to Nashville, where he had been a long time expected, and where his intention of visiting St. Louis was not then known. After a short conference with the deputies of the state of Tennessee, who insisted strongly that the general should proceed immediately to their shores, it was determined that we should continue our voyage in the Natchez to St. Louis ; that a part of the Ten-

nessee deputation should come with us, and the rest remain on board the *Artizan* at the mouth of the Ohio until our return. These arrangements, concluded to the satisfaction of every one, we left the *beautiful*, to enter again the *great* river. We remarked, with surprise, that at the confluence of these two bodies of water, the current appeared suspended for several miles, which seems to indicate the equality in volume and force of the two rivers at this place.

After leaving the mouth of the Ohio, the appearance of the shores of the Mississippi changes entirely. The lands, more elevated, present a greater number of houses. From place to place traces of the old French establishments are visible, and beautiful islands like gardens, often present themselves to the eye of the navigator, interrupting the monotony of the river. At first he sees the isle of Birds, charming for its freshness; next those called the Two Sisters and the Dog's Tooth; and then English Island, which recalls the first settlement made by the English in the midst of these wilds in the year 1765. This was soon destroyed by the savages, who saw with pain their old French friends dispossessed by traders whom they had never before seen. At about forty miles from the confluence, and almost opposite each other, rise capes Girardeau and Lacroix, both thus named by Mr. De Frontenac, governor of Canada, sent to ascertain the truth of the assertion made by the Indians, that *from the north there came a great river which ran neither in the direction whence the Great Spirit rose, nor towards that in which he set*. There is at present at Cape Girardeau a small village, recently founded, which begins to prosper. A little above, on the eastern side, are seen the ruins of ancient fortifications exhibiting a scene altogether picturesque. These are the remains of fort Chartres, constructed at great expense by the French, in 1753, for the defence of Upper Mississippi, now deserted by the Americans as altogether useless.

Some hours after having passed fort Chartres, whilst we walked the deck, our captain pointed out in the river a flock of young Louisiana geese, led by the two old ones. The elegant shape, and beautiful plumage of these fowls, made me anxious to get possession of the whole family. I immediately launched into the river a skiff manned with two sailors, and, going in the direction of the old goose, endeavoured

to get the boat between her and shore. The old geese, taking fright, made their escape with loud cries, but the young ones, unable yet to fly, or escape by climbing the steep banks, soon fell into our hands. We carried off five, which our captain had the goodness to take charge of, promising to raise them with care, and forward them to New Orleans, whence Mr. Caire engaged to send them to La Grange, for the benefit of the general's farm.\* As I was returning from this little expedition, I perceived, in the middle of the river, another very tempting game. This was a superb deer, which swam with as much calmness and ease as though it were in its native element. When it heard our cries, mingled with the noise of our steam-boat, it threw its long branching antlers upon its shoulders, and sunk in the water to escape our notice, swimming rapidly for the swiftest part of the current. As soon as it thought itself free from the danger of pursuit, it re-appeared above water, shook its antlers proudly, and tranquilly resumed its course. It is by no means rare, as we were informed, to see many of these animals thus passing from one shore of the river to the other, and visiting the fertile islands which adorn its course.

At the distance of one hundred miles from the Ohio, the shores of the Mississippi suddenly assume a more imposing appearance, rising steeply eighty or a hundred feet above the level of the water. They are composed of very hard granite. In their whole height they are impressed with deep horizontal furrows, which appear to have been caused by the friction of the water, whilst the river was at the different levels which they indicate. Some of these furrows are nearly a foot deep. They occur at unequal intervals, and mark the successive decrease of the water. At the actual level of the river the furrow is scarcely perceptible. What a length of time has, therefore, been occupied in the formation of each furrow by the sole action of the water upon a rock of such hardness? The solution of this single question would, perhaps, throw a good deal of diffi-

\* These geese, together with the Mexican hoccas presented by Mr. Duplantier; wild turkeys presented by Mr. Thousand, of Baltimore; Devonshire cows, given by Mr. Patterson; American partridges, presented by Mr. Skinner, etc. at present ornament the farm of La Grange, where General Lafayette exerts himself to multiply their numbers.

culty into the calculations of the system-makers, who pretend to fix the epoch of the creation of our globe.

Some distance above, these steep rocks leave between them and the river a considerable space, in which is situated Herculaneum. The site of this village is altogether romantic, the towers, formed upon the rock, which crowns it irregularly, impart a fantastic character, and attract the curiosity of travellers. From the height of these towers, which spring from the steep rock, they throw down melted lead, which cools by rolling in the air, becomes round, and falls in the form of small shot into large receivers of water, placed beneath. The large or small size of the holes in the iron sieve, through which it is thrown while boiling hot, give the various sizes wanted for hunting. The lead mines found in abundance upon the shores of the Merrimac river, which empties into the Mississippi ten miles from this place, have given origin to these establishments, the prosperity of which increases every day.

On the evening of the 28th, we arrived at a poor little village which the French formerly founded under the sad name of Empty Pocket, better known at the present day by the name of Carondelet. Although we were not above six or seven miles from St. Louis, as we could not get there by-day light, the members of the different committees in attendance upon the general, resolved to pass the night at anchor in the river, and wait till next morning to enter the town. No sooner were the inhabitants of Carondelet informed of the presence of General Lafayette in their vicinity, than they came in crowds on board the boat to see him. They were nearly all Frenchmen. For a long time, their settlement has consisted of only about sixty houses, and does not promise to increase. Unsited to commerce, it was only occupied with agriculture, which is still its chief means of obtaining the necessaries of life. The most of them came from Canada, and fixed themselves upon a portion of land along the Mississippi without inquiring who owned it. They laboured, some for ten, others for twenty years; and none of them thought of securing the titles to the little farms produced by the sweat of their brows. At present, whilst the government of the United States are selling much of the land it possesses in these regions, these unfortunate people run a

constant risk of seeing themselves dispossessed by purchasers who come to claim their property. They mentioned their inquietudes to the general, who promised to represent their situation to the federal government, and interest himself in their behalf. These good people, in the simplicity of their gratitude, offered him whom they already regarded as their protector, every thing which they thought would be agreeable; one of them brought him tame Mississippi geese; another, a young fawn which he had raised; a third, petrifications and shells which he looked upon as precious. The general saw that if he refused these presents their feelings would be wounded; and therefore hastened to accept them and return his acknowledgements.

On the morning of the 29th of April, Governor Clark, of Missouri, Governor Coles of Illinois, and Colonel Benton, came on board; who all three came to accompany the general to St. Louis. Some minutes after, the steam-boat *Plough Boy*, having on board a great number of citizens, ranged along side the *Natchez*, and the nation's guest was saluted by three cheers, which made the forests of the Missouri resound with *Welcome, Lafayette*. We then weighed anchor, and at nine o'clock saw a large number of buildings whose architecture was very fantastical, rising from the midst of beautiful green shrubbery and smiling gardens, commanding distant views of the river. This was the city of St. Louis. Its name, and the language of a great portion of its inhabitants, soon informed us of its origin. But if we were struck with the diversity of languages in which General Lafayette was saluted, we were not less so by the unity of sentiment which they manifested. The shore was covered by the whole population, who mingled their cries of joy with the roar of the cannon of our two vessels. The moment the general stepped on shore, the mayor, Dr. Lane, presented himself at the head of the municipal authorities, and greeted him with an address.

As the general concluded his reply to the mayor, an elegant calash drawn by four horses approached the shore, to conduct him to the city, through all the streets of which he was drawn in the midst of the acclamations of the people. He was attended by Mr. Augustus Choteau, a venerable old gentleman by whom St. Louis was founded, Mr. Hempstead, an old soldier of the revolution, and the mayor. These gentlemen conducted him to the house of the son of

Mr. Choteau, prepared for his reception, which was thrown open to all citizens without distinction, who desired to visit the national guest. Among the visitors, the general met with pleasure Mr. Hamilton, son of General Alexander Hamilton, the former aide-de-camp to Washington, whom he so much loved, and an old French sergeant of Rochambeau's army named Bellissime. This last could not restrain the joy he felt on seeing a countryman thus honoured by the American nation.

The inhabitants of St. Louis knew that General Lafayette could only remain a few hours with them, and they took advantage of the short time he had to dispose of to show him every thing which their city and its environs contained worthy of notice. While dinner was preparing at Mr. Peter Choteau's, we rode out in a carriage to visit on the banks of the river those remains of ancient Indian monuments which some travellers call tombs, whilst others regard them as fortifications or places for the performance of religious ceremonies. All these opinions are unfortunately equally susceptible of discussion, for these monuments have not preserved any sufficiently well marked characters to afford foundation for satisfactory deductions. Those near St. Louis are nothing but mounds covered with green turf, the ordinary shape of which is an oblong square. Their common height is little more than eight feet, but must have been much greater before the earth they are built of was thrown down during the lapse of ages. Their sides are inclined, and the mean length of their base is from eighty to a hundred feet, their width varying from thirty to sixty feet. What leads me to believe that these fabrics of earth have never been used as strong holds in war, is, that not one of them is surrounded by ditches, and they are placed too near together. These mounds are not only met with in the environs of St. Louis, but all over the states of Missouri, Indiana, and upon the borders of Ohio, where, we are informed, they meet with much more interesting traces of the greatest antiquity, indicating that this world which we call *new*, was the seat of civilization, perhaps long anterior to the continent of Europe.\*

\* See upon this subject Mr. Warden's very curious work, entitled *Remarks upon the Antiquities of North America.*

[No theory, formed from the examination of a few of these mounds,

From the mounds of Saint Louis to the junction of Mississippi and Missouri, we should only have had two or three hours ride, but the time of the general was so calculated that we were obliged to forego the pleasure we should have derived from visiting the union of these two rivers, which have their sources in countries where nature yet reigns undisturbed. Returned to town, we went to see the collection of Indian curiosities made by Governor Clark, which is the most complete that is to be found. We visited it with the greater pleasure from its being shown us by Mr. Clark, who had himself collected all the objects which compose it, while exploring the distant western regions with Captain Lewis. Specimens of all the clothing, arms, and utensils for fishing, hunting, and war, in use among the various tribes living on the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, are here to be found. Among the articles commonly worn by the Indian hunters, collars made of claws of prodigious size, particularly struck our attention. These claws, Gen. Clark informed us, are from that most terrible of all the animals of the American continent, the Grizzly Bear, of the Missouri, the ferocious instinct of which adds still more to the terror inspired by its enormous size and strength. The bears of this species meet together to the number of ten or twelve, and some times more, to chase and make a common division of their prey. Man is their favourite prey, and when they fall upon his track, they

can, with any propriety, be resorted to for the purpose of explaining the intentions of the ancient tribes in their formation. That they were erected for various uses, is sufficiently evident from their difference of construction, some being evidently merely monumental, while others must have been designed for military, religious, or other services. No one has examined the square and circular erections at Circleville, in Ohio, (now rapidly disappearing before the industry of the brick-makers,) or those found near Piqua, or elsewhere in that state, without feeling convinced that they were destined to different uses from the mounds which occur in their vicinity, and appear to have been erected by the same people. Dr. Clarke, and other travellers in the north of Asia, inform us, that mounds, in all respects similar to those of St. Louis, are very numerous in many places, and that they are unquestionably sepulchral is proved by the bones, urns, and ornaments found within them. These observations go far also to establish the belief of the common origin of the American aborigines and the nomadic tribes of the old continent. See Atwater's very interesting *Archæologia Americana*.—T.]

chase him with *outcries* like those made by our hounds in coursing a hare, and it is difficult to escape the steadiness of their pursuit.\* This animal is altogether unknown in Europe, even in the largest menageries. The London Cabinet of Natural History possesses only a single claw, which is regarded as a great rarity.† Gen. Clark has visited, near the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, Indian tribes which, previous to his visit, had never seen a white man; but among whom he nevertheless discovered traces of an ancient people more civilized than themselves. Thus, for example, he brought away with him a whip which the riders of these tribes do not understand the mode of using on their horses at the present time. The knots of this are very complex, and actually arranged like the *knout* of the Cossacks. He presented General Lafayette with a garment bearing a striking resemblance to a Russian riding coat. It is made of buffaloe skin, prepared so as to retain all its pliancy, as if dressed by the most skilful tanner. From these and some other facts, Mr. Clark, and Captain Lewis, his companion, concluded that there formerly existed, near the pole, a communication between Asia and America. These two intrepid travellers published in 1814, an interesting account of the journeys made by them in 1804, 5, and 6, by order of the American government, the object being to explore the sources of the

\* The grizzly bear is unquestionably a ferocious and sanguinary animal, and is so much dreaded by the Indians and traders, that it is not surprising they should give currency to endless fables and exaggerations concerning it. But we cannot avoid a feeling of surprise, mingled with some mortification, to find respectable and intelligent travellers repeating, as actually true, statements of the habits of our animals, which a very slight effort of reason would show to be utterly absurd. Here we have a BEAR, the largest species known, coursing after *men in packs*, and *yelping* like hounds! when we have not on record, evidence, perhaps, of more than thirty of these animals having been seen since the existence of the species was discovered; nor the slightest evidence that any bear ever uttered any other sound than a low harsh growl!—T.

† Since his return from America, General Lafayette has received a young grizzly bear from the Missouri, sent him by Governor Clark. He has presented it to the proprietors of the Jardin du Roi, who have placed it in the menagerie, where it may now be seen.



Missouri, and the course of the Columbia river, till it reaches the Pacific ocean.

We could have remained a considerable longer time in Governor Clark's museum, listening to the interesting accounts which he was pleased to give us relative to his great journeys, but were informed that the hour for dinner had arrived, and we went to the house of Mr. Peter Choctau. On our way we visited a portion of the town which we had not before seen, and were surprised at the whimsical manner in which some of the houses, apparently the most ancient, were constructed. They generally consisted of a single story, surrounded by a gallery covered with a wide projecting roof. Some one pointed out to us, that formerly the basement was not inhabited, and that the stair-way leading to the upper story was moveable at pleasure. This precaution was used by the first inhabitants of St. Louis for the purpose of guarding against the insidious nocturnal attacks of the Indians, who saw with jealousy the whites making permanent settlements among them. When St. Louis, then a feeble village, passed under the Spanish authority, the neighbouring Indians were still so numerous and enterprising, that the inhabitants could scarcely resist them, or even venture abroad. It is related, that, in 1794, an Indian chief entered St. Louis, with a portion of his tribe, and having demanded an interview, spoke as follows: "We come to offer you peace. We have made war against you for a great many moons, and what has been the result? Nothing. Our warriors have used every means to fight with yours, but you will not, and dare not meet us! You are a pack of old women! What can be done with such people, since they will not fight, but make peace? I come therefore to you to bury the hatchet, brighten the chain, and open a new communication with you."

Since that time the tribes have greatly diminished, and most of them departed. Those still remaining in the vicinity show the most peaceable disposition towards the white inhabitants, with whom they carry on a considerable trade in furs. The inhabitants of St. Louis are, besides, sufficiently numerous no longer to fear such neighbours. The population amounts to nearly six thousand souls, which

number will probably be doubled in a few years, for this city has the prospect of a brilliant destiny in these vast regions, in the midst of which civilization, under the guidance of American liberty and industry, must run a giant's course. St. Louis is already the grand store-house of all the commerce of the countries west of the Mississippi. Its situation near the junction of four or five great rivers, all of whose branches, which spread to the most distant extremities of the Union, furnish an easy and rapid communication with all those places which can contribute to the wants or luxuries of its happy inhabitants. Into what astonishment is the mind thrown on reflecting that such a height of prosperity is the result of but a few years, and that the founder of so flourishing a city still lives, and, for a long time, has been in the enjoyment of the results which he neither could have hoped for, nor anticipated, had it been predicted to his young and ardent imagination on first approaching the solitary shores of the Mississippi. This enterprising man, who, with his axe, felled the first tree of the ancient forest on the place where the city of St. Louis stands, who raised the first house, about which, in so short a time, were grouped the edifices of a rich city; who, by his courage and conciliating spirit, at first repressed the rage of the Indians, and afterwards secured their friendship; this happy man is Mr. Augustus Choteau. I have already named him among those appointed by the inhabitants of St. Louis to do the honours of their city to the guest of the American nation. It was at the house of his son, Mr. Peter Choteau, that we partook of the feast of republican gratitude. It was highly interesting to behold seated at the table the founder of a great city, one of the principal defenders of the independence of a great nation, and the representatives of four young republics, already rich from their industry, powerful from their liberty, and happy from the wisdom of their institutions. As might be readily supposed, the conversation was highly interesting. Mr. Augustus Choteau was asked a great many questions respecting his youthful adventures and enterprises. The companion in arms of Washington was requested to relate some details of the decisive and glorious campaign of Virginia, and the members of the different deputations of Louisiana, Mississippi,

Tennessee, and Missouri, drew a pleasing picture of the prosperous advancement of their respective states. In this company, that which touched General Lafayette most was the prevailing unanimity among the guests, who, though they did not all speak one language, agreed perfectly in respect to the excellence of those republican institutions under which it was their happiness to live. Before leaving the banquet in order to attend the ball which the ladies were so kind as to prepare for us, some toasts were exchanged, all of which bore the impression of the harmony existing between the old French and the new American population. Mr. Delassus, formerly lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, drank, "*The United States and France!* May these two countries produce another Washington and another Lafayette, to emancipate the rest of the world!" Governor Coles drank, "*France!* dear to our hearts from so many recollections, and above all for having given birth to our Lafayette." General Lafayette finished by drinking the health of the venerable patriarch, who, in 1763, founded the town of St. Louis, and immediately afterwards we left the table for the ball, where we found the most numerous and brilliant company assembled, as we were informed, that had ever been seen upon the western shore of the Mississippi. The splendid decorations of the room, and the beauty of the ladies who graced it, made us completely forget that we were on the confines of a wilderness which the savages themselves consider as insufficient for the supply of their simple wants, since they only frequent it occasionally. We partook of the pleasures of the evening until near midnight, the hour at which we were to return on board the Natchez, for the purpose of taking some rest before daylight, when we were to depart. At the moment we were about to embark, many citizens of St. Louis had the goodness to offer us several objects of curiosity, such as bows, arrows, calumets, and dresses of the Missouri Indians. We accepted with gratitude these testimonies of benevolence, which we have preserved as agreeable remembrancers of happy occurrences so far from our country.

## CHAPTER IX.

Changes produced in the navigation of the Mississippi since the introduction of Steam—Arrival at Kaskaskia—The Canadians and Indians—Singular meeting with a young Indian educated among the Whites, and returned to savage life—Indian Ballad—State of Illinois—Departure from Kaskaskia—Separation of General Lafayette and the Louisiana deputation.

GOVERNOR COLES, who had embarked with us, requested of General Lafayette and obtained his consent, that he would not leave the river Mississippi without visiting the state of Illinois, along which we were to pass in descending the river. It was decided that we should stop at Kaskaskia, a large village of that state, and, although nearly eighty miles distant, we arrived there a little while before noon, so fortunate and rapid was our navigation. Since the application of steam to navigation, the changes produced in the relations of the towns on the Mississippi is prodigious. Formerly the voyage from New-Orleans to St. Louis required three or four months of the most painful toil that can be imagined; the action of the oar was not always sufficient to overcome the resistance of the current. They were often obliged to warp the boat by hand, advancing from time to time with a small boat to tie a rope to a tree or stone on the shore.\* This slow and painful operation, the consequent privations and bad diet, caused diseases among the boatmen, which ordinarily destroyed one third of the crew. At present the same passage which is nearly fifteen hundred miles, is made in ten days, without fatigue, without privations, between a good bed and a good table, and often in very good company; the return is commonly made in five days; so that

\* Another still more laborious mode of going up stream, was by extending a long line from the bow, by which the crew, walking along the margin of the river, dragged the boat along. This is what is called *cordelling*, and when it is recollected how rugged and irregular the shores of the western rivers are, and the necessity of carrying the cord clear of trees, rocks, &c., a more painful and exhausting kind of labour can scarcely be imagined.—T.

New Orleans and St. Louis, separated by so great a distance, are now considered as neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants are better acquainted and visit each other oftener than those of Paris and Bordeaux can do.

General Lafayette was not expected at Kaskaskia, and nothing had been prepared for this unforeseen visit. While we were landing some one ran to the village, which stands a quarter of a mile from the shore, and quickly returned with a carriage for the general, who, an instant after, was surrounded by many citizens, who ran before to receive him. In the escort which formed itself to accompany him, we saw neither military apparel nor the splendid triumphs we had perceived in the rich cities; but the accents of joy and republican gratitude which broke upon his ear, was grateful to his heart, since it proved to him that wherever American liberty had penetrated, there also the love and veneration of the people for its founders were perpetuated.

We followed the general on foot, and arrived almost at the same time at the house of General Edgar, a venerable soldier of the revolution, who received him with affectionate warmth, and ordered all the doors to be kept open, that his fellow citizens might enjoy, as well as himself, the pleasure of shaking hands with the adopted son of America. After a few minutes had been accorded to the rather tumultuous expression of the sentiments which the presence of the general inspired, Governor Coles requested silence, which was accorded with a readiness and deference that proved to me that his authority rested not only on the law, but still more on popular affection. He advanced towards Lafayette, about whom the crowd had increased, and addressed him with emotion in a discourse in which he depicted the transports his presence excited in the population of the state of Illinois, and the happy influence which the remembrance of his visit would produce hereafter on the youthful witnesses of the enthusiasm of their fathers, for one of the most valiant founders of their liberty.

During an instant of profound silence, I cast a glance at the assembly, in the midst of which I found myself, and was struck with astonishment in remarking their variety and fantastic appearance. Beside men whose dignity of coun-

tenance, the patriotic exaltation of expression, readily indicated them to be Americans, were others whose coarse dresses, vivacity, petulance of movement, and the expansive joy of their visages, strongly recalled to me the peasantry of my own country; behind these, near to the door, and on the piazza which surrounded the house, stood some immovable, impassable, large, red, half naked figures, leaning on a bow or a long rifle: these were the Indians of the neighbourhood.

After a pause of some seconds, the governor resumed his address, which he concluded by presenting, with great eloquence, a faithful picture of the benefits which America had derived from its liberty, and the happy influence which republican institutions would one day exercise on the rest of the world. When the orator had finished, a slight murmur of approbation passed through the assembly, and was prolonged until it was perceived that General Lafayette was about to reply, when an attentive silence was restored.

After these reciprocal felicitations, another scene not less interesting commenced. Some old revolutionary soldiers advanced from the crowd, and came to shake hands with their old general; while he conversed with them, and heard them, with softened feelings, cite the names of those of their ancient companions in arms, who also fought at Brandywine and Yorktown, but for whom it was not ordained to enjoy the fruits of their toils, nor to unite their voices with that of their grateful country. The persons whom I had remarked as having some likeness in dress and manners to our French peasants, went and came with vivacity in all parts of the hall, or sometimes formed little groups, from the midst of which could be heard, in the French language, the most open and animated expressions of joy. Having been introduced to one of these groups by a member of the committee of Kaskaskia, I was received at first with great kindness, and was quickly overwhelmed with a volley of questions, as soon as they found I was a Frenchman, and accompanied general Lafayette. "What! are you also come from France? Give us then some news from that fine, that dear country. Are people happy there? Are they free as they are here? Ah! what pleasure to see our good Frenchmen from *grand France!*" and the ques-

tions followed with such rapidity, that I knew not which to understand. I was not long in perceiving that these good men were as ignorant of the things which concerned their mother country, as they were enthusiastic. They are acquainted with France only by tradition from the reign of Louis XIV. and they have no idea of the convulsions which, during the last forty years, have torn the country of their fathers. "Have you not had," said one of them to me, who had just asked me many questions about General Lafayette, which would not have been asked by an American child ten years of age, "have you not had another famous general, called Napoleon, who has made many glorious wars?" I think if Napoleon had heard such a question asked, his vanity would have been somewhat shocked by it. He, who believed he filled the universe with his name, because he had overturned some old thrones of Europe, and destroyed the liberty of France, was yet hardly known on the banks of the Mississippi; not more than two thousand leagues from the theatre of his glory, his name is pronounced with an expression of doubt! Indeed, there is in this something to damp the most ardent passion for celebrity: I did my best to reply to the question of my Canadian, to make him comprehend, as well as those who surrounded him, who was this *famous General Napoleon*. At the recital of his exploits, they at first clapped their hands, and assumed an air of superiority, in saying, "These are our brave Frenchmen. It is only among them that men like these are to be found!" But when I came to tell them how this famous general caused himself to be made consul; how he made himself emperor; how he had successively destroyed our liberty, and paralyzed the exercise of our rights; how, finally, he had himself fallen, leaving us, after twenty years of war, nearly at the same point whence we had started at the commencement of our revolution, they all became sad as if about to weep, and exclaimed: "And you have suffered all that! How, in beautiful France, and grand France, are they not free as in the state of Illinois? Good heavens! is it possible? What, can you not write whatever you please? Cannot you go every where without passports? Is it not you who nominate the mayors of your towns and villages? Is it not you who choose your governors, or your prefects of departments or provinces? Have

you not the right to elect your representatives to the national assembly? Are none of you called to the election of the chief of the government, although you pay the whole of such heavy taxes? Alas! our good Frenchmen of grand France are then more to be pitied than the negro slaves of Louisiana, who are, indeed, miserable enough! for if these exercise none of the rights which we all exercise here, they at least pay no money, and have masters that support them." During these exclamations, I did not know what to say. The colour mounted to my cheeks, and I confess that my national vanity suffered singularly to hear ignorant Canadians express sentiments of pity for my countrymen, and draw a parallel to their disadvantage between them and miserable slaves; but these sentiments were too well founded to admit of my complaining, and I was silent. I only made a promise to myself to be more discreet for the future, and not to speak with so much freedom of the political situation of my country before freemen.

While I was occupied with the Canadians, the crowd, influenced by a feeling of delicacy and kind attention, insensibly withdrew, to leave General Lafayette time to take a few moments' repose while waiting for the banquet which the citizens had hastily prepared. Wishing to profit by the short time we had to remain at Kaskaskia, Mr. George Lafayette and myself went out to view the environs of the village, in company with some of the inhabitants, and left the general with our other travelling companions and some old revolutionary soldiers, at Colonel Edgar's. At the public square we found nearly all the citizens walking about, and joyously conversing upon the event of the day. We found in their groups the same variety of physiognomy that had struck me in the hall. While Mr. George gathered from an American, the details of the origin and present situation of Kaskaskia, I approached a small circle of Indians, in the centre of which was a man of high stature and singular aspect. His face, without being coppery like that of the Indians, was still very swarthy. His short dress; his long belt, to which hung a powder-horn, his long leather leggings, extending above his knees, and all his equipage, announced a hunter of the forest. He was leaning on a long rifle, and appeared to inspire by his discourse a lively interest in his hearers. When he observed me, he



came to me without forwardness, but with marked kindness. He extended his hand, and I gave him mine, which he shook cordially. I had a moment's hesitation in addressing him, not knowing whether he understood English or French; but he spoke to me first in French, and I soon found myself quite at ease with him. He informed me that he was of mixed blood, that his mother was of the Kickapoos tribe, and that his father was a Canadian. He lives among the Indians of the neighbourhood, who have a great friendship and respect for him, because, notwithstanding fifty years and fatigue have begun to whiten his head, he yet equals them in hunting and all the exercises of the body, and because he often serves them as a mediator between them and the whites, whose language he perfectly understands, although his common language is Indian. Those who surrounded him were not all similarly clothed, nor similarly painted. It was easy to distinguish some differences in their features and manners. I concluded that they were not all of the same tribe. The hunter confirmed me in this opinion by telling me that at this moment, there were about Kaskaskia three or four camps of Indians, come to sell the furs obtained by their great hunting during the winter. He named the different tribes who occupied the camps; but their names were so barbarous, or so badly pronounced, that I could not comprehend them; I understood distinctly only that of *Miami*, which, repeated three or four times, roused from his apathy a little man, who until then stood motionless before me, wrapped in a blanket; his face, bloated by intemperance, was painted red, blue, and yellow. At the name of Miami, he raised his head, assumed an air of ridiculous dignity, and said, "I should be the chief of the Miami nation. My grandfather was chief, my father was chief; but the Miami have unjustly decided that I should not succeed my father, and now, instead of having a great quantity of furs to sell, I have none; I shall quit Kaskaskia without being able to buy arms, powder, or tobacco." While he thus spoke, a man painted in the same way, but of a very lofty stature and athletic form, regarded him with a disdainful air, and said, after tapping him on the shoulder, "Dare you to complain of the justice of the Miami? Thy grandfather was our chief, sayest thou? thy father was also? But hast thou

then forgotten that thy grandfather was the bravest of our warriors, and that the wisdom of thy father was heard in our councils as the voice of the Great Spirit? But, by what title wouldst thou command among men? Feeble as an old woman, thou hast not even the courage to hunt to satisfy thy wants, and thou wouldst sell us to the whites for a bottle of whiskey." A contemptuous gesture terminated this rude apostrophe, which was translated into French for me at the time by the stout hunter; and the fallen prince, sadly leaning on a small bow, similar to those with which the Indian boys exercise, kept silence. His fate seemed to me truly deserving of pity; I could not, however, avoid feeling a sentiment of esteem for the Miami nation, who do not believe that legitimacy in a prince can supply the place of all the virtues.

I was still among the Indians, questioning the hunter as to the situation and force of their tribes, which civilization is rapidly diminishing, when I saw the secretary of the governor of Louisiana, Mr. Caire, approach, who came to propose that I should go with him to visit an Indian encampment, at a very short distance from the village. I consented, and we set off immediately, in order to return by the dinner hour. Leaving Kaskaskia, we crossed a river of the same name, on a wooden bridge solidly built and firmly connected. We then marched about twenty minutes on the plain, to the entrance of a forest, which we penetrated by a straight path traced along a rivulet. As we advanced, the ground suddenly elevated itself to the right and left, and we quickly found ourselves in a kind of pass, formed by a succession of small hills, covered with thickets. After about a quarter of an hour's walk, we arrived at a fence, which we climbed, and behind which two horses attracted our attention by the noise of the bells hung round their necks. A little further on, the pass enlarging, formed a delightful little valley, in the middle of which some huts of bark were raised in a half circle; this was the Indian camp we sought. The openings of these huts were all towards the centre of the circle, and the planks elevated about three feet from the ground, were slightly inclined, like the cover of a field bed. With the exception of a very old woman cooking at a fire in the open air, we found no person in the camp. Either from

spite, or because she neither comprehended French nor English, this woman would reply to none of our questions, and saw us with the greatest indifference, look at, and even handle, all the objects which attracted our curiosity in the huts. All was arranged with sufficient order, and it was easy to recognize the places occupied by the women, by the little utensils of the toilet, such as looking-glasses, pins, bags of paint, &c. which we remarked there. After a minute examination of this little camp, we were about to leave it, when I was arrested on the border of the streamlet which ran through it, by the sight of a small mill-wheel, which appeared to have been thrown on the bank by the rapidity of the current. I took it up and placed it where I thought it had originally been put by the children, on two stones elevated a little above the water; and the current striking the wings, made it turn rapidly. This puerility, (which probably would have passed from my memory, if, on the same evening, it had not placed me before the Indians, in a situation sufficiently extraordinary,) greatly excited the attention of the old woman, who, by her gestures, expressed to us a lively satisfaction.

On returning to Kaskaskia, we found Mr. de Syon, an amiable young Frenchman of much intelligence, who, on the invitation of General Lafayette, left Washington city with us to visit the southern and western states. Like us he had just made an excursion into the neighbourhood, and appeared quite joyous at the discovery he had made; he had met, in the midst of the forest, at the head of a troop of Indians, a pretty young woman, who spoke French very well, and expressed herself with a grace at which he appeared as much astonished as we were. She had asked him if it was true, that Lafayette was at Kaskaskia, and on his replying affirmatively, she manifested a great desire to see him. "I always carry with me," said she to Mr. de Syon, "a relique, that is very dear to me; I would wish to show it to him; it will prove to him that his name is not less venerated in the midst of our tribes, than among the white Americans, for whom he fought." And in speaking thus, she drew from her bosom a little pouch which enclosed a letter carefully wrapped in several pieces of paper. "It is from Lafayette," said she, "he wrote it to my father a long time since, and my father, when he died, left it to me

as the most precious thing he possessed." At the sight of this letter, Mr. de Syon proposed to the Indian girl to go with him to Kaskaskia, assuring her that General Lafayette would be very much pleased to see her; but this proposition seemed to embarrass her, and under various pretexts, she refused to come. "However," she added, "if you have any thing to say to me this evening, you will find me in my camp, which is close by the village; any one can direct you the way, for I am well known at Kaskaskia. My name is Mary."

This recital of Mr. de Syon excited my curiosity keenly, and I would have willingly returned with him immediately to search for Mary; but, at this moment, a member of the committee of Kaskaskia came to inform me that they were about to sit down to dinner, and we saw General Lafayette going out of Colonel Edgar's, escorted by many citizens and crossing to Colonel Sweet's house where we were to dine. We joined the procession and took our places at table, where the general was seated under a canopy of flowers prepared by the ladies of Kaskaskia, with much skill and taste; and which produced, by the blending of the richest and most lively colours, the effect of a rainbow.

I spoke to General Lafayette of the meeting with the young Indian girl; and from the desire he manifested to see her, I left the table with Mr. de Syon, at the moment when the company began to exchange patriotic toasts, and we sought a guide to Mary's camp. Chance assisted us wonderfully, in directing us to an Indian of the same tribe that we wished to visit. Conducted by him, we crossed the bridge of Kaskaskia, and notwithstanding the darkness, soon recognized the path and rivulet I had seen in the morning with Mr. Caire. When we were about to enter the enclosure, we were arrested by the fierce barking of two stout dogs which sprang at, and would probably have bitten us, but for the timely interference of our guide. We arrived at the middle of the camp, which was lighted by a large fire, around which a dozen Indians were squatted, preparing their supper; they received us with cordiality, and, as soon as they were informed of the object of our visit, one of them conducted us to Mary's hut, whom we found sleeping on a bison skin. At the voice of Mr. de Syon,

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fore, left me, promising to return to see me every year after the great winter's hunt; he came, in fact, several times afterwards; and I, notwithstanding the disagreeableness of a sedentary life, grew up, answering the expectations of my careful benefactor and his wife. I became attached to their daughter, who grew up with me, and the truths of the Christian religion easily supplanted in my mind the superstition of my fathers, whom I had scarcely known; yet, I confess to you, notwithstanding the influence of religion and civilization on my youthful heart, the impressions of infancy were not entirely effaced. If the pleasure of wandering conducted me into the shady forest, I breathed more freely, and it was with reluctance that I returned home; when, in the cool of the evening, seated in the door of my adopted father's habitation, I heard in the distance, through the silence of the night, the piercing voice of the Indians, rallying to return to camp, I started with a thrill of joy, and my feeble voice imitated the voice of the savage with a facility that affrighted my young companion; and when occasionally some warriors came to consult my benefactor in regard to their treaties, or hunters to offer him a part of the produce of their chase, I was always the first to run to meet and welcome them; I testified my joy to them by every imaginable means, and I could not avoid admiring and wishing for their simple ornaments, which appeared to me far preferable to the brilliant decorations of the whites.

"In the meanwhile, for five years my father had not appeared at the period of the return from the winter's hunting; but a warrior, whom I had often seen with him, came and found me one evening at the entrance of the forest, and said to me: 'Mary, thy father is old and feeble, he has been unable to follow us here; but he wishes to see thee once more before he dies, and he has charged me to conduct thee to him.' In saying these words he forcibly took my hand, and dragged me with him. I had not even time to reply to him, nor even to take any resolution, before we were at a great distance, and I saw well that there was no part left for me, but to follow him. We marched nearly all night, and at the dawn of day, we arrived at a bark hut, built in the middle of a little valley. Here I saw my father, his eyes turned towards the just rising sun. His face was painted as for battle. His tomahawk ornamented with

many scalps, was beside him ; he was calm and silent as an Indian who awaited death. As soon as he saw me he drew out of a pouch a paper wrapped with care in a very dry skin, and gave it me, requesting that I should preserve it as a most precious thing. 'I wished to see thee once more before dying,' said he, 'and to give thee this paper, which is the most powerful charm (*manitou*) which thou canst employ with the whites to interest them in thy favour ; for all those to whom I have shown it have manifested towards me a particular attachment. I received it from a great French warrior, whom the English dreaded as much as the Americans loved, and with whom I fought in my youth.' After these words my father was silent, next morning he expired. Sciakape, the name of the warrior who came for me, covered the body of my father with the branches of trees, and took me back to my guardian."

Here Mary suspended her narrative, and presented to me a letter a little darkened by time, but in good preservation. "Stay," said she to me, smiling, "you see that I have faithfully complied with the charge of my father ; I have taken great care of his *manitou*." I opened the letter and recognized the signature and handwriting of General Lafayette. It was dated at head quarters, Albany, June, 1778, after the northern campaign, and addressed to Panisciowa, an Indian chief of one of the Six Nations, to thank him for the courageous manner in which he had served the American cause.

"Well" said Mary, "now that you know me well enough to introduce me to General Lafayette, shall we go to him that I may also greet him whom my father revered as the courageous warrior and the friend of our nations ?" "Willingly," I replied, "but it seems to me that you have promised to inform us in what manner, after having tasted for some time the sweets of civilization, you came to return to the rude and savage life of the Indians ?" At this question, Mary looked downwards and seemed troubled. However, after a slight hesitation, she resumed in a lower tone: "After the death of my father, Sciakape often returned to see me. We soon became attached to each other ; he did not find it difficult to determine me to follow him into the forest, where I became his wife. This resolution at first very much afflicted my benefactors ; but



when they saw that I found myself happy, they pardoned me; and each year, during all the time that our encampment is established near Kaskaskia, I rarely pass a day without going to see them; if you wish, we can visit them, for their house is close by our way, and you will see by the reception they will give me, that they retain their esteem and friendship." Mary pronounced these last words with a degree of pride, which proved to us that she feared that we might have formed a bad opinion of her, on account of her flight from the home of her benefactors with Sciakape. We accepted her proposition, and she gave the signal for departure. At her call, her husband and eight warriors presented themselves to escort us. M. de Syon offered her his arm, and we began our march. We were all very well received by the family of Mr. Mesnard; but Mary above all received the most tender marks of affection from the persons of the household. Mr. Mesnard, Mary's adopted father, was at Kaskaskia, as one of the committee charged with the reception of Lafayette, and Mrs. Mesnard asked us if we would undertake to conduct her daughter to the ball which she herself was prevented from attending by indisposition. We assented with pleasure; and, while Mary assisted Miss Mesnard to complete her toilet, we seated ourselves round a great fire in the kitchen. Scarcely were we seated, when I saw moving in the corner, a black mass, of which I had at first a difficulty in recognising the nature and form; but, after an attentive examination, I found it was an old negro doubled by age. His face was so much wrinkled and deformed by time, that it was impossible to distinguish in it a single feature, and I guessed the place of his mouth by the little cloud of tobacco-smoke which escaped thence, from time to time. This man appeared to give great attention to the conversation which took place between us and a young man of Mr. Mesnard's family; when he understood that we travelled with General Lafayette, and that we came from St. Louis, he asked if we had found many Frenchmen there. I replied that we had seen some, and, among others, Mr. Choteau, the founder of the town. "What!" cried he with a loud voice, which seemed not to belong to so decrepid a body—"What! you found the little Choteau? Oh! I know him well, so I do, that little

Choteau ; we have travelled a great deal together on the Mississippi, and that at a time when very few of the whites had come this far." "But do you know," said I, "that he whom you call the little Choteau is very old, that he is certainly more than ninety years of age?" "Oh! I believe that well! but what of that? that does not prevent that I should know him well, when a child." "Of what age are you, then?" "Of that I know nothing, as they never taught me to count. All that I know is, that I left New Orleans with my master, who made part of the expedition sent by the Navigation Company of the Mississippi, under the orders of the young Choteau, to go and build a fort high up the river. Young Choteau was hardly seventeen, but he was commander of the expedition, because his father was, they said, one of the richest proprietors of the company. After having rowed a long time against the current and suffered great fatigue, we arrived at last not far from here, where we set about building Fort Chartres. It seems as if I was now there; I see from here the great stones which bore the great arches we built. Every one of us said, 'Here is a fort will last longer than us all, and longer than our children.' I also believed it well, and yet I have seen the last of it; for it is now in ruins, and I am yet living. Do you know, sir, how many years it is since we built Fort Chartres?" "At least eighty years, if I am not deceived." "Well, count, and you will know very nearly my age. I was then at least thirty years old, for the little Choteau appeared to me a child; I have already served three masters, and I have suffered a great deal." "According to that account, you are a hundred and ten years old, Daddy Francis." "Yes, indeed, I believe I am at the least that, for it is a long time that I have laboured and suffered." "How!" said the young man who was seated near him, "do you suffer now, Francis?" "Oh! pardon me, sir, I speak not of the time I have lived in this house. Since I belonged to Mr. Mesnard it is very different; I am now happy. Instead of serving others, they all serve me. Mr. Mesnard will not even allow me to go and bring in a little wood for the fire; he says I am too old for that. But I must tell the truth, Mr. Mesnard is not a master to me; he is a man—he is a friend."

This homage of the old slave, rendered to the humanity

of his master, gave us a high idea of the character of Mr. Mesnard. While we were yet listening to old Francis, Mary and Miss Mesnard came to inform us that they were ready, and asked us if we would be on our way, as it began to grow late. We took leave of Mrs. Mesnard, and found our Indian escort who had waited patiently for us at the door, and who resumed their position near us at some distance in front, to guide and protect our march, as if we had been crossing an enemy's country. The night was quite dark, but the temperature was mild, and the fire-flies illuminated the atmosphere around us. M. de Syon conducted Miss Mesnard, and I gave my arm to Mary, who, notwithstanding the darkness, walked with a confidence and lightness which only a forest life could produce. The fire-flies attracted and interested me much; for, although this was not the first time I had observed them, I had never before seen them in such numbers. I asked Mary if these insects, which from their appearance seem so likely to astonish the imagination, had never given place among the Indians to popular beliefs or tales. "Not among the nations of these countries, where every year we are familiarised with their great numbers," said she to me, "but I have heard that among the tribes of the north, they commonly believe that they are the souls of departed friends, who return to console them or demand the performance of some promise. I even know several ballads on this subject. One of them appears to have been made a long time since, in a nation which lives farther north and no longer exists. It is by songs that great events and popular traditions are ordinarily preserved among us, and this ballad; which I have often heard sung by the young girls of our tribe, leaves no doubt as to the belief of some Indians concerning the fire-fly." I asked her to sing me this song, which she did with much grace. Although I did not comprehend the words, which were Indian, I observed a great harmony in their arrangement, and, in the very simple music in which they were sung, an expression of deep melancholy.

When she had finished the ballad, I asked her if she could not translate it for me into French, so that I might comprehend the sense. "With difficulty," she said, "for I have always found great obstacles to translating exactly

the expressions of our Indians into French, when I have served them as interpreter with the whites; but I will try." And she translated nearly as follows:

"The rude season of the chase was over. Antakaya, the handsomest, the most skilful, and bravest of the Cherokee warriors, came to the banks of the Avolachy, where he was expected by Manahella, the young virgin promised to his love and bravery.

"The first day of the moon of flowers was to witness their union. Already had the two families, assembled round the same fire, given their assent; already had the young men and women prepared and ornamented the new cabin, which was to receive the happy couple, when, at the rising of the sun, a terrible cry, the cry of war, sent forth by the scout who always watches at the summit of the hill, called the old men to the council, and the warriors to arms.

"The whites appeared on the frontier. Murder and robbery accompanied them. The star of fertility had not reached its noontide height, and already Antakaya had departed at the head of his warriors to repel robbery, murder, and the whites.

"Go, said Manahella to him, endeavouring to stifle her grief, go fight the cruel whites; and I will pray to the Great Spirit to wrap thee with a cloud, proof against their blows. I will pray him to bring thee back to the banks of the Avolachy, there to be loved by Manahella.

"I will return to thee, replied Antakaya, I will return to thee. My arrows have never disappointed my aim, my tomahawk shall be bathed in the blood of the whites; I will bring back their scalps to ornament the door of thy cabin; then I shall be worthy of Manahella; then shall we love in peace, then shall we be happy.

"The first day of the moon of flowers had brightly dawned, and many more had passed away, and none had heard from Antakaya and his warriors. Stooping on the shores of the Avolachy, the mournful Manahella every evening raised to the evil spirits little pyramids of polished pebbles, to appease their anger and avert their resistance to her well beloved; but the evil spirits were inflexible, and their violent blasts overthrew the little pyramids.

"One evening of the last moon of flowers, Manahella met on the banks of the river a pale and bloody warrior. 'Die,

Tennessee, to the north-east by South Carolina, to the south-east by the Atlantic ocean, to the south by Florida, and to the west by the state of Alabama. Its surface is 58,000 square miles, and its population 340,989 inhabitants, of which nearly 150,000 are slaves; a proportion truly alarming, and which will, some day, bring Georgia into an embarrassing situation, if its government does not adopt some measure to diminish the evil. Here, as in all the slave states, the blacks are goods and chattels, which are sold like any other property, and which may be inherited; but their introduction into the state as an object of commerce is severely prohibited. According to existing laws, a person who brings into the state a slave, which he sells or exposes to sale within the year immediately succeeding his introduction, is subjected to a penalty of one thousand dollars, and an imprisonment of five years in the state prison. The prejudices against the coloured race is very strong among the Georgians, and I have not remarked that they have made any great efforts for the abolition of slavery; the laws even interpose a barrier to gradual emancipation, for a proprietor cannot give liberty to his slave without the authority of the legislature. The ancient code of slavery introduced by the English, and which was a code of blood, is fallen into disuse, and has been supplied by some laws protective of the slaves. Thus, for example, whoever now designedly deprives a slave of life or limb, is condemned to the same punishment as if the crime had been committed on a white man, except in a case of insurrection; but we feel that this law is to be administered by judges who are themselves slave-holders, and under the influence of the same prejudices as their fellow citizens; thus may one say with truth, that if the slaves of Georgia do not perish under the whip of their master, as too often happens in the French colonies, it is owing solely to the naturally mild and humane dispositions of the Georgians, and not to the efficacy of the laws, which admit that a slave *may accidentally die on receiving moderate correction*, without the author of the infliction being guilty of murder.

Georgia, it is said, was that one of the ancient colonies in which the revolution obtained the fewest suffrages. The royal party, for a long time, preserved there a great

influence, which, augmented by the presence of a numerous body of English, under the orders of Colonel Campbell, maintained the royal government until the end of the war; thus the patriots had more to suffer in Georgia than elsewhere.

It was not until 1798, that the constitution, which had been adopted in 1785 and amended in 1789, was definitively and vigorously enforced by a general assembly of the representatives. This constitution is very nearly similar to that of South Carolina.

If Georgia is not yet one of the richest states of the Union, by the abundance and variety of its productions, the cause should be attributed to the influence of slavery alone. No country, perhaps, is more favoured by nature than this, and all the products of the most opposite climates may be easily and abundantly drawn from its soil. The seashores and the adjacent islands produce six hundred pounds of long cotton per acre, of which the medium price is thirty cents per pound; and the same soil will produce four crops without manure. Sugar may be cultivated in the same soil, with an equal success. The white mulberry grows there in such quantities, that Georgia could easily liberate the United States from an annual tribute of several millions which they pay to Europe, if the culture of silk was confided to skilful and interested hands; that is to say, to the hands of freemen. Tea grows without culture in the neighbourhood of Savannah; in some choice places, three crops of indigo are annually produced; and, in the interior, the lands produce abundantly of grain and maize; finally, pulse and fruits of all kinds grow here with an unusual facility. But to fertilize the sources of such abundant riches, there are requisite an industry and activity, rarely possessed by men accustomed to confide the care of their existence to the devotedness of unhappy beings brutalised by slavery.\*

\* See the excellent work of Captain Hugh M'Call, published in 1811, entitled "*The History of Georgia.*"

## CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Milledgeville—Macon—Indian Agency—Meeting with Indians during a Storm—Hamley—M'Intosh's Tribe—Uchee Creek—Big Warrior—Captain Lewis—Line Creek—Montgomery—Farewell of M'Intosh—Cahawba—State of Alabama—Mobile.

On the 29th of March, after having taken leave of the citizens of Milledgeville, and expressed our thanks to the committee of arrangement, the authorities of the town and the state, for the kindnesses with which we had been loaded, we resumed our route with some aides-de-camp of Governor Troup, who, with a skilful foresight, had previously arranged every thing, so that the general should experience the inconveniences inevitably to be encountered, as little as possible, in a journey across a country without roads, towns, and almost without inhabitants; for, to enter the state of Alabama, we had to traverse that vast territory which separates it from Georgia, and which is inhabited by the Creek nation; a people which civilization has blighted with some of its vices, without having been able to win them from the habits of a wandering and savage life.

The first day, after travelling for some hours, we arrived at Macon to dinner, where the general was received with enthusiasm by the citizens, and a number of ladies, whose elegance and manners formed a singular contrast to the aspect of the country we had traversed. Macon, which is a small and handsome village, tolerably populous, did not exist eighteen months since; it has arisen from the midst of the forests as if by enchantment. It is a civilized speck lost in the yet immense domain of the original children of the soil. Within a league of this place, we are again in the bosom of virgin forests; the summits of these aged trees, which appear as records of the age of the world, waved above our heads, and, when agitated by the winds, gave rise alternately to that shrill or hollow tone, which Chateaubriand has termed the voice of the desert. The road we pursued was a kind of gulley or fissure, over the

bottom of which the general's carriage was with difficulty drawn, and often at the risk of being shattered in pieces; we followed on horseback, and arrived in the evening at the Indian agency.

This is an isolated habitation in the midst of the forests, built during the last year for the conferences between the Indian chiefs and the commissioners of the United States. It was there that the treaty was formed, by which the tribes inhabiting the left bank of the Mississippi consented to retire to the right bank, on the payment of a considerable sum of money to them. The year 1827 was assigned as the time for their evacuation, and it is not without sorrow that the Indians find that it is drawing near; they will relinquish with regret the neighbourhood of civilized man, although they detest him; and accuse their chiefs of having betrayed them in making this cession, which, it is said, has already cost the life of McIntosh, one of the chiefs who signed the treaty.

We passed the night at the Indian agency; we had been expected the evening before by about a hundred Indians, among whom the name of Lafayette has existed by tradition for fifty years; but the delays we had met with had exhausted their patience, and they had gone to prepare for our reception elsewhere. On the second day we had to traverse thirty-two miles over a road which became more and more difficult. A storm, such as is never seen in Europe, and which, however, I cannot pause to describe, now assailed us, and forced us to halt for some hours. Happily we found a shelter in a cabin built by an American, not far distant from the road. Some Indian hunters, accustomed, no doubt, to seek refuge here, were drying their garments around a large fire; we took our place among them without being known, or attracting any particular attention. Mine, on the contrary, was strongly excited by this interview, the first of the kind I had met with. I had heard much of the manners of these sons of nature, and, like every inhabitant of a civilized country, I entertained such singular ideas respecting them, that the slightest of their gestures, and every minutiae of their dress and accoutrements, induced an astonishment which the Indians did not appear to share in seeing us. As far as I could, by signs, I proposed a multitude of questions, to which they



replied by a pantomime, which was at once expressive and laconic. I had heard much of the apathy of Indians as a natural faculty, but also singularly augmented in them by education. I wished to make a few experiments on this point, but did not know how they would receive them. I provoked one of them by hostile gestures; but my anger, though tolerably well assumed, did not appear to excite more emotion than the tricks of a child would have done. He continued his conversation without attending to me, and his countenance expressed neither fear nor contempt.

After some other trials of the same kind, always received with the same calm indifference, I recurred to signs of kindness; I offered to the Indians a glass of brandy: this succeeded better. They emptied it. I showed them some pieces of money, which they took without ceremony. I soon quitted them, and it appeared to me that we separated very good friends. The termination of the storm now permitted us to resume our route, and we arrived at a resting place rather better than that of the preceding evening. This was a group of cabins constructed of logs, and covered with bark. The owner was an American, whom a reverse of fortune had forced to take refuge here, where he carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians by exchanging goods from the coast for furs. His small farm was composed of some acres in tolerable cultivation, a well furnished poultry yard, and the dwelling I have spoken of above. On arrival, we found two Indians seated before his door, one young, the other middle aged, but both remarkable for their beauty and form. They were dressed in a short frock, of a light material, fastened around the body by a wampum belt. Their heads were wrapped with shawls of brilliant colours, their leggings of buckskin reached above the knee. They arose on the approach of the general, and saluted him, the youngest, to our great astonishment, complimenting him in very good English. We soon learnt that he had passed his youth in college in the United States, but that he had withdrawn several years before from his benefactor, to return among his brethren, whose mode of life he preferred to that of civilized man. The general questioned him much as to the state of the Indian nations. He replied with much clearness and precision. When the last treaty of the United States was spoken of,

his countenance became sombre, he stamped on the ground, and, placing his hand upon his knife, murmured the name of M<sup>c</sup>Intosh in such a manner, as to make us tremble for the safety of that chief; and when we appeared to be astonished, "M<sup>c</sup>Intosh," exclaimed he, "has sold the land of his fathers, and sacrificed us all to his avarice. The treaty he has concluded in our name, it is impossible to break, but the wretch!" He stopped on making this violent exclamation, and shortly afterwards quietly entered on some other topic of conversation.

Hamley, (the name of the young Indian,) when he found we were somewhat rested, proposed to us to visit his house, which he pointed out to us on the slope of a hill at a little distance. Two of the governor's aides-de-camp and myself accepted the invitation, and followed the two Indians. On our route they showed to us a fenced enclosure, filled with deer and fawns, which they called their reserve, and which served them for food when they had been unsuccessful in the chase. Hamley's cabin adjoined this enclosure. We entered it. There was a large fire on the hearth, and evening having commenced, the whole building was illuminated by the flame of the burning pine wood. The furniture consisted of two beds, a table, some rude chairs, whilst wicker baskets, fire arms, and bows and arrows, with a violin, were hanging on the walls. The whole arrangement indicated the presence of man in a half civilized state. Hamley's companion took down the violin, and handling the instrument with vigour rather than lightness and grace, played some fragments of Indian airs, which induced a desire of dancing in Hamley, but whether from courtesy, or from a wish of inducing a comparison which would result to his own credit, he begged us to begin. The grave Americans who accompanied me, excused themselves. Being younger, or less reserved, I did not wait for a second invitation, and executed some steps of our national dances; this was all that Hamley desired. I saw him throw off every thing that might embarrass him, seize a large shawl, and triumphantly spring into the centre of the apartment, as if he would say, it is now my turn. His first movements, slow and impassioned, gradually became animated, his movements, incomparably bolder and more expressive than those of our opera dancers, soon became

so rapid that the eye could scarcely follow them. In the intervals, or when he halted for breath, his steps softly beating time to the music, his head gently inclined, and gracefully following the movements of his pliant body, his eyes sparkling with an emotion which reddened the coppery hue of his complexion, the cries that he uttered when he awoke from this reverie in order to commence his rapid evolutions, had the most striking effect upon us, which it is impossible to describe.

Two Indian women, whom I afterwards learned were Hamley's wives, approached the house, during the time that it resounded with his exertions, and our plaudits, but they did not enter, and I therefore merely saw them. They had the usual beauty of this race; their dress was composed of a long white tunic, and a scarlet drapery thrown over their shoulders; their long black hair was wholly unconfined. On their neck, they had a necklace of four or five strings of pearls, and in their ears, those immense silver rings so generally worn by Indian women. I believed, from their reserve, that Hamley had forbidden them to enter, and therefore made no inquiries respecting them. There were also some negroes about the house, but they did not appear to be slaves. They were fugitives to whom he had granted an asylum, and who repaid his hospitality by their labour.

I would willingly have remained several days as Hamley's guest and companion in the chase; but we were obliged to continue our journey. We retired, and the next day, the 31st March, resumed our route. As we plunged deeper into this country of forests, the Indian soil seemed to efface from our minds those prejudices which induce civilized man to endeavour to impose his mode of life on all those nations who still adhere to primitive habits, and to consider the invasion of districts in which this pretended barbarity still exists, as a noble and legitimate conquest. It must, however, be stated, to the praise of the Americans, that it is not by extermination or war, but by treaties, in which their intellectual superiority, it is true, exercises a species of gentle violence, that they pursue their system of aggrandizement against the Indian tribes to the west and north. With them, civilization is not sullied by crimes compared with those of Great Britain in India, but in

rendering this justice to them, we, at the same time, cannot help feeling a strong interest in the fate of the unhappy Indians. Thus, in meeting at every turn the bark cabin of the Creek hunter, now the habitation of peace and savage yet happy ignorance, we could not think without sorrow how soon it might be overthrown and replaced by the farm of the white settler. It was on the banks of the Chatahouche that we met with the first assemblage of Indians, in honour of the general. A great number of women and children were to be seen in the woods on the opposite bank, who uttered cries of joy on perceiving us. The warriors descended the side of a hill at a little distance, and hastened to that part of the shore at which we were to disembark. The variety and singular richness of their costumes presented a most picturesque appearance. Mr. George Lafayette, who was the first that landed, was immediately surrounded by men, women, and children, who danced and leaped around him, touched his hands and clothes with an air of surprise and astonishment, that caused him almost as much embarrassment as pleasure. All at once, as if they wished to give their joy a grave and more solemn expression, they retired, and the men ranged themselves in front. He who appeared to be the chief of the tribe, gave, by an acute and prolonged cry, the signal for a kind of salute, which was repeated by the whole troop, which again advanced towards the shore. At the moment the general prepared to step on shore, some of the most athletic seized the small carriage we had with us, and insisted that the general should seat himself in it, not willing, as they observed, that their father should step on the wet ground. The general was thus carried in a kind of palanquin a certain distance from the shore, when the Indian whom I have spoken of as the chief, approached him and said in English, that all his brothers were happy in being visited by one who, in his affection for the inhabitants of America, had never made a distinction of blood or colour; that he was the honoured father of all the races of men dwelling on that continent. After the chief had finished his speech, the other Indians all advanced and placed their right arm on that of the general, in token of friendship. They would not permit him to leave the carriage, but dragging it along, they slowly ascended the hill they

had previously left, and on which one of their largest villages was situated.

During our progress I drew near to the Indian chief; I supposed that as he spoke English, that he, like Hamley, had been educated in the United States, and this I found to be the case. He was about 28 years of age, of a middle height; but the symmetry of his limbs was perfect, his physiognomy noble, his expression mournful; when he was not speaking he fixed his large black eyes, shaded by a heavy brow, steadfastly on the ground. When he told me that he was the eldest son of M'Intosh, I could not recall, without emotions of sorrow, the imprecations I had heard poured forth against this chief, on the preceding evening. This, in all probability, occasioned the air of depression and thoughtfulness I remarked in the young man; but what I afterwards learned in conversation with him explained it still more satisfactorily; his mind had been cultivated at the expense of his happiness. He appreciated the real situation of his nation, he saw it gradually becoming weaker, and foresaw its speedy destruction; he felt how much it was inferior to those which surrounded it, and was perfectly aware that it was impossible to overcome the wandering mode of life of his people. Their vicinity to civilization had been of no service to them; on the contrary, it had only been the means of introducing vices to which they had hitherto been strangers; he appeared to hope that the treaty which removed them to another and a desert country, would re-establish the ancient organization of the tribes, or at least preserve them in the state in which they now were.

When we arrived at the brow of the hill we perceived the glitter of helmets and swords; troops were drawn up in line along the road. These were not Indians; they were civilized men, sent by the state of Alabama to escort the general. The singular triumphal march to which he had been obliged to submit, now ceased. The Indians saw with some jealousy the American escort range themselves round the general; but we approached the village, and they ran on in order to precede us. We there found them on our arrival, with their garments thrown off, and prepared to afford us a sight of their warlike games.

We arrived on a large plain, around which were situated

about an hundred Indian huts, crowned by the rich verdure of the dense thickets; one house was distinguished for its greater size, it was that of the American agent. He also kept an inn, and his wife superintended a school for the instruction of the Indian children. All the men were assembled, deprived of a part of their dress, their faces painted in a grotesque manner, and some wearing feathers in their hair, as a mark of distinction. They then announced to us that there would be a mock fight in honour of their white father. In fact, we soon perceived them separate into two divisions, and form two camps at the two extremities of the place, appoint two leaders, and make preparations for a combat. The cry that was uttered by each of these troops, and which we were told was the war-whoop of the Indian tribes, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary modulation of the human voice that can be conceived, and the effect it produced on the combatants of all ages, was still more so. The sport began. They explained the plan to us as follows: Each party endeavoured to drive a ball beyond a certain mark, and that which attained this object seven times would be the victor. We soon saw the combatants, each armed with two long rackets, rush after the light projectile, spring over each other in order to reach it, seize it in the air with incredible dexterity, and hurl it beyond the goal. When the ball was missed by a player, it fell to the ground, when every head was bent, a scene of great confusion ensued, and it was only after a severe struggle that the players succeeded in again throwing it up. In the midst of one of these long combats, whilst all the players were bent around the ball, an Indian detached himself from the group to some distance, returned on a run, sprung into the air, and after making several somersets, threw himself on the shoulders of the other players, leaped into the circle, seized the ball, and for the seventh time cast it beyond the mark. This player was McIntosh. The victory was obtained by the camp which he commanded; he advanced to receive our congratulations under a shower of applause from a part of the Indian women, whilst the wives of the vanquished appeared to be endeavouring to console them.

The general, after this game, which much amused him, visited the interior of some of the huts, and the Indian

school. When we were ready to resume our journey, young M<sup>c</sup>Intosh re-appeared dressed as an European. He requested permission from the general to accompany him to Montgomery, where he wished to carry his brother, who was about ten years of age, in order to place him under the care of a citizen of Alabama, who had generously offered to educate him. The general consented to it, and we all set out for Uchee Creek, an American tavern, situated on the banks of a creek of that name. We arrived at that place at an early hour, and visited the neighbourhood, which was charming. Accompanied by M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, I soon made an acquaintance with the Indians of that district. We found them exercising with the bow. I wished to try my skill, M<sup>c</sup>Intosh likewise armed himself; he had the arm and eye of William Tell. Some proofs of his skill would scarcely be credited were I to relate them. I was most struck with the skill, with which, whilst lying on the ground, he discharged an arrow, which, striking the ground at a few paces distance, made a slight rebound, and flew to an immense distance. This is the mode employed by the Indians when they wish to discharge their arrows to a great distance without discovering themselves. I tried in vain to accomplish it; each time my arrow, instead of rebounding, buried itself in the earth.

We returned to Uchee Creek, and met an Indian chief on his way to the tavern. He was on horseback, with a woman behind him. When he arrived within a few paces of the house, he dismounted and went forward to salute the general, and to make some purchases. During this time his wife remained with the horse, brought it to him when he wished to depart, held the bridle and stirrup when he mounted, and afterwards sprung up behind him. I asked my companions if this woman was the wife of the Indian, and if such was the condition of the females of the nation. They replied, that in general they were treated as we had seen; in the agricultural districts they cultivated the ground, among the hunters they carried the game, the culinary utensils, and other necessary articles, and thus loaded could travel great distances, that even maternal cares scarcely exonerated them from these laborious occupations. However, in the excursions I afterwards made in the environs of Uchee Creek, the condition of the women did not appear

to me as unhappy as I was led to expect. I saw before almost all the houses the women sitting in circles, engaged in weaving baskets or mats, and amusing themselves with the games and exercises of the young men, and I never remarked any signs of harshness on the part of the men, or of servile dependence on the part of the women. I was so hospitably received in all the Indian cabins at Uchee Creek, and the country around was so beautiful, that it yet appears to me as the most beautiful spot I ever visited. From Uchee Creek to the cabin of Big Warrior, which is the nearest resting place, is about a day's journey, through a country inhabited by Indians. We several times met parties of them, and were greatly assisted by them in extricating ourselves from dangerous places in the road, for the storm had encumbered them, and swelled the streams. On one of these occasions, the general received a touching specimen of the veneration these sons of nature held him in. One of the torrents we were to cross had risen above the unnailed wooden bridge over which the carriage of the general was to proceed. What was our astonishment, on arriving at the stream, to find a score of Indians, who, holding each other by the hand, and breast deep in water, marked the situation of the bridge by a double line. We were well pleased at receiving this succour, and the only recompense demanded by the Indians, was to have the honour of taking the general by the hand, whom they called their white father, the envoy of the Great Spirit, the great warrior from France, who came in former days to free them from the tyranny of the English. M'Intosh, who interpreted their discourse to us, also expressed to them the general's and our own good wishes. The village of the Big Warrior is thus named on account of the extraordinary courage and great stature of the Indian who was its chief. We arrived there at a late hour; the chief had been dead some time; the council of old men had assembled to name his successor, and had designated one of his sons, remarkable for the same strength of body, as worthy of filling his place. This son had much conversation with Mr. George Lafayette; he expressed himself in English, and astonished us by the singular apathy with which he spoke of the death of his father. But the Indians have not the slightest idea of what we call grief and mourning. Death does not appear an evil to them,



either as regards the person who has quitted this life, or those who are thus separated from him. The son of Big Warrior only appeared to regret that the death of his father, which had occurred a short time before, did not permit him to dispose of his inheritance, and to present one of the dresses of this celebrated chief to the general.

We only passed one night with the family of Big Warrior; the next day we arrived at Line Creek, that is to say, at the frontier of the Indian country. We were received there by an American who had married the daughter of a Creek chief, and had adopted the Indian mode of life. He was a Captain Lewis, formerly in the army of the United States; his house was commodious, and was furnished with elegance for an Indian cabin. Captain Lewis, who is distinguished for his knowledge and character, appeared to us to exercise great influence over the Indians; he had assembled a great number, well armed and mounted, to act as an escort to the general. One of the neighbouring chiefs came at the head of a deputation to compliment the general. His discourse, which appeared studied, was rather long, and was translated to us by an interpreter. He commenced by high eulogiums on the skill and courage the general had formerly displayed against the English; the most brilliant events of that war was recalled and recounted in a poetical and somewhat pompous strain. He terminated somewhat in these words: "Father, we had long since heard that you had returned to visit our forests and our cabins; you, whom the Great Spirit formerly sent over the great lake to destroy those enemies of man, the English, clothed in bloody raiment. Even the youngest amongst us will say to their descendants, that they have touched your hand and seen your figure, they will also behold you, for you are protected by the Great Spirit from the ravages of age—you may again defend us if we are attacked."

The general replied, through the interpreter, to these compliments of the Indians; he again counselled them to be prudent and temperate; recommended their living in harmony with the Americans, and to always consider them as their friends and brothers; he told them that he should always think of them, and would pray for the welfare of their families and the glory of their warriors. We now directed our course to the stream which separates the

Creek country from the state of Alabama. The Indians under Captain Lewis, mounted on small horses as light and nimble as deer, some armed with bows and arrows, and others with tomahawks, followed us in a long file, the rear of which was hidden in the darkness of the forest. On arriving at the brink of the stream, they turned back, uttering loud cries; some of the chiefs, however, bid us a final adieu as we left their territory.

We passed the night on the banks of Line Creek, in a small village of the same name, almost entirely inhabited by persons whom the love of gain had assembled from all parts of the globe, in the midst of these deserts, to turn to their own profit the simplicity and above all the new wants of the unfortunate natives. These avaricious wretches, who without scruple poison the tribes with intoxicating liquors, and afterwards ruin them by duplicity and overreaching, are the most cruel and dangerous enemies of the Indian nations, whom, at the same time, they accuse of being robbers, idlers, and drunkards. If the limits to which I had determined to restrain my narrative had not already been overstepped, I could easily show, that these vices with which they reproach the children of the forest, are the result of the approach of civilization, and also in how many instances they are surpassed by the whites in cruelty and want of faith. I will content myself with citing but two facts from the thousands, which are an eternal stigma on men so proud of the whiteness of their skin, and who call themselves civilized.

A short time since, a trader, living in the state of Alabama, went into the Creek country for the purposes of his business. Having met with one of the chiefs of the nation, he bargained with him for peltries; but, as the conditions he proposed were all disadvantageous to the Indian, to induce him the more readily to consent to them, he intoxicated him with whiskey. After the bargain was concluded, they set out together for the nearest village. On the way, the Indian reflected on what he had done, and perceived that he had been duped; he wished to enter into some other arrangement with the trader, but the discussion soon caused a violent quarrel, which ended by the Indian striking his adversary so violent a blow with his tomahawk, as to stretch him dead at his feet. Twenty-four hours after-

wards, on the first complaint of the whites, the murderer was arrested by his own tribe, who, after having assembled their great council, pronounced him guilty of a base assassination, in thus having killed a white who was without arms or means of defence. They then conducted him to the banks of Line Creek, where they had requested the whites to assemble to witness the justice they rendered them, and shot him in their presence.

The evening of our arrival at Line Creek, I went into a store to make some purchases, and whilst there, an Indian entered and asked for twelve and a half cents worth of whiskey. The owner of the shop received the money, and told him to wait a moment, as the concourse of buyers was very great. The Indian waited patiently for a quarter of an hour, after which he demanded his whiskey. The trader appeared astonished, and told him if he wanted whiskey he must first pay him for it. "I gave you twelve and a half cents a few moments since," said the Indian. The poor wretch had scarcely pronounced these words, when the trader sprung forward, seized him by the ears, and, assisted by one of his men, brutally turned him out of the shop. I saw him give the money, and was convinced of the honesty of the one and the rascality of the other. I felt strongly indignant, and notwithstanding the delicacy of my situation, I would have stepped forward to interfere, but the whole scene passed so rapidly that I hardly had time to say a few words. I went out to see what the Indian would do. I found him a few steps from the house, where he had been checked by his melancholy emotions. An instant afterwards, he crossed his arms on his breast, and hurried towards his own country with rapid strides. When he arrived on the margin of the stream, he plunged in and crossed it without appearing to perceive that the water reached above his knees. On attaining the other side, he stopped, turned round, and elevating his eyes towards heaven, he extended his hand towards the territory of the whites, in a menacing manner, and uttered some energetic exclamations in his own language. Doubtless, at that moment he invoked the vengeance of heaven on his oppressors; a vengeance that would have been just, but his prayer was in vain. Poor Indians! you are pillaged, beaten, poisoned or excited by intoxicating

liquors, and then you are termed savages! Washington said, "Whenever I have been called upon to decide between an Indian and a white man, I have always found that the white had been the aggressor." Washington was right.

The conduct of the American government is of an entirely different character, as regards the Indian tribes. It not only protects them against individual persecution, and sees that the treaties made with them by the neighbouring states are not disadvantageous to them, and are faithfully adhered to, but it also provides for their wants with a paternal solicitude. It is not a rare circumstance for congress to vote money and supplies to those tribes, whom a deficient harvest or unforeseen calamity have exposed to famine.

We quitted Line Creek on the 3d of April, and the same day General Lafayette was received at Montgomery, by the inhabitants of that village, and by the governor of the state of Alabama, who had come from Cahawba with all his staff and a large concourse of citizens, who had assembled from great distances to accompany him. We passed the next day at Montgomery, and left it on the night of the 4th and 5th, after a ball, at which we had the pleasure of seeing Chilli M'Intosh dance with several beautiful women, who certainly had little idea that they were dancing with a savage. The parting of M'Intosh with the general was a melancholy one. He appeared overwhelmed with sinister presentiments. After having quitted the general and his son, he met me in the courtyard; he stopped, placed my right arm on his, and elevating his left hand towards heaven, "Farewell," said he, "always accompany our father and watch over him. I will pray to the Great Spirit also to watch over him, and give him a speedy and safe return to his children in France. His children are our brothers; he is our father. I hope that he will not forget us." His voice was affected, his countenance sad, and the rays of the moon falling obliquely on his dark visage, gave a solemnity to his farewell with which I was deeply moved. I wished to reply to him, but he quitted me precipitately and disappeared.

At two o'clock in the morning, we embarked on the Alabama, on board the steamboat Anderson, which had

been richly and commodiously prepared for the general, and provided with a band of musicians sent from New Orleans. All the ladies of Montgomery accompanied us on board, where we took leave of them; and the moment the reports of the artillery announced our departure, immense fires were lighted on the shore. Our voyage as far as the Tombigbee was delicious. It is difficult to imagine any thing more romantic than the elevated, gravelly, and oftentimes wooded shores of the Alabama. During the three days we were on it, the echoes repeated the patriotic airs executed by our Louisiana musicians. We stopped one day at Cahawba, where the officers of government of the state of Alabama had, in concert with the citizens, prepared entertainments for General Lafayette, as remarkable for their elegance and good taste, as touching by their cordiality and the feelings of which they were the expression. Among the guests with whom we sat down to dinner, we found some countrymen whom political events had driven from France. They mentioned to us, that they had formed part of the colony at Champ D'Asile. They now lived in a small town they had founded in Alabama, to which they had given the name Gallopolis. I should judge that they were not in a state of great prosperity. I believe their European prejudices, and their inexperience in commerce and agriculture, will prevent them from being formidable rivals of the Americans for a length of time.

Cahawba, the seat of government of Alabama, is a flourishing town, whose population, although as yet small, promises to increase rapidly, from its admirable situation at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama.

The state of Alabama, which, like Mississippi, was formerly part of Georgia, and with which its early history is intimately connected, received a territorial governor from congress in 1817, and was admitted into the federation as an independent state in 1816. Its population, which in 1810 was only 10,000, had risen to 67,000 in 1817, and is at present 128,000. In this estimate of the population I do not include the Indian tribes of Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, residing in the east and west of the state.

From Cahawba we descended the river to Claiborne, a small fort on the Alabama. The general was induced by

the intreaties of the inhabitants to remain a few hours, which were passed in the midst of the most touching demonstrations of friendship. Mr. Dellet, who had been appointed by his fellow citizens to express their sentiments, acquitted himself with an eloquence we were astonished to meet in a spot, which, but a short time before, only resounded with the savage cry of the Indian hunter.

A little below Claiborne, I remarked that the banks of the Alabama were much lower; when we had passed the mouth of the Tombigbee, we found ourselves in the middle of low marshy meadows, but apparently very fertile. Finally, we arrived on the 7th of April, in Mobile bay, at the bottom of which is situated a city of the same name.

The distance we had traversed in three days, and which was more than three hundred miles, on account of the windings of the river, formerly required a month or six weeks in ascending, and half the time in descending. This shows what a prodigious revolution the application of steam to navigation will effect in the commercial relations of a country.

The city of Mobile, which is the oldest establishment in the state, is very advantageously situated for commerce, on a beautiful plain, elevated more than twenty feet above the general level of the water. This town had languished for a long time, under the despotism of the Spanish inquisition, and the wretched administration of the French government. It has often been devastated by the yellow fever. At present, all its wounds are healed; a few years of liberty have sufficed to render it prosperous. When the Americans took possession, it did not contain more than two hundred houses; at present, its population is more than 1800 souls. Formerly it scarcely exported four hundred bales of cotton; this year it has despatched upwards of sixty thousand.

The arrival of the steam boat in the bay, was announced by discharges of artillery from Fort Conde; and when we reached the wharf at Mobile, the general found the committee of the corporation and all the population assembled to receive him. He was conducted to the centre of the town under a triumphal arch, the four corners of which were adorned with the flags of Mexico, the republics of South America and Greece. In the centre was that of the

United States. Here he was complimented by Mr. Garrow in the name of the city, and in presence of the municipal body. He was then led to an immense hall, expressly constructed for his reception. He there found all the ladies, to whom he was presented by the governor; after which Mr. Webb addressed him in the name of the state. In his speech, the orator retraced with much truth, the debased situation into which despotism and ignorance had formerly plunged the city of Mobile, and the rich territory that surrounded it; he then painted the rapid and increasing progress that liberty and republican institutions had produced in the arts, in industry and commerce, which had now rendered these very spots rich and prosperous; he attributed this happy change to the glorious and triumphant exertions of the revolutionary patriots, whose courage and constancy had been sustained by the noble example of Lafayette; and he terminated by expressing his regret that the efforts of the French patriots had not resulted in consequences equally beneficial to their country.

In returning his thanks to the orator and the citizens of Alabama, the general took a rapid survey of the struggles for liberty in which he had borne so important a part, and concluded by expressing his deep conviction of the necessity of the closest and most intimate union among the states.

The inhabitants of Mobile, hoping that the general would pass some days with them, had made great preparations for entertainments to him, but the most part were rendered useless. Limited in his time, he was obliged to yield to the solicitations of the deputation from New Orleans, who pressed him to depart the next morning. Nevertheless he accepted a public dinner, a ball and a masonic celebration; after which we went on board the vessel which was to take him to New Orleans, to obtain a few hours of that repose, which a day filled with so many pleasant emotions had rendered absolutely necessary.

## CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Mobile—Gulf of Mexico—Passage of the Balize—Landing at the entrenchments near New Orleans—Entrance into the city—Entertainments and Public Ceremonies—Battle of New Orleans.

THE vessel on board of which we had retired, on leaving the ball, was the Natchez, an excellent and handsome steam boat, sent by the city of New Orleans to transport the general from Mobile to the shores of the Mississippi. An experienced captain, Mr. Davis, commanded her; she had on board the Louisiana deputation, at the head of which was Mr. Duplantier, an old friend and companion in arms of the general. At the break of day, cannon were heard, at which signal we weighed anchor. The general stationed on the deck, received the farewell of the citizens who pressed in crowds to the shore, and testified their sorrow by expressive gestures and a gloomy silence. In half an hour, the city of Mobile disappeared from the horizon, which enlarged around us, and in a short time the smoke of the artillery, tinged by the rays of the rising sun, also became invisible. When night returned, it found us in the Gulf of Mexico.

To reach New Orleans, we might choose between two routes; either behind Dauphin, Horn, Dog, Ship, or Cat islands, traversing lakes Borgne and Portchartrain, and disembarking a few miles in the rear of the city, or else boldly cross the gulf to the mouth of the Mississippi, pass the Balize and ascend the river. Our captain, confident of the solidity of his vessel, decided on the latter plan, which was not unattended with danger, but it gained us a whole day. We soon repented of his determination. A storm arose in a short time. The motion of the vessel become so disagreeable that we were obliged to lie down to avoid the sea sickness which attacked almost all of us. During the night, the wind greatly augmented, and the waves became so high, that several of them entering the ports, inundated the cabin and our beds. The noise of the wind,



waves, and engine, with the creaking of the vessel, were so horrible, that we expected to founder every moment. At break of day I ascended to the deck, from whence I beheld the most imposing and awful spectacle ; we arrived at the Balize. We could not avoid feeling a strong emotion at the sight of this magnificent river, whose rapid stream and prodigious breadth announced rather a conqueror than a tributary of the ocean. Its waves repelling, to a great distance, those of the sea, heaped on the low islands at its mouth, thousands of immense trunks of trees, which, after having flourished for ages under the polar circle, were now decaying under the burning sky of Mexico, and feeding a new vegetation with their remains. Enormous alligators of a sinister appearance and sluggish gait, attached to the floating trunks of trees, menaced the navigator, and seemed to dispute the entrance of the river with him. For a long time after we had entered the Mississippi we thought ourselves in another sea, so distant are its shores, and so tumultuous are its waves. It was not until after some hours that it became sufficiently narrow for us to perceive its muddy banks, or that the stream diminished in swiftness.

In the morning we passed fort Plaquemine, from which we were saluted with thirteen guns, and night again surprised us before we could perceive the walls of New Orleans. No variety in the vegetation is perceptible for sixty miles from the Balize. Hitherto nothing was to be seen but cypresses covered with the sombre tillandsia, called by the natives of the country, Spanish beard. This parasitic plant, which forms a long and dense drapery on the trees, has a more melancholy appearance, from its only growing in countries subject to the yellow fever. It is said to afford food to those animals which seek a shelter in the woods during the winter. The inhabitants of Louisiana employ it to stuff mattresses and cushions ; for these purposes, after having washed it in an alkaline solution, they beat it till the husk is detached ; when it is dry it has the appearance of long black hair. It is so durable as to be considered incorruptible. It is employed with success in building, mixed with mortar or tenacious earth.

About midnight, I went on deck for a short time ; the night was dark, the sky charged with thick clouds, and the air filled with a hoarse noise. The batteries at New Or-

leans were then firing a salute of a hundred guns, to announce that the day on which the guest of the nation would arrive, was commencing.

Next morning we awoke near those famous lines where twelve thousand picked English troops were overthrown by a few hundred men, the half of whom bore arms for the first time. Astonished at the cries of *Vive la liberté, vive l'ami de l'Amerique! vive Lafayette!* in the French language, we hastened on deck. What was our surprise on seeing the shore covered with French uniforms! For an instant we believed that we were transported back to the bosom of our country, once more freed, and our hearts beat with joy. General Lafayette disembarked in the midst of the thunder of artillery, and the acclamations of an immense multitude, who, regardless of the badness of the weather and the distance from the town, crowded the levee. He was received by a numerous escort of cavalry, and by the twelve marshals who had been appointed to direct the procession. Leaning on the arm of his ancient companion in arms, Mr. Duplantier, and of General Villeré, he proceeded to the house of Montgomery, which had been Jackson's head quarters on the day when he covered himself with glory by his admirable defence of his lines. The governor of the state there waited for him, and received him in the name of the people of Louisiana.

The speech of the governor, depicting Frenchmen enjoying a liberty which is still considered in France as problematical, made a deep impression on the general, and he replied to it with much emotion.

At the conclusion of his reply, every one that could force an entrance into the house were presented to him in turn. There were a great number of the veterans of the revolution, and among others, Colonel Bruian-Bruin, who had served at the siege of Quebec, where the brave General Montgomery perished; Judge Gerrard, who fought at Yorktown, Colonel Grenier, who, after having gloriously assisted in the three revolutions of America, France, and Colombia, still preserved at seventy years of age, all the courage and fire of youth. A great number of ladies also came down to meet the general, and offered him their congratulations through Mr. Marigny, on his safe arrival in Louisiana. After all the presentations had been gone

through, the procession was formed, and, notwithstanding the violence of the rain, we took up the line of march to the city. We advanced but slowly, from the denseness of the crowd, which, as we approached the city, blocked up both the road and the levee. When we arrived at the outskirts of the town we met with bodies of troops drawn up in two lines, through which we passed to the sound of martial music. Notwithstanding the badness of the weather, the general proceeded along these lines on foot, and before he again entered the carriage returned his thanks to the commanding officers. The procession again moved on, augmented by the troops falling into the rear, and, as it advanced, the crowd became still greater in spite of the continuance of the storm. This immense concourse of people, the view of the triple row of houses adorned with hangings, bordering the river side, the sound of the artillery and bells, and the prolonged acclamations of the whole population, produced a sensation which it is difficult to describe; at last, in the midst of these testimonies of strong affection, the general arrived at the barrier of the public square, and was conducted by the committee of arrangement under a triumphal arch of admirable architecture and excellent design. This monument was sixty feet in height, forty of which were below the springing of the arch, by fifty-eight in breadth; the arcade was twenty feet wide, and twenty-five long; it rested on a socle imitating Sera-Veza marble; the base, forming a pedestal of green Italian marble, was decorated with colossal statues of Justice and Liberty. This allegorical basement supported an arch of the doric order, adorned with four coupled columns on each face. The key-stones were composed of twenty-four stones, each decorated with a gilt star, united by a fillet, on which was engraved the word, *Constitution*, thus representing the twenty-four states connected by one common tie. The pediment, in imitation of yellow Verona marble, supported two figures of Fame with trumpets, and carrying banners entwined with laurel, having on them the names of Lafayette and Washington; the whole was surmounted by the national eagle. The upper socle supported an entablature of seven feet, on which was inscribed, in English and French, "A grateful republic dedicates this monument to Lafayette." On the top of the monument was a group representing

Wisdom resting her hand on a bust of the immortal Franklin, and the four angles were decorated with rich national trophies. The names of the signers of the declaration of independence, and those of officers who had distinguished themselves during the war of the revolution, were inscribed on various parts of the arch. This beautiful edifice, designed by Mr. Pilié, and executed by Mr. Fogliardi, presented a striking appearance, and the reliefs had an admirable effect.

Under this monument the general was received by the municipal body, at the head of whom was the mayor, Mr. Roffignac, who addressed him in the name of the citizens of New Orleans.

In expressing his thanks to Mr. Roffignac, the general did not permit such an occasion to escape him, of paying a tribute of esteem to the memory of the father of this worthy magistrate. "On my entrance into this capital," said he, "I feel penetrated with gratitude for the reception I have met with from the people of New Orleans and its worthy mayor, whose name recalls to a cotemporary of his father's, recollections of courage and loyalty." Mr. Roffignac appeared extremely affected by this testimony of the general's to the exalted character of his father, and the tears that escaped from his eyes proved the depth of his feelings.

After leaving the triumphal arch, the general was conducted, amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd, to the city hall, where he was complimented by Mr. Prieur in the name of the city council; from here we went to the hotel of the municipality, where our quarters had been prepared, and which the people of New Orleans designated by the name of the "Lafayette house." After taking a few moments of repose, the general went out on a balcony to review the troops. All the detachments that passed were remarkable for the elegance of their uniform, and the exactness of their discipline. The grenadiers, the voltigeurs, Union guards, chasseurs, New Orleans guards, Lafayette guards, each in turn attracted the attention of the general. But when, in the rear of the riflemen, whose name recalls so many recollections of gallantry, he perceived a file of a hundred Choctaws, marching, according to the Indian custom, in a single line, he was much grati-

fied to see, that, by a delicate attention, they had shown him that his name was familiar to the warriors of the most distant nations, and that they had admitted among their troops, these brave Indians, who had been the allies of the Americans in the Seminole war, and, who, for nearly a month past, had been encamped near the city, in order to see the "great warrior," "the brother of their great father Washington."

The next day, the general received the visits of the vice president of the house of representatives, and of those members of the legislature who were then in the capital, and immediately afterwards the gentlemen of the bar, headed by Mr. Derbigny, who had been chosen their orator, were presented to him. In a discourse filled with noble thoughts, and pronounced with a touching eloquence, Mr. Derbigny eulogised with delicacy and address, that rectitude of mind, and firmness of character, which, during political tempests, had always guided Lafayette in the path of justice, and preserved him from participating in the excesses of party.

In his reply, the general, carefully avoiding any allusion to the eulogies that had been heaped upon him, confined himself to the consideration of the general interests of Louisiana, and the individual exertions of those who complimented him; he felicitated the citizens of that state, after having been governed by the criminal laws of France and Spain, that they gradually ameliorated them, and were still occupied in perfecting this part of their code, to such a degree, that it might even serve as a guide to the rest of the United States, whose criminal laws are already so superior to those of every other people.

Being strongly urged to visit both the French and American theatres on the same evening, the general decided by lot which he would attend the first; chance was in favour of the American. We went there at seven o'clock, and was received with an enthusiasm that cannot be described; they gave an appropriate piece, of which neither he nor the audience could appreciate the merit, as every eye was attracted by the hero of York-town, who completely withdrew all attention from the representation of the Prisoner of Olmutz. He afterwards went to the French theatre, where they were impatiently expecting his

appearance. When he entered, the violence of the plaudits, and the repeated cries of "*Vive Lafayette*," suspended the representation. Every body rose; it was like Themistocles appearing at the Olympic games: at last, calm being re-established, the general took his seat in the box that had been prepared for him, and saw with pleasure the last act of that charming comedy, *L'Ecole des Vieillards*, which seemed to me to be as much relished by my former countrymen, the Americans of Louisiana, as by the inhabitants of Paris. Before he retired, the general heard an ode which was performed to his honour, all the allusions of which were applauded with enthusiasm.

In the course of Tuesday morning, a deputation of the Spanish emigrants and refugees presented themselves to compliment the general; and, above all, to testify their gratitude for the manner in which he opposed, in the Chamber of Deputies in France, the invasion of Spain, and the destruction of the liberal constitution.

The general, whose principles had led him to oppose, with all his energy, a measure disapproved of by France—a measure which had produced such disastrous results to Spain, and the heroic victims of which were now before him, was deeply affected by the expressions of gratitude now showered upon him; and, in an eloquent and impressive reply, paid his tribute of esteem, admiration, and regret, to the memory of the unfortunate Riego; he had already, on more than one occasion, openly expressed his opinion on the unhappy death of that generous martyr to liberty, and the whole American nation had partaken of the same feelings, for the consistent and courageous defender of the revolution in the peninsula.

On the following day, many other deputations waited on General Lafayette, and expressed to him their attachment, and devotion to his principles. Among them were those of the militia staff, of the medical society, of the clergy, and of the free blacks, who, in 1815, courageously assisted in the defence of the city; and our two last evenings were occupied, the one by a public ball, and the other by a masonic dinner. I will not attempt to describe these entertainments, which, from the beauty, elegance, and amiability of the ladies, the enthusiasm and frank cordiality of the citizens, the sedulous and delicate attentions of

the magistrates, the richness and profusion of the details, equalled any thing we had ever met with.

Nevertheless, in the midst of the pleasures thus afforded him by the Louisianians, the general experienced moments of inquietude and sorrow. Sinister rumours reached him; he was told of a serious dispute between the staff and the officers of the militia, on the subject of certain prerogatives of the legion, denied by one, and insisted on by the others with equal warmth, which might produce bloody results after the departure of him whose presence was a curb even on the most headstrong. In so serious an affair he did not hesitate on using all his influence to reconcile citizens, whom a moment of error and a false point of honour had temporarily divided; he, therefore, invited all the officers of the different corps to meet at his house. When they arrived, he told them that they were, doubtless, aware of his reasons in thus bringing them together; that he was informed of what had passed, and the evil consequences that would ensue; he observed, that he felt that he was the cause, however unwillingly, and could he have foreseen such unpleasant circumstances, he should have written to decline their invitation. He begged them to consider the injurious reports it would occasion as regarded all parties, and concluded by begging that they would accept of him as a mediator.

One of the superior officers immediately advanced, and with an honourable frankness said to him, "General, I place my honour in your hands, and now agree to whatever you may dictate." The eldest of the complainants then observed, "General, I also confide my honour, and that of my comrades, who freely agree with me, in your keeping." The general took a hand of each of these brave men, and having united them, had the satisfaction of seeing the happiest concord established between men, who an instant before had renounced the pleasing title of brothers in arms. This interesting scene had many witnesses, who soon promulgated the details. The news of it was received with astonishing enthusiasm, as it was a sincere reconciliation between all that Louisiana cherished and revered.

General Lafayette had intended to visit the scene of the battle of the 8th of January, but the continuance of stormy weather, and the necessity for his complying in two or three days to all the kind invitations that were heaped upon

him, obliged him to relinquish the idea. A colonel of the staff, who witnessed the chagrin this sacrifice occasioned me, had the goodness to propose that I should accompany him, whilst the general was paying some private visits. I accepted his invitation with eagerness, and we immediately set out in a carriage he sent for. On the way he informed me that he was born in France; that placed, from his birth, in the privileged class of society, he had, from his infancy, been brought up in the aristocratic prejudices of his caste; and that, although very young at the epoch of the French revolution, he believed it his duty to defend the rights of a few against the natural and sacred rights of the many, and that he had joined the Vendéans. "Then," said he, "I believed in the legitimacy of an absolute monarchy, and in the hereditary succession of virtue, with all the fervour of ignorance, and I at first fought for them, with all the courage and devotion of fanaticism; but the campaign had not terminated before my reason, bursting the bonds with which education had loaded it, taught me, that instead of combating, as I had believed, for justice and truth, I was merely the instrument of a few men, determined to sacrifice every thing, even their country, to their own private interests, and I sheathed my sword, which I ought never to have drawn in so unjust, so absurd a cause." He went on to say, that he would have re-entered France, but was deterred by the scenes of bloodshed and confusion then so prevalent in that country. He, therefore, sought in other lands that happiness he was denied at home. After traversing all Europe, and every where finding the same criminal alliance of royalty, nobility, and clergy, against the welfare and interests of the people, he finally settled in the United States. He added, "I had only lived at New Orleans a short time, when, in 1815, the inveterate enemies of the liberty of others in both hemispheres presented themselves before that city. I flew to arms, happy in finding an occasion of proving my gratitude to my new country, and my sincere attachment to the principles which governed it, and I am happy in being able to say, that my presence was not wholly useless on the field of battle we are about to visit."

My companion had scarcely uttered these words, when our carriage stopped, and we stepped out near the extreme



right of the lines. Before examining them, the colonel had the goodness to explain to me the operations that preceded and brought on the battle of the 8th. I understood, from these details, how difficult it had been for General Jackson, with the handful of men he had at his disposition, to oppose the landing and rapid progress of an army of 15,000 men, or quadruple his own.

The position chosen by the American general to wait for reinforcements, and to arrest the advance of so formidable an enemy, appeared to me to be very judicious. He threw up entrenchments about five miles below the city, along an old canal, the left of which was lost in the depths of a swampy wood, whilst the right rested on the river. The total length of this line was about eight hundred toises, but as three hundred toises of the left were unassailable, the enemy was confined in his attack to a front of about five hundred toises, and obliged to advance in full view over a perfectly level plain. Nevertheless, whether from want of time, or want of reflection, General Jackson committed two serious errors; the first was in erecting his entrenchment in a straight line, and at right angles to the river, so that he not only deprived himself of the advantage of cross fires, but he also exposed himself, if the English, more skilful or fortunate, had sent a few vessels up the river in the rear of his lines; he exposed himself, I say, to the danger of having had his whole line enfiladed by the enemy's artillery. The other fault was, erecting his second line at so great a distance from the first, that if this had been forced, he would never have been enabled to have gained the other, and his troops would have been cut to pieces in the interval. These two faults would have sufficed, as may readily be supposed, to compromit the safety of an army more numerous and better disciplined than that of General Jackson; but the destiny of American liberty, or rather the supernatural courage of the citizens, who, on that day, fought for the preservation of their independence, and the safety of their families, with the inflexible firmness of Jackson himself, shaded with the laurels of a most brilliant victory those faults which would have destroyed a less patriotic army.

I will record the details, which were given me with great clearness and precision, of all the operations that pre-

ceded that glorious day. I refer those who wish to study them to the excellent memoir of Mr. Lacarriere Latour, and to the equally distinguished accounts of Messrs. Brackenridge and Mac Fee; but I cannot resist the desire of now retracing some of the most brilliant acts which saved Louisiana, and immortalized its defenders.

Notwithstanding all his exertions, General Jackson was unable to collect for the defence of his entrenchments more than 3,200 men, and fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibers, pressed for time, he had been obliged to form the upper part of his works with bales of cotton, brought down from the city. He remained twenty-four hours in this position, expecting an attack every instant, when, on the 8th of January, at break of day, he perceived the English army, 12,000 strong, advancing on him in three columns, the most formidable of which menaced that part of his left wing, defended by the Tennessee and Kentucky militia. Each soldier, besides his arms, carried fascines or a scaling ladder, and marched in the most profound silence. The Americans permitted them to advance within half cannon shot, and then opened on them a terrible fire of artillery, to which the English replied by three cheers, and the flight of some Congreve rockets, and then hurried their march, closing their ranks as they were mowed down by the shot. This coolness and determination, which seemed as if it would ensure them a speedy victory, did not last long. The moment they arrived within musket shot, the Tennesseans and Kentuckians commenced a fire of small arms, which instantly broke their columns, and forced them to seek for shelter behind some thickets, which covered their right. It is true, that infantry never kept up so constant and destructive a fire, as that of these intrepid American militia. The men, arranged six deep, loaded the arms, and rapidly passed them to the front rank, composed of able marksmen, each of whose balls carried certain death to the enemy.

Whilst the English officers, with a courage worthy of a better cause and of a happier destiny, endeavoured to rally their scattered troops, to lead them to a fresh assault, an American artilleryman, in the battery commanded by Lieutenant Spotts, perceived in the plain, a group of officers, agitated and dismayed, carrying off some one with some difficulty. "It is perhaps the

commander-in-chief and only wounded," exclaimed he, "he must not escape so." He levelled his piece against them, fired, and Pakenham the English commander was killed in the arms of his friends. The desire for revenge now rallied the English; officers and soldiers pressed forward in a new column, led on with fury by Kean and Gibbs, the successors of Pakenham. But the fire of the Americans redoubled in intensity and precision; Kean and Gibbs successively fell, the one mortally, the other dangerously wounded, and the column again broken, disappeared, leaving only its wreck on the plain.

Whilst in the centre of the line the American troops were thus crushing their adversaries, without the loss of a single man, fortune seemed as if she wished to try them on the right by a reverse. Twelve hundred English, led by a daring chief, rapidly advanced along the river, and unexpectedly fell on a small redoubt, defended by a company of riflemen and one of the 7th regiment. The Americans, surprised at this point, at first retired in some disorder. General Jackson, whose vigilant eye let nothing escape, at this decisive moment perceived an English officer mounted on the entrenchments, brandishing in one hand his sabre, and with the other assisting his soldiers to scale the rampart. Jackson hastened to the spot, met the runaways, arrested their flight, and, in a terrible voice, demanded of their commander who had given him orders to retreat. "The enemy has forced our entrenchments," replied the captain. "Well," answered Jackson in a severe voice, "go back and with your bayonets force them out." This order was immediately executed. In an instant the English, who at first thought themselves victors, fell under the blows of the Americans. Among the slain, was the intrepid Colonel Rennie, an ancient French emigrant who had entered the English service; the same that had been seen so boldly surmounting the rampart, aiding and encouraging his soldiers in the assault.

This battle, which decided the fate of New Orleans, and perhaps even of Louisiana, only lasted three hours, and cost the Americans but seven men killed and six wounded, whilst the English left near three thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon on the field. General Lambert, the only one of the English generals in a state to command,

ordered a retreat, and hastened to seek shelter for himself and the wreck of his army, on board Admiral Cochran's fleet, who, the evening before, had said with his accustomed boasting, that if he were ordered to attack the American lines, he would carry them in less than half an hour, with two thousand sailors, sabre in hand.

Thus, a small army, composed of citizens hastily collected, and commanded by a general whose military career had just commenced, beheld an English army, which passed for one of the bravest and most experienced in Europe, and which boasted it had expelled the French from Spain, fall before its patriotic efforts.

When I returned to the city, I found General Lafayette surrounded by numbers of ladies and citizens of all ranks, who, knowing that he would leave them the next morning, mournfully came to bid him farewell, and once more to take him by the hand. In the crowd I remarked some ecclesiastics, and among them a capuchin, whose dress being new to me had attracted my attention on the day of our arrival. The account I heard of him interested me strongly, and may perhaps be equally so to my readers.

Father Anthony, for such is his name, is a venerable capuchin friar of the order of St. Francis, and has resided in Louisiana for many years. Animated by an ardent and sincere piety, Father Anthony prays in silence for all the world without asking prayers of any one. Placed in the midst of a population composed of different sects, he does not think it right to trouble their consciences by endeavours to gain proselytes. Sometimes, as being a capuchin, Father Anthony asks alms, but it is only when he has some good action in view, and his slender funds, exhausted by his constant charity, deny him the power of doing it himself. Every year, when the yellow fever, in stretching its murderous hand over New Orleans, drives the terrified inhabitants to the country, to seek an asylum against disease and death, the virtue of Father Anthony shows itself in all its brilliancy and force. During this time of dread and grief, how many unhappy wretches, abandoned by their friends or even by their relations, have owed their recovery and life to his exertions, his care, his piety. Of all those he has saved, (and there are many,) there is not one who can say, "before he lavished his care on me, did

he ask of what religion I was." Liberty and charity, such is the moral code of Father Anthony; hence he is not in favour with the bishop. When he came to visit the general, he was dressed, according to the custom of his order, in a long brown robe, tied about his middle with a thick cord. The moment he perceived him, he threw himself into his arms, exclaiming, "O my son, I have found favour before the Lord, since he has thus permitted me to see and hear the worthiest apostle of liberty!" He then conversed a few moments with him in a tone of the most tender affection, complimented him on the glorious and well-merited reception he had met with from the Americans, and modestly retired into a corner of the room, apart from the crowd. I took advantage of this, to approach and salute him. How deeply was I touched by his conversation!—what sweetness! what modesty! and at the same time what enthusiasm! Every time that he spoke of liberty his eyes sparkled with a sacred light, and his looks were fastened on him he termed his hero, on Lafayette. "How happy must he be," said he, "how pure is the source of all his glory! with what transport he must contemplate the result of his labours and sacrifices! Twelve millions of men happy and free through him! Yes! this man is certainly beloved by God. He has done so much good to others." He came again to see us the morning before our departure. When the crowd had quitted the room, and he was left alone with the general, he hastened to him, and pressing him with transport to his bosom, "Adieu, my son," cried he, "adieu, best beloved general! Adieu! may the Lord attend you, and after the termination of your glorious journey, conduct you to the bosom of your beloved family, to enjoy in peace the recollection of your good actions and of the friendship of the American people. O, my son, perhaps you are still reserved for new labours! Perhaps the Lord may make you the instrument of freeing other nations. Then, my son, think of poor Spain! Do not abandon my dear country, my unhappy country!" The tears flowing from his eyes, moistened his long beard, whitened by age; his voice was interrupted by sobs; and the venerable old man, leaning his forehead on the shoulder of Lafayette, remained in

this attitude a few moments, still murmuring, "My son, my dear son, do something for my unhappy country." It was not without deep emotion that the general tore himself from the arms of this pious patriot, who, before he retired, also bestowed his benediction on Mr. George Lafayette.

But the 15th being fixed for our departure, from the dawn of day the avenues to the general's apartment were filled with even a greater assemblage than that of the evening before. There were present a great number of ladies, and particularly crowds of children brought by their parents, that they might contemplate the features of the benefactor of the country, the friend of the great Washington. The general left the house on foot. Cries of *Vive Lafayette* were heard on every side. In crossing the parade ground, on which were several companies of the legion and troops of the line, lining the avenues, he expressed his gratitude to all the officers whom he met; he again testified to Mr. Gally, the captain of artillery, how much he appreciated the merit of the fine corps he commanded; and, as he understood that this officer intended going to France in a short time, he begged him, in the most pressing manner, to have the goodness to carry news of him to his family at La Grange. He got into a carriage at the extremity of the parade ground, to proceed to the place of embarkation, where the steamboat that was to take him to Baton-Rouge now waited for him. The levee was crowded by an innumerable concourse of people. The balconies, roofs of the houses, all the shipping and steamboats which were near this spot, were filled with spectators; and, when he went on board, he was saluted by a prolonged acclamation, but it was not repeated, and more than ten thousand persons remained in a state of profound silence, until the Natchez was out of sight. The artillery only was heard at intervals, giving a solemnity to this separation that was profound and universal.

The governor and his staff, the mayor and municipal body, the committee of arrangement, to whom we owed so many and great obligations, embarked with us to prolong for a few moments the pleasure of being with the general; but at two miles from the city, the most of them

ico, between Carolina on the east and Mexico on the west. But Crozat was not long in discovering how much the expectations he had founded upon this country were exaggerated, and hastened to renounce his contract for the purpose of obtaining another for the period of twenty-five years, in favour of the Mississippi Commercial Company, of which the celebrated Law was the projector. But this company was not more fortunate than Crozat. Instead of enticing into the colony such settlers as would have added to its prosperity, he received only rich and avaricious adventurers, who were attracted by the report of the mines of gold and silver, with which the country was said to abound, and, disappointed in their hopes, quickly returned to Europe. In spite of the efforts of the government instituted by the commercial company, the proprietaries were soon reduced to despair, and established military posts, where they defended themselves until reinforcements were received. The first expedition that arrived was composed of criminals and women of abandoned character, sent out by the French government. The company were justly indignant at this, and declared, that in future they would not suffer the colony to be thus morally and physically polluted.

In 1718, New Orleans, consisting of a few cabins built by Illinois traders, and thus named in honour of the regent Duke of Orleans, passed under the jurisdiction of the governor-general, M. de Bienville, and received a considerable number of new settlers. Two villages were built in its vicinity by Germans, under the command of Arensburg, a Swedish captain, who, in 1709, had fought by the side of Charles XII. at the battle of Pultowa. The colony now began really to prosper, and in 1723 swarms of capuchins, missionaries, jesuits, and pious ursulines, began to arrive from all directions. These last at least were good for something. They were entrusted with the education of orphan girls, and the superintendance of the military hospital, with a pension of fifty thousand crowns per annum. Intolerance, the inseparable accompaniment of all privileges, and especially those of religion, began to show itself in the colony, as soon as the capuchins, jesuits, &c. made their appearance. In 1724, a royal edict expelled the Jews, as declared enemies to the Christian name, and they

were ordered to disappear in the course of three months, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of property. It was thus that the throne and church watched then, as it did before, and has done since, to dry up the most abundant sources of public prosperity. In 1729, the intrigues of England raised the Indians against the colony, and thus gave a sad blow to its prosperity. The war then carried on by General Perrier de Salvert, had a fortunate termination. Meanwhile it was only through the attachment of some Indian women to a few French officers, that the garrison escaped being totally massacred one night; which would have led to the entire destruction of the colony. In consequence of these late hostilities, and the base intrigues carried on in the metropolis, the colonists lost their time together with the fruits of their labours. The company, disgusted and deceived in their hopes of gain, abandoned the country, which, in 1731, returned under the dominion of the king, without being any better governed. In 1759, its financial affairs were in such disorder, that the treasury owed more than seven millions of francs, although the French government had expended for various services in Louisiana, nearly double the amount it had derived from it. Louis XV., at the close of a war badly conceived, and, in 1763, as badly terminated, having lost Canada, was upon the point of having Louisiana taken from him. But his ministers, assisted by Madame Pompadour, his mistress, obtained fifteen millions from the court of Madrid, and this colony was ceded to Spain with such secrecy and despatch, that the governor of Louisiana had not yet received information of the affair when the Spanish ships of war arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, with the officers appointed to take possession of this immense territory. The governor and inhabitants of Louisiana refused to recognise the Spanish authority, so that the commissioners were obliged to return to Europe. Three or four years passed in negotiating with the colonists, who persisted in continuing under the dominion of France. At length, in 1769, Spain becoming provoked, sent out General Reilly with considerable forces. Arrived before New Orleans, Reilly manifested the most conciliatory disposition. His proclamations only spoke of oblivion for the past, and were completely successful. The commotions



ceased, and the Louisianians surrendered themselves. As a sign of reconciliation, Reilly gave a grand entertainment on board his fleet, to which he invited the chief officers of the colony, and principal inhabitants. These accepted the invitation with confidence, but at the moment when they were about to leave the table, Reilly caused them to be seized by his soldiers and shot. One of these, M. De Villeré, had his life spared, but was put on board a frigate to be transported to the prisons of Navarre. His wife and children, informed of the fate that threatened him, wished to go and petition his highness, or at least to receive his farewell. They were already near the frigate, from which he stretched out his arms to them, when the unhappy man fell within their sight, pierced by the bayonets of the villains whom the traitor Reilly had appointed to guard him.

After this horrible execution, the Spaniards, with four thousand troops of the line, and a considerable train of artillery, entered New Orleans, the inhabitants of which were struck dumb. The English protestants, and a few Jews, who had escaped the force of the royal decree of 1724, were soon banished by the new authorities. All commerce with the colony was prohibited except with Spain and her possessions. A court martial was established, and its iniquitous decisions struck at all the French officers who remained. Of these, five were shot, and seven others thrown, for ten years, into the prisons of Havana. The infamous Reilly, having for a whole year gorged himself with blood and plunder, at length set sail, carrying with him the scorn and hatred of the whole population. His successors in the government had great difficulty in doing away the effects of his crimes, and it is due them to say that they succeeded. During thirty-three years of Spanish dominion, the colony enjoyed peace and prosperity, and to this very day, the names of Don Unsuga, Don Martin Navarro, and Don Galvar, are remembered there with veneration.

During all the changes experienced by Louisiana, its boundaries had never been determined with accuracy. In 1795, the government of the United States made a treaty with Spain, in virtue of which the limits were traced, and the free navigation of the Mississippi secured to the two contracting parties. But notwithstanding this treaty the

owners of privateers, and crews of vessels of war, made spoiliations upon the commerce of the United States. Free navigation of the Mississippi, and permission of landing at New Orleans, were refused the Americans. President Adams, therefore, immediately took measures to obtain redress. Twelve regiments were raised, and an expedition fitted out upon the Ohio to descend to Louisiana. But some changes occurring in American politics caused this project to be abandoned for the moment. The next year, Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, re-demanded of Spain the fulfilment of the treaty. This power, sensible of its weakness, and fearing to be compelled to cede the colony, secretly sold it to the French Republic on the 21st of March, 1801. Upon hearing of this cession the American government were justly alarmed. It foresaw, that the activity and intelligence of the French, applied to so rich and productive a soil, would make them more formidable than the Spaniards; that their new neighbours might be able to close the navigation of the Mississippi against them, and possess themselves of the commerce of the Gulf of Mexico and Antilles. It immediately formed the project of forcibly opposing the occupation of Louisiana by France, and joined England against her. But this plan was overthrown by the treaty of Amiens. At peace with England, France feared no further obstacles to her projects, and an expedition was fitted out by her to take possession of Louisiana, and at the same time support her wavering authority in St. Domingo. The American government immediately had recourse to negotiations for the purpose of purchasing Louisiana. Affairs, at that time, changed with such rapidity, that the situation of France had again altered before these propositions reached her. Threatened with a new war by England, wearied with the struggle to defend St. Domingo, loaded with a considerable debt due the United States, the first consul thought that the sale of Louisiana would prove a good operation, the opportunity of effecting which might relieve him from one difficulty, at least. He accordingly sold it. The United States agreed to pay him fifteen millions of dollars, on condition that three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars of this sum, should be retained for the purpose of paying the claims held by the American merchants against France, for the spoiliations

they had suffered. This treaty, signed at Paris the 30th of April, 1803, by Messrs. Livingston and Monroe on the part of the United States, and Mr. Barbé Marbois for France, was ratified in the month of October, and the transfer of the colony to the American commissioners took place on the 20th of December in the same year.

All the parties interested in this bargain had reason to be satisfied with its conclusion. France, freeing herself from the trouble of a distant government, more burthensome than profitable, received sixty millions of francs, which she needed to carry on the war, and, without expending a cent, discharged a debt due the American merchants of nearly twenty millions. The United States strengthened their independence, acquired new frontiers more secure than the old ones, established her commercial preponderance in the Gulf of Mexico and Antilles, and, by the free navigation of the Mississippi, increased an hundred fold the value of the products of the states west of the Allegany. In fine, Louisiana herself, by entering into the great federal compact, secured an honourable and independent existence as a body politic, and soon saw her industry and prosperity freed from the cunning schemes of a capricious master.

Louisiana was immediately erected into a territorial government, by the congress of the United States, which appointed Mr. Clayborne its governor. In 1811, it was admitted a member of the Union, and left to form its own government and institutions. The representatives of the people, freely elected and assembled at New Orleans, framed and signed a constitution, which was laid before, and sanctioned by congress. This constitution was in conformity with, and very similar to those of the other states, except that the Louisianians believed it their duty to adopt every possible precaution against corruption and abuse of power. Thus, for example, it was decided that every person, convicted of having given or offered presents to public functionaries, should be declared incapable of serving as governor, senator, or representative.

If I thought it necessary to seek fresh proofs of the superiority of an independent over a colonial government, whether this last proceed from a monarchy or republic, it would suffice to point out Louisiana, at first a colony for

nearly a century, without advancing beyond the stage of infancy, incessantly taken and retaken, sometimes by the Spaniards, at others by the French, and always incapable of resisting either the one or the other, after an expense to its metropolis of one hundred and eighty-seven thousand dollars per annum; and, in fine, after the numerous emigrations from Europe, exhibiting but a meagre population of about forty thousand souls, spread over a vast and rich territory. I would next show this same Louisiana, after twenty years of independent republican government, having more than trebled its population, defeating under the walls of its rich capital, an army composed of the chosen troops of England; receiving into its ports annually more than four hundred ships to exchange its valuable products for those of all parts of the habitable globe; and, in its cities, offering all the resources, all the enjoyments that can contribute to the happiness of life, and which are ordinarily the products of a long period of civilization.

The state of Louisiana, enclosed within its new limits, is situated between  $29^{\circ}$  and  $33^{\circ}$  n. l. and  $12^{\circ}$  and  $17^{\circ}$  of longitude. It is bounded on the north by Arkansas territory, east by the Mississippi, south by the Mexican gulf, and west by the Mexican provinces of Texas. It contains forty-eight thousand square miles, divided into twenty-six parishes or counties. It has a population of 153,500 souls, among which, unfortunately, nearly 70,000 slaves are enumerated. The capital of this state is New Orleans, a city admirably situated in a commercial point of view, regularly laid out, ornamented with fine buildings, and containing twenty-eight thousand inhabitants. The greatest inconvenience which New Orleans labours under, is its situation upon the alluvial shores of the Mississippi, by whose floods it is often inundated. This is perhaps the principal cause of the yellow fever which is experienced there almost every autumn. The impossibility of finding a single stone in all this alluvial ground, shows why the principal streets have been left unpaved, so that during the rainy season it is difficult to go about on foot. The walks made in front of the houses scarcely serve to keep foot passengers from the mud, and do not prevent the carriages from sinking sometimes to their axles. The authorities, however, have at length begun to procure paving stone

from up the Mississippi, which the vessels bring as ballast. This plan, though tedious and expensive, is the only one practicable.

The greater number of travellers who have visited New Orleans, pretend that the manners of the city are strongly influenced by the presence of the numerous emigrants from St. Domingo. These have the reputation of loving pleasure to licentiousness, and of treating their slaves badly. The love of gambling, and the duels so often occasioned by this passion, give rise, it is said, to much disorder among them. To confirm or disprove this opinion by my own observation, would be, in me, culpable arrogance. My too short stay in this city did not permit me to study the character of its society, and I could only be struck with the patriotic spirit, the freedom and hospitality, displayed with enthusiasm in the presence of General Lafayette.\*

Twenty-four hours after leaving New Orleans, we arrived at Duncan's Point, where the citizens of Baton-Rouge, a town situated eight miles above, had previously sent a deputation to General Lafayette, to request him to stop a short time amongst them. The general accepted the invitation with gratitude, and two hours afterwards we landed below the amphitheatre upon which the town of Baton-Rouge stands. The beach was crowded with citizens, at the head of whom marched the municipal authorities, and the first regiment of the Union came to form itself in line under the same star-spangled banner, which, in defiance of the greatest dangers, had but lately been planted upon the ruins of Spanish despotism, by the inhabitants of these parishes. Accompanied by the people and magistrates, the general proceeded to the room prepared for his reception, in which he found the busts of Washington and

\* In speaking of the morals of New Orleans, it is but just to discriminate between its *permanent* and *fluctuating* population. Being the only mart to a vast extent of country, and the most frequented port on the Gulf of Mexico, it always contains a large number of individuals of the rudest and most licentious class, who can scarcely be said to belong to any country, are certainly of no religion, and are of every shade of colour. It is therefore by no means surprising, that gamblers, brawlers, and stabbers, should be numerous where such a class abounds, more especially, as New Orleans tolerates, by *license granted*, numerous establishments openly devoted to gambling and all its consequences.—T.

Jackson crowned with flowers and laurel. There he received the expressions of kindness from all the citizens, with whom he went to the fort, the garrison of which received him with a salute of twenty-four guns, and afterwards defiled before him. We then entered the main building to examine the interior of the barracks, but what was our surprise, on entering into the first apartment, to find in the place of beds, arms, and warlike equipments, a numerous assemblage of elegantly dressed and beautiful ladies, who surrounded the general and offered him refreshments and flowers. The general was sensibly touched by this agreeable surprise, and passed some delightful moments in the midst of this seducing garrison. On our return to town, we found a great number of citizens met to offer the general a public dinner, among whom the frank cordiality of the American, and the amenity of the French characters prevailed.

It was almost night when we returned on board the *Natchez* to continue our voyage. On leaving *Baton-Rouge*, we had the mortification to part again with some of those who had accompanied us from *New Orleans*, and among others, with *Mr. Duplantier*, senior, whose active and tender friendship, as well as that of his son, had been of great service to the general.

*Baton-Rouge* stands upon the left bank of the river, one hundred and thirty-seven miles above *New Orleans*. In this passage, the navigation of the river is very interesting. For several miles after leaving *New Orleans*, the eye reposes agreeably upon the shores, enriched with fine cotton and sugar plantations, and embellished with clusters of orange trees, from the midst of which rise the white and showy dwellings of the planters. By degrees the gardens and houses become more rare; but all the way to *Baton-Rouge* one continues to see fine and well cultivated lands. These plantations spread along the river, sometimes extending nearly a mile back to the thick forests, which serve as their limits. The soil is entirely formed of the fertile sediments deposited by the ancient inundations of the *Mississippi*, now confined to its channel by artificial banks. A special law enjoins it upon each river proprietor to keep up with care that portion of dike opposite his property, so that one every where sees the slaves continually engaged

in driving down stakes, interlacing the branches of trees, and heaping earth here and there where there is danger that the river will force a passage. But notwithstanding all precautions, the water often rushes furiously over these obstacles, and spreads devastation and death. Not a year passes without some proprietor having the misfortune to see snatched from him in a few minutes the fruits of long and laborious exertions. All the lands which border the Mississippi, from its outlet to six hundred miles above, are subject to inundations. Nevertheless, on leaving Baton-Rouge, the left shore appears sufficiently elevated above the surface of the water to be free from these accidents.

The distance between Baton-Rouge and Natchez, is two hundred and sixty miles. This we ran in thirty-two hours, having had a pleasant passage, in the course of which we met a great many boats of all forms and sizes, laden with all sorts of productions from the most distant points of the Union. Those which more particularly attracted our attention were large and of a square form, without either masts, sails, or oars. They floated down the river at the mercy of the current, and bore more resemblance to enormous boxes than to boats. They are called *arks*, and are commonly manned by Kentuckians, who go in this way to New Orleans, to dispose of their grain, poultry, and cattle. There, after receiving pay for their produce, they sell also the planks of their arks, which cannot ascend the river, and return to their homes on foot, across the forests of the states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. More than fifteen hundred persons, it is said, travel thus, every summer, seventeen hundred miles by water, and afterwards, in returning, eleven hundred on foot.\*

On Monday, the 18th of April, some distant discharges of cannon, which we heard at dawn, announced our approach to a city. Some minutes afterwards, the first rays of the sun gilding the shores of the Mississippi, which, in this place, rose a hundred and fifty feet above the surface

\* Since the establishment of steam navigation, boatmen rarely return by land. They pay a trifle for a *deck passage*; find their own provisions, and aid the crew to bring wood, &c. on board, at the stopping places.—T.

of the water, showed us the tops of the houses in Natchez. Our steam-boat stopped a little while previous to arriving opposite the town, and we went on shore at Bacon's landing, where the citizens, with a calash and four horses, and an escort of cavalry and volunteer infantry, were waiting for the general. We might have landed a little higher up and entered the city by a more direct road, but the members of the committee of arrangement had the address to conduct us by a devious road, along which our eyes were presented with all the beauties of the country. In proportion as we advanced, the escort increased. It consisted of citizens on horseback, militia on foot, ladies in carriages, and nearly the whole population, who came in a crowd to see their beloved and long expected guest. Two addresses were made to the general; one by the president of the committee of arrangement, on entering the city; the other by the mayor, on one of the most elevated spots on the banks of the Mississippi, within view of the town and the river, its source of prosperity. At the moment the general finished his reply, a man suddenly emerged from the crowd, approached the calash, waving his hat in the air, and cried out, "Honour to the commander of the Parisian national guard! I was under your orders in '91, my general, in one of the battalions of the Filles-Saint-Thomas. I still love liberty as I loved it then: Live, Lafayette!" The general was agreeably surprised to meet, on the shores of a distant country, one of his old citizen-soldiers, who recalled to him in so touching a manner the happy times when he could rationally think of the happiness and liberty of his country. He affectionately offered him his hand, and expressed to him the pleasure he felt in thus meeting him in a land of liberty and hospitality.

At the moment we were preparing to enter our hotel, we observed a long procession of children of both sexes approaching us. They were led by Colonel Marshall, who requested of the general for them, and in their name, permission to shake hands with him. The general willingly complied with this wish of the children of Natchez, who marched in order before him, placing successively one of their little hands in that which had fought for the liberty of their fathers. The parents, spectators of this scene, contemplated it with silence and emotion. On its termination,



I heard them congratulate each other on the happy influence which this day would have upon the future characters of their children. "When they have grown up," said they, "and come to read their country's history, they will find the name of Lafayette intimately connected with all the events which led to the freedom of their fathers, they will recall the gentleness of his manners, the mildness of his voice, when he received them in their infancy, and will feel an increased love for a liberty won by such a man."

The inhabitants of Natchez neglected nothing which could contribute to the pleasure of their guest during the twenty-four hours he remained with them. The public dinner concluded with toasts, *To the Nation's Guest—The triumph of Yorktown—France fighting for the liberty of the world—The victory of New Orleans*—in fact to all glorious and patriotic American recollections. It was not until after the ball which closed about daybreak, that the general could think of embarking. The ladies employed all the charms of mind and person to retain him as long as possible, but our minutes were counted; and six o'clock in the morning found us again on board our vessel.

At the moment when the general was about to leave the shore, an old revolutionary soldier presented himself, and uncovering his breast marked with scars, "these wounds," said he, "are my pride. I received them fighting by your side for the independence of my country. Your blood, my general, flowed the same day at the battle of Brandywine, where we were so unfortunate." "It was indeed a rough day," said the general to him, "but have we not since been amply indemnified?"—"Oh! that is very true," replied the veteran, "at present we are happy beyond our furthest wishes. You receive the blessings of ten millions of freemen, and I press the hand of my brave general! virtue always has its reward!" Every one applauded the enthusiasm and frankness of the old soldier, whom the general cordially greeted.

On leaving Natchez, we parted from the worthy Mr. Johnson, governor of Louisiana, who would not consent to leave the general whilst within his own state. He now placed us under the care of the state of Mississippi, and left with us, for the purpose of doing the honours of Louisiana as far as St. Louis, Messrs. Prieur, recorder of the

councils of New Orleans, Caire, his private secretary, and Morse and Ducros, his aides-de-camp. In taking leave of the governor, General Lafayette evinced the most sincere affection, and desired him to express in his name all the gratitude with which he was penetrated by his cordial reception in Louisiana.

Natchez was formerly the capital of the state of Mississippi, but has ceased to be so in consequence of not being in a central situation. Its population is nearly three thousand, and its port is the place of rest and provisioning for vessels passing between New Orleans and the western states, which gives it a great deal of activity. This city was founded in 1717, by some French soldiers and workmen who had been in the garrison of Fort Rosalie, and who, finding the situation good, established themselves upon it after obtaining their discharge. The most of them bought their lands from the Indians, who lived at some distance from the river, where they had five villages situated very near each other. That which they called the *Great Village*, where the principal chief of the nation resided, stood on a small stream called White River. It was to the west of this village that the Frenchmen, led by Hubert and Lepage, had erected Fort Rosalie.

When one has viewed the environs of Natchez, it is easy to conceive how readily the first settlers renounced their own country to fix themselves in these then savage wilds. It is difficult to find a more fertile soil, a more vigorous vegetation, or more agreeable and varied situations. The valleys afford fertile pastures, the hills are crowned with sassafras, catalpas, tulip-trees, and the superb magnolia grandiflora, the tops of which rise more than one hundred feet high, while their large white flowers deliciously perfume the air. Nevertheless, one cannot exclude the thought, that these verdant meadows, cool groves, and cheerful and vigorous nature, are sometimes visited and rendered melancholy by the yellow fever.

Natchez is the only town in Mississippi which we visited, so that I have little to say relative to this state. I shall only mention, that for a long time, with Alexandria, it formed a part of the state of Georgia, from which it was separated in 1800; that in 1817 it took its place in the Union as an independent body politic, and framed for

itself a constitution. The fertility of its soil, and facilities of sending its productions to market, have contributed, in a singular degree, to the increase of its population.- In 1800, it had only six thousand eight hundred and fifty inhabitants, while it now contains seventy-six thousand. If in this number, about thirty-thousand slaves are included, its prosperity must still be regarded as very great. Many large fortunes are found in this state, where it is not uncommon to meet with planters having incomes of seven or eight thousand dollars. The staple products are cotton and Indian corn.

The state of Mississippi is situated between the 30th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and the 11th and 14th degrees of west longitude from Washington. Its surface contains forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty square miles. It is bounded on the north by the state of Tennessee, east by Alabama, south by Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico, and west by Louisiana and Arkansas. Although the population is very much scattered, the land bears a considerable price, being on the banks of the river from fifty to sixty dollars per acre. The price lessens in proportion to the distance which the products have to be transported.

In leaving Natchez, we parted as it were from the civilized world. From this town to St. Louis, we did not meet with a single assemblage of houses that deserved the name of town or even village. The banks of the Mississippi again became flat, and presented nothing but grounds overflowed and covered with thick forests, impenetrable to the rays of the sun. The swarms of mosquitoes which rose out of it and settled in thick clouds upon travellers, rendered the voyage almost insupportable, especially during the night, if we had not taken the precaution to provide mosquito curtains. The only habitations we met with were large cabins, situated upon places a little elevated above the level of the river. These were inhabited temporarily by hardy speculators from the north, who, always abandoning the *good* in hopes of finding *better*, retreat incessantly before the advance of civilization, and seek their fortunes in the wilderness. The dangers of the navigation increase with the monotony of the shores. Every moment presents some evidence of recent disaster.

Here, one beholds the ravages of a hurricane which has crossed the river, and, in its devastation, has on both shores uprooted and carried off, as if they had been weak reeds, thousands of trees, which by their prodigious size were the pride of the forest. There, our captain showed us a snag or sawyer, the inclined point of which had pierced the bottom of a boat, immediately afterwards swallowed up by the flood. Further on, the wood-choppers, in giving us the necessary supplies of wood, told us of the explosion of a boiler which occasioned the death of near forty passengers; and it was not long before we ourselves saw the bank covered with travellers, who were impatiently waiting until their boat which had been pierced by a snag, should be repaired so as to be in a condition again to brave the danger from which they had so narrowly escaped.

These snags and sawyers, so formidable to the navigator, are very numerous all along the river. Snags are thrown into the stream by high floods, and, having floated some time, become fixed to the bottom of the river, with their tops either above or below the surface according to their length, but always inclining in the direction of the current. The sawyers differ from snags only in being firmly stuck in the bed of the river, and in this situation the current keeps them in constant vibration, alternately raising and depressing their summits. As their position often changes, it is difficult to avoid them; and, if vessels in ascending the river are so unfortunate as to strike against them, their destruction is almost inevitable, for they are pierced in such a manner, that the water pours through the opening, and sinks them, sometimes in a few minutes.

But persons are little disposed to be uneasy on account of these dangers, when, as in our case, they are on board a vessel skilfully managed, with all the delicacies of life, and inexhaustible resources afforded by the society of good and agreeable travelling companions. The committee of New Orleans were joined by two gentlemen from Natchez, as representatives of the state of Mississippi, near the person of General Lafayette. To the attentions and gaiety of the members of both these deputations, we were indebted for not having known a moment of tediousness or inquietude,

during our long voyage. After having sailed for five days, with the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, on our left, and the states of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, on our right, we arrived at the mouth of Ohio, without any delays but those necessary to take in wood. This fuel was sometimes supplied us by the woodmen on the borders of the river, who live by the unlimited forests which surround them. When we could find no woodmen we often supplied ourselves. In this case, our captain, after having made his men take in the necessary quantity, left in exchange a note nailed to a tree, upon which was inscribed the number of cords he had taken, the name of his boat, his place of residence, date of his passage, and signature. This kind of commerce with the Mississippi woodmen is very common, and I have heard it said that there never has been known an example of bad faith on the part of the purchasers, who always show themselves most scrupulous in paying their accounts, which are often presented months afterwards at Natchez and New Orleans.

When arrived at the mouth of the Ohio, we had come from the city of Natchez four hundred and fifty miles. Our pilot assured us then, that the upper part of the Mississippi was too little known to him, to permit him to conduct us through the midst of dangers which were met with at every moment. In consequence of this declaration, our good Captain Davis made us enter the Ohio for the purpose of obtaining a new pilot, at the distance of four miles from its mouth, whom we were so happy as to procure immediately. On going thither, we met a steam-boat, whose narrowness and unsteady motion induced us to think, that, destined for the navigation of small streams, it only appeared upon the agitated waters of a large one upon extraordinary occasions. This steam-boat was the Artizan, bearing the Tennessee deputation, sent to desire the general to ascend the Cumberland river to Nashville, where he had been a long time expected, and where his intention of visiting St. Louis was not then known. After a short conference with the deputies of the state of Tennessee, who insisted strongly that the general should proceed immediately to their shores, it was determined that we should continue our voyage in the Natchez to St. Louis ; that a part of the Ten-

nessee deputation should come with us, and the rest remain on board the *Artizan* at the mouth of the Ohio until our return. These arrangements, concluded to the satisfaction of every one, we left the *beautiful*, to enter again the *great* river. We remarked, with surprise, that at the confluence of these two bodies of water, the current appeared suspended for several miles, which seems to indicate the equality in volume and force of the two rivers at this place.

After leaving the mouth of the Ohio, the appearance of the shores of the Mississippi changes entirely. The lands, more elevated, present a greater number of houses. From place to place traces of the old French establishments are visible, and beautiful islands like gardens, often present themselves to the eye of the navigator, interrupting the monotony of the river. At first he sees the isle of Birds, charming for its freshness; next those called the Two Sisters and the Dog's Tooth; and then English Island, which recalls the first settlement made by the English in the midst of these wilds in the year 1765. This was soon destroyed by the savages, who saw with pain their old French friends dispossessed by traders whom they had never before seen. At about forty miles from the confluence, and almost opposite each other, rise capes Girardeau and Lacroix, both thus named by Mr. De Frontenac, governor of Canada, sent to ascertain the truth of the assertion made by the Indians, that *from the north there came a great river which ran neither in the direction whence the Great Spirit rose, nor towards that in which he set.* There is at present at Cape Girardeau a small village, recently founded, which begins to prosper. A little above, on the eastern side, are seen the ruins of ancient fortifications exhibiting a scene altogether picturesque. These are the remains of fort Chartres, constructed at great expense by the French, in 1753, for the defence of Upper Mississippi, now deserted by the Americans as altogether useless.

Some hours after having passed fort Chartres, whilst we walked the deck, our captain pointed out in the river a flock of young Louisiana geese, led by the two old ones. The elegant shape, and beautiful plumage of these fowls, made me anxious to get possession of the whole family. I immediately launched into the river a skiff manned with two sailors, and, going in the direction of the old goose, endeavoured

to get the boat between her and shore. The old geese, taking fright, made their escape with loud cries, but the young ones, unable yet to fly, or escape by climbing the steep banks, soon fell into our hands. We carried off five, which our captain had the goodness to take charge of, promising to raise them with care, and forward them to New Orleans, whence Mr. Caire engaged to send them to La Grange, for the benefit of the general's farm.\* As I was returning from this little expedition, I perceived, in the middle of the river, another very tempting game. This was a superb deer, which swam with as much calmness and ease as though it were in its native element. When it heard our cries, mingled with the noise of our steam-boat, it threw its long branching antlers upon its shoulders, and sunk in the water to escape our notice, swimming rapidly for the swiftest part of the current. As soon as it thought itself free from the danger of pursuit, it re-appeared above water, shook its antlers proudly, and tranquilly resumed its course. It is by no means rare, as we were informed, to see many of these animals thus passing from one shore of the river to the other, and visiting the fertile islands which adorn its course.

At the distance of one hundred miles from the Ohio, the shores of the Mississippi suddenly assume a more imposing appearance, rising steeply eighty or a hundred feet above the level of the water. They are composed of very hard granite. In their whole height they are impressed with deep horizontal furrows, which appear to have been caused by the friction of the water, whilst the river was at the different levels which they indicate. Some of these furrows are nearly a foot deep. They occur at unequal intervals, and mark the successive decrease of the water. At the actual level of the river the furrow is scarcely perceptible. What a length of time has, therefore, been occupied in the formation of each furrow by the sole action of the water upon a rock of such hardness? The solution of this single question would, perhaps, throw a good deal of diffi-

\* These geese, together with the Mexican hoccas presented by Mr. Duplantier; wild turkeys presented by Mr. Thousand, of Baltimore; Devonshire cows, given by Mr. Patterson; American partridges, presented by Mr. Skinner, etc. at present ornament the farm of La Grange, where General Lafayette exerts himself to multiply their numbers.

culty into the calculations of the system-makers, who pretend to fix the epoch of the creation of our globe.

Some distance above, these steep rocks leave between them and the river a considerable space, in which is situated *Herculaneum*. The site of this village is altogether romantic, the towers, formed upon the rock, which crowns it irregularly, impart a fantastic character, and attract the curiosity of travellers. From the height of these towers, which spring from the steep rock, they throw down melted lead, which cools by rolling in the air, becomes round, and falls in the form of small shot into large receivers of water, placed beneath. The large or small size of the holes in the iron sieve, through which it is thrown while boiling hot, give the various sizes wanted for hunting. The lead mines found in abundance upon the shores of the *Merrimac* river, which empties into the *Mississippi* ten miles from this place, have given origin to these establishments, the prosperity of which increases every day.

On the evening of the 28th, we arrived at a poor little village which the French formerly founded under the sad name of *Empty Pocket*, better known at the present day by the name of *Carondelet*. Although we were not above six or seven miles from *St. Louis*, as we could not get there by-day light, the members of the different committees in attendance upon the general, resolved to pass the night at anchor in the river, and wait till next morning to enter the town. No sooner were the inhabitants of *Carondelet* informed of the presence of *General Lafayette* in their vicinity, than they came in crowds on board the boat to see him. They were nearly all Frenchmen. For a long time, their settlement has consisted of only about sixty houses, and does not promise to increase. Unsited to commerce, it was only occupied with agriculture, which is still its chief means of obtaining the necessaries of life. The most of them came from *Canada*, and fixed themselves upon a portion of land along the *Mississippi* without inquiring who owned it. They laboured, some for ten, others for twenty years; and none of them thought of securing the titles to the little farms produced by the sweat of their brows. At present, whilst the government of the *United States* are selling much of the land it possesses in these regions, these unfortunate people run a



constant risk of seeing themselves dispossessed by purchasers who come to claim their property. They mentioned their inquietudes to the general, who promised to represent their situation to the federal government, and interest himself in their behalf. These good people, in the simplicity of their gratitude, offered him whom they already regarded as their protector, every thing which they thought would be agreeable; one of them brought him tame Mississippi geese; another, a young fawn which he had raised; a third, petrifications and shells which he looked upon as precious. The general saw that if he refused these presents their feelings would be wounded; and therefore hastened to accept them and return his acknowledgements.

On the morning of the 29th of April, Governor Clark, of Missouri, Governor Coles of Illinois, and Colonel Benton, came on board; who all three came to accompany the general to St. Louis. Some minutes after, the steam-boat *Plough Boy*, having on board a great number of citizens, ranged along side the *Natchez*, and the nation's guest was saluted by three cheers, which made the forests of the Missouri resound with *Welcome, Lafayette*. We then weighed anchor, and at nine o'clock saw a large number of buildings whose architecture was very fantastical, rising from the midst of beautiful green shrubbery and smiling gardens, commanding distant views of the river. This was the city of St. Louis. Its name, and the language of a great portion of its inhabitants, soon informed us of its origin. But if we were struck with the diversity of languages in which General Lafayette was saluted, we were not less so by the unity of sentiment which they manifested. The shore was covered by the whole population, who mingled their cries of joy with the roar of the cannon of our two vessels. The moment the general stepped on shore, the mayor, Dr. Lane, presented himself at the head of the municipal authorities, and greeted him with an address.

As the general concluded his reply to the mayor, an elegant calash drawn by four horses approached the shore, to conduct him to the city, through all the streets of which he was drawn in the midst of the acclamations of the people. He was attended by Mr. Augustus Choteau, a venerable old gentleman by whom St. Louis was founded, Mr. Hempstead, an old soldier of the revolution, and the mayor. These gentlemen conducted him to the house of the son of

Mr. Choteau, prepared for his reception, which was thrown open to all citizens without distinction, who desired to visit the national guest. Among the visitors, the general met with pleasure Mr. Hamilton, son of General Alexander Hamilton, the former aide-de-camp to Washington, whom he so much loved, and an old French serjeant of Rochambeau's army named Bellissime. This last could not restrain the joy he felt on seeing a countryman thus honoured by the American nation.

The inhabitants of St. Louis knew that General Lafayette could only remain a few hours with them, and they took advantage of the short time he had to dispose of to show him every thing which their city and its environs contained worthy of notice. While dinner was preparing at Mr. Peter Choteau's, we rode out in a carriage to visit on the banks of the river those remains of ancient Indian monuments which some travellers call tombs, whilst others regard them as fortifications or places for the performance of religious ceremonies. All these opinions are unfortunately equally susceptible of discussion, for these monuments have not preserved any sufficiently well marked characters to afford foundation for satisfactory deductions. Those near St. Louis are nothing but mounds covered with green turf, the ordinary shape of which is an oblong square. Their common height is little more than eight feet, but must have been much greater before the earth they are built of was thrown down during the lapse of ages. Their sides are inclined, and the mean length of their base is from eighty to a hundred feet, their width varying from thirty to sixty feet. What leads me to believe that these fabrics of earth have never been used as strong holds in war, is, that not one of them is surrounded by ditches, and they are placed too near together. These mounds are not only met with in the environs of St. Louis, but all over the states of Missouri, Indiana, and upon the borders of Ohio, where, we are informed, they meet with much more interesting traces of the greatest antiquity, indicating that this world which we call *new*, was the seat of civilization, perhaps long anterior to the continent of Europe.\*

\* See upon this subject Mr. Warden's very curious work, entitled *Remarks upon the Antiquities of North America.*

[No theory, formed from the examination of a few of these mounds,

From the mounds of Saint Louis to the junction of Mississippi and Missouri, we should only have had two or three hours ride, but the time of the general was so calculated that we were obliged to forego the pleasure we should have derived from visiting the union of these two rivers, which have their sources in countries where nature yet reigns undisturbed. Returned to town, we went to see the collection of Indian curiosities made by Governor Clark, which is the most complete that is to be found. We visited it with the greater pleasure from its being shown us by Mr. Clark, who had himself collected all the objects which compose it, while exploring the distant western regions with Captain Lewis. Specimens of all the clothing, arms, and utensils for fishing, hunting, and war, in use among the various tribes living on the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, are here to be found. Among the articles commonly worn by the Indian hunters, collars made of claws of prodigious size, particularly struck our attention. These claws, Gen. Clark informed us, are from that most terrible of all the animals of the American continent, the Grizzly Bear, of the Missouri, the ferocious instinct of which adds still more to the terror inspired by its enormous size and strength. The bears of this species meet together to the number of ten or twelve, and some times more, to chase and make a common division of their prey. Man is their favourite prey, and when they fall upon his track, they

can, with any propriety, be resorted to for the purpose of explaining the intentions of the ancient tribes in their formation. That they were erected for various uses, is sufficiently evident from their difference of construction, some being evidently merely monumental, while others must have been designed for military, religious, or other services. No one has examined the square and circular erections at Circleville, in Ohio, (now rapidly disappearing before the industry of the brick-makers,) or those found near Piqua, or elsewhere in that state, without feeling convinced that they were destined to different uses from the mounds which occur in their vicinity, and appear to have been erected by the same people. Dr. Clarke, and other travellers in the north of Asia, inform us, that mounds, in all respects similar to those of St. Louis, are very numerous in many places, and that they are unquestionably sepulchral is proved by the bones, urns, and ornaments found within them. These observations go far also to establish the belief of the common origin of the American aborigines and the nomadic tribes of the old continent. See Atwater's very interesting *Archæologia Americana*.—T.]

chase him with *outcries* like those made by our hounds in coursing a hare, and it is difficult to escape the steadiness of their pursuit.\* This animal is altogether unknown in Europe, even in the largest menageries. The London Cabinet of Natural History possesses only a single claw, which is regarded as a great rarity.† Gen. Clark has visited, near the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, Indian tribes which, previous to his visit, had never seen a white man; but among whom he nevertheless discovered traces of an ancient people more civilized than themselves. Thus, for example, he brought away with him a whip which the riders of these tribes do not understand the mode of using on their horses at the present time. The knots of this are very complex, and actually arranged like the *knout* of the Cossacks. He presented General Lafayette with a garment bearing a striking resemblance to a Russian riding coat. It is made of buffaloe skin, prepared so as to retain all its pliancy, as if dressed by the most skilful tanner. From these and some other facts, Mr. Clark, and Captain Lewis, his companion, concluded that there formerly existed, near the pole, a communication between Asia and America. These two intrepid travellers published in 1814, an interesting account of the journeys made by them in 1804, 5, and 6, by order of the American government, the object being to explore the sources of the

\* The grizzly bear is unquestionably a ferocious and sanguinary animal, and is so much dreaded by the Indians and traders, that it is not surprising they should give currency to endless fables and exaggerations concerning it. But we cannot avoid a feeling of surprise, mingled with some mortification, to find respectable and intelligent travellers repeating, as actually true, statements of the habits of our animals, which a very slight effort of reason would show to be utterly absurd. Here we have a BEAR, the largest species known, coursing after *men* in *packs*, and *yelping* like hounds! when we have not on record, evidence, perhaps, of more than thirty of these animals having been seen since the existence of the species was discovered; nor the slightest evidence that any bear ever uttered any other sound than a low harsh growl!—T.

† Since his return from America, General Lafayette has received a young grizzly bear from the Missouri, sent him by Governor Clark. He has presented it to the proprietors of the Jardin du Roi, who have placed it in the menagerie, where it may now be seen.

Missouri, and the course of the Columbia river, till it reaches the Pacific ocean.

We could have remained a considerable longer time in Governor Clark's museum, listening to the interesting accounts which he was pleased to give us relative to his great journeys, but were informed that the hour for dinner had arrived, and we went to the house of Mr. Peter Chocteau. On our way we visited a portion of the town which we had not before seen, and were surprised at the whimsical manner in which some of the houses, apparently the most ancient, were constructed. They generally consisted of a single story, surrounded by a gallery covered with a wide projecting roof. Some one pointed out to us, that formerly the basement was not inhabited, and that the stair-way leading to the upper story was moveable at pleasure. This precaution was used by the first inhabitants of St. Louis for the purpose of guarding against the insidious nocturnal attacks of the Indians, who saw with jealousy the whites making permanent settlements among them. When St. Louis, then a feeble village, passed under the Spanish authority, the neighbouring Indians were still so numerous and enterprising, that the inhabitants could scarcely resist them, or even venture abroad. It is related, that, in 1794, an Indian chief entered St. Louis, with a portion of his tribe, and having demanded an interview, spoke as follows: "We come to offer you peace. We have made war against you for a great many moons, and what has been the result? Nothing. Our warriors have used every means to fight with yours, but you will not, and dare not meet us! You are a pack of old women! What can be done with such people, since they will not fight, but make peace? I come therefore to you to bury the hatchet, brighten the chain, and open a new communication with you."

Since that time the tribes have greatly diminished, and most of them departed. Those still remaining in the vicinity show the most peaceable disposition towards the white inhabitants, with whom they carry on a considerable trade in furs. The inhabitants of St. Louis are, besides, sufficiently numerous no longer to fear such neighbours. The population amounts to nearly six thousand souls, which

number will probably be doubled in a few years, for this city has the prospect of a brilliant destiny in these vast regions, in the midst of which civilization, under the guidance of American liberty and industry, must run a giant's course. St. Louis is already the grand store-house of all the commerce of the countries west of the Mississippi. Its situation near the junction of four or five great rivers, all of whose branches, which spread to the most distant extremities of the Union, furnish an easy and rapid communication with all those places which can contribute to the wants or luxuries of its happy inhabitants. Into what astonishment is the mind thrown on reflecting that such a height of prosperity is the result of but a few years, and that the founder of so flourishing a city still lives, and, for a long time, has been in the enjoyment of the results which he neither could have hoped for, nor anticipated, had it been predicted to his young and ardent imagination on first approaching the solitary shores of the Mississippi. This enterprising man, who, with his axe, felled the first tree of the ancient forest on the place where the city of St. Louis stands, who raised the first house, about which, in so short a time, were grouped the edifices of a rich city; who, by his courage and conciliating spirit, at first repressed the rage of the Indians, and afterwards secured their friendship; this happy man is Mr. Augustus Choteau. I have already named him among those appointed by the inhabitants of St. Louis to do the honours of their city to the guest of the American nation. It was at the house of his son, Mr. Peter Choteau, that we partook of the feast of republican gratitude. It was highly interesting to behold seated at the table the founder of a great city, one of the principal defenders of the independence of a great nation, and the representatives of four young republics, already rich from their industry, powerful from their liberty, and happy from the wisdom of their institutions. As might be readily supposed, the conversation was highly interesting. Mr. Augustus Choteau was asked a great many questions respecting his youthful adventures and enterprises. The companion in arms of Washington was requested to relate some details of the decisive and glorious campaign of Virginia, and the members of the different deputations of Louisiana, Mississippi,

Tennessee, and Missouri, drew a pleasing picture of the prosperous advancement of their respective states. In this company, that which touched General Lafayette most was the prevailing unanimity among the guests, who, though they did not all speak one language, agreed perfectly in respect to the excellence of those republican institutions under which it was their happiness to live. Before leaving the banquet in order to attend the ball which the ladies were so kind as to prepare for us, some toasts were exchanged, all of which bore the impression of the harmony existing between the old French and the new American population. Mr. Delassus, formerly lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, drank, "*The United States and France!* May these two countries produce another Washington and another Lafayette, to emancipate the rest of the world!" Governor Coles drank, "*France!* dear to our hearts from so many recollections, and above all for having given birth to our Lafayette." General Lafayette finished by drinking the health of the venerable patriarch, who, in 1763, founded the town of St. Louis, and immediately afterwards we left the table for the ball, where we found the most numerous and brilliant company assembled, as we were informed, that had ever been seen upon the western shore of the Mississippi. The splendid decorations of the room, and the beauty of the ladies who graced it, made us completely forget that we were on the confines of a wilderness which the savages themselves consider as insufficient for the supply of their simple wants, since they only frequent it occasionally. We partook of the pleasures of the evening until near midnight, the hour at which we were to return on board the Natchez, for the purpose of taking some rest before daylight, when we were to depart. At the moment we were about to embark, many citizens of St. Louis had the goodness to offer us several objects of curiosity, such as bows, arrows, calumets, and dresses of the Missouri Indians. We accepted with gratitude these testimonies of benevolence, which we have preserved as agreeable remembrancers of happy occurrences so far from our country.

## CHAPTER IX.

Changes produced in the navigation of the Mississippi since the introduction of Steam—Arrival at Kaskaskia—The Canadians and Indians—Singular meeting with a young Indian educated among the Whites, and returned to savage life—Indian Ballad—State of Illinois—Departure from Kaskaskia—Separation of General Lafayette and the Louisiana deputation.

GOVERNOR COLES, who had embarked with us, requested of General Lafayette and obtained his consent, that he would not leave the river Mississippi without visiting the state of Illinois, along which we were to pass in descending the river. It was decided that we should stop at Kaskaskia, a large village of that state, and, although nearly eighty miles distant, we arrived there a little while before noon, so fortunate and rapid was our navigation. Since the application of steam to navigation, the changes produced in the relations of the towns on the Mississippi is prodigious. Formerly the voyage from New-Orleans to St. Louis required three or four months of the most painful toil that can be imagined; the action of the oar was not always sufficient to overcome the resistance of the current. They were often obliged to warp the boat by hand, advancing from time to time with a small boat to tie a rope to a tree or stone on the shore.\* This slow and painful operation, the consequent privations and bad diet, caused diseases among the boatmen, which ordinarily destroyed one third of the crew. At present the same passage which is nearly fifteen hundred miles, is made in ten days, without fatigue, without privations, between a good bed and a good table, and often in very good company; the return is commonly made in five days; so that

\* Another still more laborious mode of going up stream, was by extending a long line from the bow, by which the crew, walking along the margin of the river, dragged the boat along. This is what is called *cordelling*, and when it is recollected how rugged and irregular the shores of the western rivers are, and the necessity of carrying the cord clear of trees, rocks, &c., a more painful and exhausting kind of labour can scarcely be imagined.—T.



New Orleans and St. Louis, separated by so great a distance, are now considered as neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants are better acquainted and visit each other oftener than those of Paris and Bordeaux can do.

General Lafayette was not expected at Kaskaskia, and nothing had been prepared for this unforeseen visit. While we were landing some one ran to the village, which stands a quarter of a mile from the shore, and quickly returned with a carriage for the general, who, an instant after, was surrounded by many citizens, who ran before to receive him. In the escort which formed itself to accompany him, we saw neither military apparel nor the splendid triumphs we had perceived in the rich cities; but the accents of joy and republican gratitude which broke upon his ear, was grateful to his heart, since it proved to him that wherever American liberty had penetrated, there also the love and veneration of the people for its founders were perpetuated.

We followed the general on foot, and arrived almost at the same time at the house of General Edgar, a venerable soldier of the revolution, who received him with affectionate warmth, and ordered all the doors to be kept open, that his fellow citizens might enjoy, as well as himself, the pleasure of shaking hands with the adopted son of America. After a few minutes had been accorded to the rather tumultuous expression of the sentiments which the presence of the general inspired, Governor Coles requested silence, which was accorded with a readiness and deference that proved to me that his authority rested not only on the law, but still more on popular affection. He advanced towards Lafayette, about whom the crowd had increased, and addressed him with emotion in a discourse in which he depicted the transports his presence excited in the population of the state of Illinois, and the happy influence which the remembrance of his visit would produce hereafter on the youthful witnesses of the enthusiasm of their fathers, for one of the most valiant founders of their liberty.

During an instant of profound silence, I cast a glance at the assembly, in the midst of which I found myself, and was struck with astonishment in remarking their variety and fantastic appearance. Beside men whose dignity of coun-

tenance, the patriotic exaltation of expression, readily indicated them to be Americans, were others whose coarse dresses, vivacity, petulance of movement, and the expansive joy of their visages, strongly recalled to me the peasantry of my own country; behind these, near to the door, and on the piazza which surrounded the house, stood some immovable, impassable, large, red, half naked figures, leaning on a bow or a long rifle: these were the Indians of the neighbourhood.

After a pause of some seconds, the governor resumed his address, which he concluded by presenting, with great eloquence, a faithful picture of the benefits which America had derived from its liberty, and the happy influence which republican institutions would one day exercise on the rest of the world. When the orator had finished, a slight murmur of approbation passed through the assembly, and was prolonged until it was perceived that General Lafayette was about to reply, when an attentive silence was restored.

After these reciprocal felicitations, another scene not less interesting commenced. Some old revolutionary soldiers advanced from the crowd, and came to shake hands with their old general; while he conversed with them, and heard them, with softened feelings, cite the names of those of their ancient companions in arms, who also fought at Brandywine and Yorktown, but for whom it was not ordained to enjoy the fruits of their toils, nor to unite their voices with that of their grateful country. The persons whom I had remarked as having some likeness in dress and manners to our French peasants, went and came with vivacity in all parts of the hall, or sometimes formed little groups, from the midst of which could be heard, in the French language, the most open and animated expressions of joy. Having been introduced to one of these groups by a member of the committee of Kaskaskia, I was received at first with great kindness, and was quickly overwhelmed with a volley of questions, as soon as they found I was a Frenchman, and accompanied general Lafayette. "What! are you also come from France? Give us then some news from that fine, that dear country. Are people happy there? Are they free as they are here? Ah! what pleasure to see our good Frenchmen from *grand France!*" and the ques-

tions followed with such rapidity, that I knew not which to understand. I was not long in perceiving that these good men were as ignorant of the things which concerned their mother country, as they were enthusiastic. They are acquainted with France only by tradition from the reign of Louis XIV. and they have no idea of the convulsions which, during the last forty years, have torn the country of their fathers. "Have you not had," said one of them to me, who had just asked me many questions about General Lafayette, which would not have been asked by an American child ten years of age, "have you not had another famous general, called Napoleon, who has made many glorious wars?" I think if Napoleon had heard such a question asked, his vanity would have been somewhat shocked by it. He, who believed he filled the universe with his name, because he had overturned some old thrones of Europe, and destroyed the liberty of France, was yet hardly known on the banks of the Mississippi; not more than two thousand leagues from the theatre of his glory, his name is pronounced with an expression of doubt! Indeed, there is in this something to damp the most ardent passion for celebrity: I did my best to reply to the question of my Canadian, to make him comprehend, as well as those who surrounded him, who was this *famous General Napoleon*. At the recital of his exploits, they at first clapped their hands, and assumed an air of superiority, in saying, "These are our brave Frenchmen. It is only among them that men like these are to be found!" But when I came to tell them how this famous general caused himself to be made consul; how he made himself emperor; how he had successively destroyed our liberty, and paralyzed the exercise of our rights; how, finally, he had himself fallen, leaving us, after twenty years of war, nearly at the same point whence we had started at the commencement of our revolution, they all became sad as if about to weep, and exclaimed: "And you have suffered all that! How, in beautiful France, and grand France, are they not free as in the state of Illinois? Good heavens! is it possible? What, can you not write whatever you please? Cannot you go every where without passports? Is it not you who nominate the mayors of your towns and villages? Is it not you who choose your governors, or your prefects of departments or provinces? Have

you not the right to elect your representatives to the national assembly? Are none of you called to the election of the chief of the government, although you pay the whole of such heavy taxes? Alas! our good Frenchmen of grand France are then more to be pitied than the negro slaves of Louisiana, who are, indeed, miserable enough! for if these exercise none of the rights which we all exercise here, they at least pay no money, and have masters that support them." During these exclamations, I did not know what to say. The colour mounted to my cheeks, and I confess that my national vanity suffered singularly to hear ignorant Canadians express sentiments of pity for my countrymen, and draw a parallel to their disadvantage between them and miserable slaves; but these sentiments were too well founded to admit of my complaining, and I was silent. I only made a promise to myself to be more discreet for the future, and not to speak with so much freedom of the political situation of my country before freemen.

While I was occupied with the Canadians, the crowd, influenced by a feeling of delicacy and kind attention, insensibly withdrew, to leave General Lafayette time to take a few moments' repose while waiting for the banquet which the citizens had hastily prepared. Wishing to profit by the short time we had to remain at Kaskaskia, Mr. George Lafayette and myself went out to view the environs of the village, in company with some of the inhabitants, and left the general with our other travelling companions and some old revolutionary soldiers, at Colonel Edgar's. At the public square we found nearly all the citizens walking about, and joyously conversing upon the event of the day. We found in their groups the same variety of physiognomy that had struck me in the hall. While Mr. George gathered from an American, the details of the origin and present situation of Kaskaskia, I approached a small circle of Indians, in the centre of which was a man of high stature and singular aspect. His face, without being coppery like that of the Indians, was still very swarthy. His short dress; his long belt, to which hung a powder-horn, his long leather leggings, extending above his knees, and all his equipage, announced a hunter of the forest. He was leaning on a long rifle, and appeared to inspire by his discourse a lively interest in his hearers. When he observed me, he

came to me without forwardness, but with marked kindness. He extended his hand, and I gave him mine, which he shook cordially. I had a moment's hesitation in addressing him, not knowing whether he understood English or French; but he spoke to me first in French, and I soon found myself quite at ease with him. He informed me that he was of mixed blood, that his mother was of the Kickapoos tribe, and that his father was a Canadian. He lives among the Indians of the neighbourhood, who have a great friendship and respect for him, because, notwithstanding fifty years and fatigue have begun to whiten his head, he yet equals them in hunting and all the exercises of the body, and because he often serves them as a mediator between them and the whites, whose language he perfectly understands, although his common language is Indian. Those who surrounded him were not all similarly clothed, nor similarly painted. It was easy to distinguish some differences in their features and manners. I concluded that they were not all of the same tribe. The hunter confirmed me in this opinion by telling me that at this moment, there were about Kaskaskia three or four camps of Indians, come to sell the furs obtained by their great hunting during the winter. He named the different tribes who occupied the camps; but their names were so barbarous, or so badly pronounced, that I could not comprehend them; I understood distinctly only that of *Miami*, which, repeated three or four times, roused from his apathy a little man, who until then stood motionless before me, wrapped in a blanket; his face, bloated by intemperance, was painted red, blue, and yellow. At the name of Miami, he raised his head, assumed an air of ridiculous dignity, and said, "I should be the chief of the Miami nation. My grandfather was chief, my father was chief; but the Miami have unjustly decided that I should not succeed my father, and now, instead of having a great quantity of furs to sell, I have none; I shall quit Kaskaskia without being able to buy arms, powder, or tobacco." While he thus spoke, a man painted in the same way, but of a very lofty stature and athletic form, regarded him with a disdainful air, and said, after tapping him on the shoulder, "Dare you to complain of the justice of the Miami? Thy grandfather was our chief, sayest thou? thy father was also? But hast thou

then forgotten that thy grandfather was the bravest of our warriors, and that the wisdom of thy father was heard in our councils as the voice of the Great Spirit? But, by what title wouldst thou command among men? Feeble as an old woman, thou hast not even the courage to hunt to satisfy thy wants, and thou wouldst sell us to the whites for a bottle of whiskey." A contemptuous gesture terminated this rude apostrophe, which was translated into French for me at the time by the stout hunter; and the fallen prince, sadly leaning on a small bow, similar to those with which the Indian boys exercise, kept silence. His fate seemed to me truly deserving of pity; I could not, however, avoid feeling a sentiment of esteem for the Miami nation, who do not believe that legitimacy in a prince can supply the place of all the virtues.

I was still among the Indians, questioning the hunter as to the situation and force of their tribes, which civilization is rapidly diminishing, when I saw the secretary of the governor of Louisiana, Mr. Caire, approach, who came to propose that I should go with him to visit an Indian encampment, at a very short distance from the village. I consented, and we set off immediately, in order to return by the dinner hour. Leaving Kaskaskia, we crossed a river of the same name, on a wooden bridge solidly built and firmly connected. We then marched about twenty minutes on the plain, to the entrance of a forest, which we penetrated by a straight path traced along a rivulet. As we advanced, the ground suddenly elevated itself to the right and left, and we quickly found ourselves in a kind of pass, formed by a succession of small hills, covered with thickets. After about a quarter of an hour's walk, we arrived at a fence, which we climbed, and behind which two horses attracted our attention by the noise of the bells hung round their necks. A little further on, the pass enlarging, formed a delightful little valley, in the middle of which some huts of bark were raised in a half circle; this was the Indian camp we sought. The openings of these huts were all towards the centre of the circle, and the planks elevated about three feet from the ground, were slightly inclined, like the cover of a field bed. With the exception of a very old woman cooking at a fire in the open air, we found no person in the camp. Either from

spite, or because she neither comprehended French nor English, this woman would reply to none of our questions, and saw us with the greatest indifference, look at, and even handle, all the objects which attracted our curiosity in the huts. All was arranged with sufficient order, and it was easy to recognize the places occupied by the women, by the little utensils of the toilet, such as looking-glasses, pins, bags of paint, &c. which we remarked there. After a minute examination of this little camp, we were about to leave it, when I was arrested on the border of the streamlet which ran through it, by the sight of a small mill-wheel, which appeared to have been thrown on the bank by the rapidity of the current. I took it up and placed it where I thought it had originally been put by the children, on two stones elevated a little above the water; and the current striking the wings, made it turn rapidly. This puerility, (which probably would have passed from my memory, if, on the same evening, it had not placed me before the Indians, in a situation sufficiently extraordinary,) greatly excited the attention of the old woman, who, by her gestures, expressed to us a lively satisfaction.

On returning to Kaskaskia, we found Mr. de Syon, an amiable young Frenchman of much intelligence, who, on the invitation of General Lafayette, left Washington city with us to visit the southern and western states. Like us he had just made an excursion into the neighbourhood, and appeared quite joyous at the discovery he had made; he had met, in the midst of the forest, at the head of a troop of Indians, a pretty young woman, who spoke French very well, and expressed herself with a grace at which he appeared as much astonished as we were. She had asked him if it was true, that Lafayette was at Kaskaskia, and on his replying affirmatively, she manifested a great desire to see him. "I always carry with me," said she to Mr. de Syon, "a relique, that is very dear to me; I would wish to show it to him; it will prove to him that his name is not less venerated in the midst of our tribes, than among the white Americans, for whom he fought." And in speaking thus, she drew from her bosom a little pouch which enclosed a letter carefully wrapped in several pieces of paper. "It is from Lafayette," said she, "he wrote it to my father a long time since, and my father, when he died, left it to me

as the most precious thing he possessed." At the sight of this letter, Mr. de Syon proposed to the Indian girl to go with him to Kaskaskia, assuring her that General Lafayette would be very much pleased to see her; but this proposition seemed to embarrass her, and under various pretexts, she refused to come. "However," she added, "if you have any thing to say to me this evening, you will find me in my camp, which is close by the village; any one can direct you the way, for I am well known at Kaskaskia. My name is Mary."

This recital of Mr. de Syon excited my curiosity keenly, and I would have willingly returned with him immediately to search for Mary; but, at this moment, a member of the committee of Kaskaskia came to inform me that they were about to sit down to dinner, and we saw General Lafayette going out of Colonel Edgar's, escorted by many citizens and crossing to Colonel Sweet's house where we were to dine. We joined the procession and took our places at table, where the general was seated under a canopy of flowers prepared by the ladies of Kaskaskia, with much skill and taste; and which produced, by the blending of the richest and most lively colours, the effect of a rainbow.

I spoke to General Lafayette of the meeting with the young Indian girl; and from the desire he manifested to see her, I left the table with Mr. de Syon, at the moment when the company began to exchange patriotic toasts, and we sought a guide to Mary's camp. Chance assisted us wonderfully, in directing us to an Indian of the same tribe that we wished to visit. Conducted by him, we crossed the bridge of Kaskaskia, and notwithstanding the darkness, soon recognized the path and rivulet I had seen in the morning with Mr. Caire. When we were about to enter the enclosure, we were arrested by the fierce barking of two stout dogs which sprang at, and would probably have bitten us, but for the timely interference of our guide. We arrived at the middle of the camp, which was lighted by a large fire, around which a dozen Indians were squatted, preparing their supper; they received us with cordiality, and, as soon as they were informed of the object of our visit, one of them conducted us to Mary's hut, whom we found sleeping on a bison skin. At the voice of Mr. de Syon,



which she recognized, she arose, and listened attentively to the invitation from General Lafayette to come to Kaskaskia; she seemed quite flattered by it, but said before deciding to accompany us she wished to mention it to her husband. While she was consulting with him, I heard a piercing cry; and turning round I saw near me the old woman I had found alone in the camp in the morning: she had just recognized me by the light of the fire, and designated me to her companions, who, quitting immediately their occupations, rushed round me in a circle, and began to dance with demonstrations of great joy and gratitude. Their tawny and nearly naked bodies, their faces fantastically painted, their expressive gesticulations, the reflection of the fire, which gave a red tinge to all the surrounding objects, every thing gave to this scene something of an infernal aspect, and I fancied myself for an instant in the midst of demons. Mary, witnessing my embarrassment, put an end to it, by ordering the dance to cease, and then explained to me the *honours* which they had just rendered me. "When we wish to know if an enterprize we meditate will be happy, we place in a rivulet a small wheel slightly supported on two stones; if the wheel turns during three suns, without being thrown down, the augury is favourable: but if the current carry it away, and throws it upon the bank, it is a certain proof that our project is not approved by the Great Spirit, unless however a stranger comes to replace the little wheel before the end of the third day. You are this stranger who have restored our *manitou* and our hopes, and this is your title to be thus celebrated among us." In pronouncing these last words, an ironical smile played on her lips, which caused me to doubt her faith in the *manitou*. "You do not appear to be very much convinced," said I to her, "of the efficacy of the service which I have rendered you in raising the *manitou*?" She silently shook her head; then raising her eyes, "I have been taught," said she, "to place my confidence higher;—all my hopes are in the God I have been taught to believe in; the God of the Christians."

I had at first been much astonished to hear an Indian woman speak French so well, and I was not less so in learning that she was a Christian; Mary perceived it, and to put an end to my surprise, she related to me her history, while

her husband, and those who were to accompany her to Kaskaskia, hastily took their supper, of maize cooked in milk. She informed me that her father, who was a chief of one of the nations who inhabited the shores of the great lakes of the north, had formerly fought with a hundred of his followers under the orders of Lafayette, when the latter commanded an army on the frontiers. That he had acquired much glory, and gained the friendship of the Americans. A long time after, that is, about twenty years ago, he left the shores of the great lakes with some of his warriors, his wife and daughter; and after having marched a long time, he established himself on the shores of the river Illinois. "I was very young, then, but have not yet, however, forgotten the horrible sufferings we endured during this long journey, made in a rigorous winter, across a country peopled by nations with whom we were unacquainted; they were such, that my poor mother, who nearly always carried me on her shoulders, already well loaded with baggage, died under them some days after our arrival; my father placed me under the care of another woman, who also emigrated with us, and occupied himself in securing the tranquil possession of the lands on which we had come to establish ourselves, by forming alliances with our new neighbours. The Kickapoos were those who received us best, and we soon considered ourselves as forming a part of their nation. The year following my father was chosen by them, with some from among themselves, to go and regulate some affairs of the nation with the agent of the United States, residing here at Kaskaskia; he wished that I should be of the company; for, although the Kickapoos had shown themselves very generous and hospitable towards him, he feared that some war might break out in his absence, as he well knew the intrigues of the English to excite the Indians against the Americans. This same apprehension induced him to accede to the request made by the American agent, to leave me in his family, to be educated with his infant daughter. My father had much esteem for the whites of that great nation for whom he had formerly fought; he never had cause to complain of them, and he who offered to take charge of me inspired him with great confidence by the frankness of his manners, and above all, by the fidelity with which he treated the affairs of the Indians; he, there-

fore, left me, promising to return to see me every year after the great winter's hunt; he came, in fact, several times afterwards; and I, notwithstanding the disagreeableness of a sedentary life, grew up, answering the expectations of my careful benefactor and his wife. I became attached to their daughter, who grew up with me, and the truths of the Christian religion easily supplanted in my mind the superstition of my fathers, whom I had scarcely known; yet, I confess to you, notwithstanding the influence of religion and civilization on my youthful heart, the impressions of infancy were not entirely effaced. If the pleasure of wandering conducted me into the shady forest, I breathed more freely, and it was with reluctance that I returned home; when, in the cool of the evening, seated in the door of my adopted father's habitation, I heard in the distance, through the silence of the night, the piercing voice of the Indians, rallying to return to camp, I started with a thrill of joy, and my feeble voice imitated the voice of the savage with a facility that affrighted my young companion; and when occasionally some warriors came to consult my benefactor in regard to their treaties, or hunters to offer him a part of the produce of their chase, I was always the first to run to meet and welcome them; I testified my joy to them by every imaginable means, and I could not avoid admiring and wishing for their simple ornaments, which appeared to me far preferable to the brilliant decorations of the whites.

“In the meanwhile, for five years my father had not appeared at the period of the return from the winter's hunting; but a warrior, whom I had often seen with him, came and found me one evening at the entrance of the forest, and said to me: ‘Mary, thy father is old and feeble, he has been unable to follow us here; but he wishes to see thee once more before he dies, and he has charged me to conduct thee to him.’ In saying these words he forcibly took my hand, and dragged me with him. I had not even time to reply to him, nor even to take any resolution, before we were at a great distance, and I saw well that there was no part left for me, but to follow him. We marched nearly all night, and at the dawn of day, we arrived at a bark hut, built in the middle of a little valley. Here I saw my father, his eyes turned towards the just rising sun. His face was painted as for battle. His tomahawk ornamented with

many scalps, was beside him; he was calm and silent as an Indian who awaited death. As soon as he saw me he drew out of a pouch a paper wrapped with care in a very dry skin, and gave it me, requesting that I should preserve it as a most precious thing. 'I wished to see thee once more before dying,' said he, 'and to give thee this paper, which is the most powerful charm (*manitou*) which thou canst employ with the whites to interest them in thy favour; for all those to whom I have shown it have manifested towards me a particular attachment. I received it from a great French warrior, whom the English dreaded as much as the Americans loved, and with whom I fought in my youth.' After these words my father was silent, next morning he expired. Sciakape, the name of the warrior who came for me, covered the body of my father with the branches of trees, and took me back to my guardian."

Here Mary suspended her narrative, and presented to me a letter a little darkened by time, but in good preservation. "Stay," said she to me, smiling, "you see that I have faithfully complied with the charge of my father; I have taken great care of his *manitou*." I opened the letter and recognized the signature and handwriting of General Lafayette. It was dated at head quarters, Albany, June, 1778, after the northern campaign, and addressed to Panisciowa, an Indian chief of one of the Six Nations, to thank him for the courageous manner in which he had served the American cause.

"Well" said Mary, "now that you know me well enough to introduce me to General Lafayette, shall we go to him that I may also greet him whom my father revered as the courageous warrior and the friend of our nations?" "Willingly," I replied, "but it seems to me that you have promised to inform us in what manner, after having tasted for some time the sweets of civilization, you came to return to the rude and savage life of the Indians?" At this question, Mary looked downwards and seemed troubled. However, after a slight hesitation, she resumed in a lower tone: "After the death of my father, Sciakape often returned to see me. We soon became attached to each other; he did not find it difficult to determine me to follow him into the forest, where I became his wife. This resolution at first very much afflicted my benefactors; b

when they saw that I found myself happy, they pardoned me; and each year, during all the time—that our encampment is established near Kaskaskia, I rarely pass a day without going to see them; if you wish, we can visit them, for their house is close by our way, and you will see by the reception they will give me, that they retain their esteem and friendship.” Mary pronounced these last words with a degree of pride, which proved to us that she feared that we might have formed a bad opinion of her, on account of her flight from the home of her benefactors with Sciakape. We accepted her proposition, and she gave the signal for departure. At her call, her husband and eight warriors presented themselves to escort us. M. de Syon offered her his arm, and we began our march. We were all very well received by the family of Mr. Mesnard; but Mary above all received the most tender marks of affection from the persons of the household. Mr. Mesnard, Mary’s adopted father, was at Kaskaskia, as one of the committee charged with the reception of Lafayette, and Mrs. Mesnard asked us if we would undertake to conduct her daughter to the ball which she herself was prevented from attending by indisposition. We assented with pleasure; and, while Mary assisted Miss Mesnard to complete her toilet, we seated ourselves round a great fire in the kitchen. Scarcely were we seated, when I saw moving in the corner, a black mass, of which I had at first a difficulty in recognising the nature and form; but, after an attentive examination, I found it was an old negro doubled by age. His face was so much wrinkled and deformed by time, that it was impossible to distinguish in it a single feature, and I guessed the place of his mouth by the little cloud of tobacco-smoke which escaped thence, from time to time. This man appeared to give great attention to the conversation which took place between us and a young man of Mr. Mesnard’s family; when he understood that we travelled with General Lafayette, and that we came from St. Louis, he asked if we had found many Frenchmen there. I replied that we had seen some, and, among others, Mr. Choteau, the founder of the town. “What!” cried he with a loud voice, which seemed not to to so decrepid a body—“What! you found the beau? Oh! I know him well, so I do, that little

Choteau ; we have travelled a great deal together on the Mississippi, and that at a time when very few of the whites had come this far." "But do you know," said I, "that he whom you call the little Choteau is very old, that he is certainly more than ninety years of age?" "Oh! I believe that well! but what of that? that does not prevent that I should know him well, when a child." "Of what age are you, then?" "Of that I know nothing, as they never taught me to count. All that I know is, that I left New Orleans with my master, who made part of the expedition sent by the Navigation Company of the Mississippi, under the orders of the young Choteau, to go and build a fort high up the river. Young Choteau was hardly seventeen, but he was commander of the expedition, because his father was, they said, one of the richest proprietors of the company. After having rowed a long time against the current and suffered great fatigue, we arrived at last not far from here, where we set about building Fort Chartres. It seems as if I was now there; I see from here the great stones which bore the great arches we built. Every one of us said, 'Here is a fort will last longer than us all, and longer than our children.' I also believed it well, and yet I have seen the last of it; for it is now in ruins, and I am yet living. Do you know, sir, how many years it is since we built Fort Chartres?" "At least eighty years, if I am not deceived." "Well, count, and you will know very nearly my age. I was then at least thirty years old, for the little Choteau appeared to me a child; I have already served three masters, and I have suffered a great deal." "According to that account, you are a hundred and ten years old, Daddy Francis." "Yes, indeed, I believe I am at the least that, for it is a long time that I have laboured and suffered." "How!" said the young man who was seated near him, "do you suffer now, Francis?" "Oh! pardon me, sir, I speak not of the time I have lived in this house. Since I belonged to Mr. Mesnard it is very different; I am now happy. Instead of serving others, they all serve me. Mr. Mesnard will not even allow me to go and bring in a little wood for the fire; he says I am too old for that. But I must tell the truth, Mr. Mesnard is not a master to me; he is a man—he is a friend."

This homage of the old slave, rendered to the humanit

of his master, gave us a high idea of the character of Mr. Mesnard. While we were yet listening to old Francis, Mary and Miss Mesnard came to inform us that they were ready, and asked us if we would be on our way, as it began to grow late. We took leave of Mrs. Mesnard, and found our Indian escort who had waited patiently for us at the door, and who resumed their position near us at some distance in front, to guide and protect our march, as if we had been crossing an enemy's country. The night was quite dark, but the temperature was mild, and the fire-flies illuminated the atmosphere around us. M. de Syon conducted Miss Mesnard, and I gave my arm to Mary, who, notwithstanding the darkness, walked with a confidence and lightness which only a forest life could produce. The fire-flies attracted and interested me much; for, although this was not the first time I had observed them, I had never before seen them in such numbers. I asked Mary if these insects, which from their appearance seem so likely to astonish the imagination, had never given place among the Indians to popular beliefs or tales. "Not among the nations of these countries, where every year we are familiarised with their great numbers," said she to me, "but I have heard that among the tribes of the north, they commonly believe that they are the souls of departed friends, who return to console them or demand the performance of some promise. I even know several ballads on this subject. One of them appears to have been made a long time since, in a nation which lives farther north and no longer exists. It is by songs that great events and popular traditions are ordinarily preserved among us, and this ballad; which I have often heard sung by the young girls of our tribe, leaves no doubt as to the belief of some Indians concerning the fire-fly." I asked her to sing me this song, which she did with much grace. Although I did not comprehend the words, which were Indian, I observed a great harmony in their arrangement, and, in the very simple music in which they were sung, an expression of deep melancholy.

When she had finished the ballad, I asked her if she could not translate it for me into French, so that I might comprehend the sense. "With difficulty," she said, "for I have always found great obstacles to translating exactly

the expressions of our Indians into French, when I have served them as interpreter with the whites; but I will try." And she translated nearly as follows:

"The rude season of the chase was over. Antakaya, the handsomest, the most skilful, and bravest of the Cherokee warriors, came to the banks of the Avolachy, where he was expected by Manahella, the young virgin promised to his love and bravery.

"The first day of the moon of flowers was to witness their union. Already had the two families, assembled round the same fire, given their assent; already had the young men and women prepared and ornamented the new cabin, which was to receive the happy couple, when, at the rising of the sun, a terrible cry, the cry of war, sent forth by the scout who always watches at the summit of the hill, called the old men to the council, and the warriors to arms.

"The whites appeared on the frontier. Murder and robbery accompanied them. The star of fertility had not reached its noontide height, and already Antakaya had departed at the head of his warriors to repel robbery, murder, and the whites.

"Go, said Manahella to him, endeavouring to stifle her grief, go fight the cruel whites; and I will pray to the Great Spirit to wrap thee with a cloud, proof against their blows. I will pray him to bring thee back to the banks of the Avolachy, there to be loved by Manahella.

"I will return to thee, replied Antakaya, I will return to thee. My arrows have never disappointed my aim, my tomahawk shall be bathed in the blood of the whites; I will bring back their scalps to ornament the door of thy cabin; then I shall be worthy of Manahella; then shall we love in peace, then shall we be happy.

"The first day of the moon of flowers had brightly dawned, and many more had passed away, and none had heard from Antakaya and his warriors. Stooping on the shores of the Avolachy, the mournful Manahella every evening raised to the evil spirits little pyramids of polished pebbles, to appease their anger and avert their resistance to her well beloved; but the evil spirits were inflexible, and their violent blasts overthrew the little pyramids.

"One evening of the last moon of flowers, Manahella met on the banks of the river a pale and bloody warrior. 'Die,



poor ivy,' said he to Manahella; 'die! the noblest oak of the forest, that proud oak under whose shade thou hoped to enjoy repose and happiness, is fallen! It has fallen under the redoubled strokes of the whites. In its fall it has crushed those who felled it, but it is fallen! Die, poor ivy, die! for the oak which was to give thee support is fallen!'—Two days after, Manahella was no more.

"Antakaya, whose courage had been deceived by fate, had fallen covered with wounds into the hands of the whites, who carried him far away. But he escaped; and after wandering long through the forest, he returned to mourn his defeat and meditate vengeance with Manahella. When he arrived, she was no more. Agitated by the most violent despair, he ran in the evening to the banks of the Avolachy, calling Manahella, but the echo alone replied to the accents of his grief.

"O Manahella! he exclaimed, if my arrows have disappointed my skill, if my tomahawk has not spilt the blood of the whites, if I have not brought thee their scalps to ornament the door of thy cabin, forgive me! It is not the fault of my courage, the evil spirits have fought against me. And yet I have suffered no complaint to escape me, not a sigh, when the iron of my enemies tore my breast; I have not abased myself by asking my life! They preserved it against my will, and I am only consoled by the hope of one day avenging myself, and offering thee many of their scalps. O Manahella! come, if but to tell me that thou pardonest me, and that thou permittest me to follow thee into the world of the Great Spirit.

"At the same instant a vivid light, pure and lambent, appeared to the eyes of the unfortunate Antakaya. He saw in it the soul of his beloved, and followed it through the valley during all the night, supplicating it to stay and to pardon him. At the dawn of the day he found himself on the border of a great lake; the light had disappeared, and he believed that it had passed over the water. Immediately, although feeble and fatigued, he made a canoe of the trunk of a tree which he hollowed, and with a branch he made a paddle. At the end of the day his work was achieved. With the darkness the deceptive light returned; and during all the night Antakaya pursued the delusion on the face of the unsteady waters. But it again disappeared

before the light of the sun, and with it vanished the slight breath of hope and the life of Antakaya."

Mary ended her ballad, and I expressed to her my thanks as we arrived at the bridge of Kaskaskia. There, Sciakape collected his escort, said a few words to his wife, and left us to enter the village alone. We approached the house of Mr. Morrison, at which the ball was given to General Lafayette. I then felt that Mary trembled; her trouble was so great that she could not conceal it from me. I asked her the cause. If you would spare me a great mortification, she said, you will not conduct me among the ladies of Kaskaskia. They are now without doubt in their most brilliant dresses, and the coarseness of my clothes will inspire them with contempt and pity, two sentiments which will equally affect me. Besides I know that they blame me for having renounced the life of the whites, and I feel little at ease in their presence. I promised what she desired, and she became reassured. Arrived at Mr. Morrison's, I conducted her into a lower chamber, and went to the hall to inform General Lafayette that the young Indian girl awaited him below. He hastened down, and several of the committee with him. He saw and heard Mary with pleasure, and could not conceal his emotion on recognizing his letter, and observing with what holy veneration it had been preserved during nearly half a century in a savage nation, among whom he had not even supposed his name had ever penetrated. On her part, the daughter of Panisciowa expressed with vivacity the happiness she enjoyed in seeing him, along with whom her father had the honour to fight for the *good American cause*.

After a half hour's conversation, in which General Lafayette was pleased to relate the evidences of the fidelity and courageous conduct of some Indian nations towards the Americans, during the revolutionary war, Mary manifested a wish to retire, and I accompanied her to the bridge, where I replaced her under the care of Sciakape and his escort, and bade them farewell.

At midnight, the general received the farewell of the ladies and citizens of Kaskaskia, who were assembled at Mr. Morrison's, and we returned on board our boat, to continue immediately our navigation towards the mouth of the Ohio. Governor Coles greatly wished that we

should cross that part of the state of Illinois comprised in the angle formed by the two great rivers, and meet the boat again at Shawneetown, where we should have been able to visit the salt mines, which are said to be very fine; but besides that this would have taken more time than he could devote to this visit, this route did not accord with the plan of ascending the Cumberland river to Nashville, where the envoys from Tennessee were charged to conduct him. Mr. Coles embarked with us to accompany the general to the state of Tennessee, and we felt a real pleasure on account of it, for he is a man of agreeable conversation and extraordinary merit. All persons agree in saying that he fulfils his duties as governor with as much philanthropy as justice. He owes his elevation to the office of governor, to his opinions on the abolition of the slavery of the blacks. He was originally a proprietor in Virginia, where, according to the custom of the country, he cultivated his lands by negro slaves. After having for a long time strongly expressed his aversion for this kind of culture, he thought it his duty to put in practice the principles he had professed, and he decided to give liberty to all his slaves; but knowing that their emancipation in Virginia would be more injurious than useful to them, he took them all with him into the state of Illinois, where he not only gave them their liberty, but also established them at his own expense, in such a manner that they should be able to procure for themselves a happy existence by their labour. This act of justice and humanity considerably diminished his fortune, but occasioned him no regrets. At this period, some men, led astray by ancient prejudices, endeavoured to amend that article of the constitution of the state of Illinois, which prohibits slavery: Mr. Coles opposed these men with all the ardour of his philanthropic soul, and with all the superiority of his enlightened mind. In this honourable struggle, he was sustained by the people of Illinois; justice and humanity triumphed, and soon after Mr. Coles was elected governor, by an immense majority. This was an honourable recompense, and to this there is now joined another which must be very grateful to him; his liberated negroes are perfectly successful, and afford a conclusive argument against the adversaries of emancipation.

Some hours after our departure from Kaskaskia, we

were at the mouth of the Ohio, which we ascended to the mouth of Cumberland river, where we arrived before night. There we awaited the steam-boat Artizan, to take us to Nashville. When it was necessary for us to quit the Natchez, and our travelling companions from Louisiana, we experienced an oppression of feeling as if we were quitting our family and home. This feeling will be easily comprehended, when it is understood that we had passed nearly a month and travelled nearly eighteen hundred miles on board this boat, in the midst of a society, amiable, intelligent, and obliging, and of which each individual had become for us an amiable friend. On their side, Messieurs Morse, Ducros, Prieur, and Caire, manifested to us regrets not less sincere. Notwithstanding their long absence from New Orleans, they would have voluntarily prolonged their mission, to pass a longer time with their dear Lafayette; and our excellent Captain Davis warmly expressed his regrets at seeing another vessel than his own about to receive the nation's guest; but on the other hand, the envoys from Tennessee were not disposed to cede to others the right of doing the honours of their state; and even if they had chosen to accept the services of Captain Davis, they were forced to renounce them, because the Natchez was unfit to navigate the shallow waters of the Cumberland. We were, therefore, obliged to take leave of the Louisianian committee, and that of the state of Mississippi, with great regret, and go on board of the Artizan, where we were received and treated in a manner that foretold we would soon experience a renewal of our sorrow in separating from our new companions.

## CHAPTER X.

Cumberland River—Arrival at Nashville—Tennessee Militia—Residence of General Jackson—Shipwreck on the Ohio—Louisville—Journey from Louisville to Cincinnati by land—State of Kentucky—Anecdote.

ON the 2nd of May, at 8 o'clock in the evening, we entered Cumberland river, which we ascended all night, notwithstanding the darkness. This river, which is one of the largest tributaries of the Ohio, rises to the westward of Cumberland mountains, waters the state of Kentucky by its two branches, and Ohio by its main stream, which forms a great bend; it is navigable for about 400 miles. By daylight we were able to judge of the richness of the country it traverses, from the great number of boats, loaded with all kinds of produce, that we passed. As the banks of Cumberland river are flat, and sometimes swampy, from its mouth to the vicinity of Nashville, no town is met with on its shores; all the establishments are situated some distance back, and, therefore, we were unable to visit them; but many of the inhabitants came in boats to salute the general, this retarded our progress, as we were obliged to stop every moment to receive or dismiss the visitors.

Wednesday, May 4th, we remarked that the banks of the river were considerably elevated above our heads, and presented agreeable and healthy situations for cities or villages; at 8 o'clock no houses were, as yet, in sight, but we heard in the distance the sound of bells, announcing our vicinity to population, and preparations for some solemnity; a few moments afterwards we perceived on the horizon the spires of buildings, and on a plain at a short distance from us a dense crowd of men, women, and children, who appeared to be expecting with great solicitude the arrival of something extraordinary, and when our vessel came sufficiently near to be recognized, a joyful shout arose from the shore, and the air resounded with cries of "Welcome, Lafayette;" this was the salutation of the inhabitants of Nashville to the guest of the nation. This welcome was continued without

interruption until we had arrived beyond the city, at the place for disembarking, where the general was received by the illustrious Jackson, who ascended a carriage with him to conduct him to Nashville, several corps of cavalry preceded them, and the procession formed behind them was composed of all our fellow travellers, joined by a multitude of citizens from the neighbourhood; we entered the city by a wide avenue, lined on each side by militia remarkable for the brilliancy of their uniforms, and their soldier-like appearance under arms; it was easy to recognise by their martial air, that their ranks contained great numbers of those intrepid citizen soldiers, by whom the English were overthrown under the walls of New Orleans. In entering the city, the procession passed under a triumphal arch, on the summit of which were these words, also repeated at every moment by the crowd, "*Welcome, Lafayette, the friend of the United States!*" Above this floated the American flag, attached to a lance surmounted by a liberty cap. After having traversed the principal streets, we arrived at the public square, which was decorated with thousands of flags, suspended from the windows; it was also ornamented by a triumphal arch, under which was an elevated platform, where the governor of the state waited to salute the guest of the nation. His speech was not only touching from the sentiments of affection and gratitude with which it was filled, but it was also remarkable for the truth and fidelity with which it sketched the actual situation of Tennessee, and the rapidity of its growth under the influence of liberty and wise laws. General Lafayette replied with that heartfelt emotion, and that happy choice of expression, which so often, during his journey, excited the astonishment and admiration of those who heard him. Forty officers and soldiers of the revolution, the most part enfeebled by age, and some mutilated in war, notwithstanding which they had assembled from all parts of the state to assist at the triumph of their old general, now advanced from the two sides of the arch, amidst the acclamations of the people, and showered upon him marks of affection and patriotic recollections; among them was one, remarkable above all the others for his great age, and the vivacity with which he expressed his joy; he threw himself into the general's arms, weeping and exclaiming, "I have enjoyed two happy days

in my life, that when I landed with you at Charleston in 1777, and the present, now that I have seen you once again, I have nothing more to wish for, I have lived long enough." The emotion of this old man was communicated to the whole crowd, and there was a profound silence for some time. Notwithstanding his infirmities he had travelled more than fifty leagues to procure this moment of happiness. We afterwards learnt that his name was Hagy, that he was born in Germany, and that he had come over to America in the vessel with Lafayette, and had been under his orders during the whole war of the revolution. General Lafayette, after devoting a few moments to the affection of his old companions in arms, re-entered the carriage with the governor, and went to the beautiful residence of Dr. M'Nairy, who had prepared accommodations for us, and who, with his whole family, received us with the most amiable hospitality. The general was received at the door by the municipal body and the mayor, who addressed him in the name of the inhabitants of Nashville. After the reply of the general to this speech, the people gave three cheers, and retired in silence, to permit their guest to take a little repose before dinner; but the general profited by this occasion to visit Mrs. Jackson, whom he understood to be in the town, and to Mrs. Littlefield, the daughter of his old fellow soldier and friend, General Greene.

At four o'clock another procession came to conduct us to a public dinner, at which more than two hundred citizens sat down, and which was presided over by General Jackson. Among the guests was a venerable old man, named Timothy Demundrune, the first white man who settled in Tennessee. According to the American custom, the repast was terminated by the frank and energetic expression of each guest's opinion on the acts of the administration, and the public character of the magistrates, and candidates for the different offices; among these numerous toasts I will only cite the three following, which appeared to me as peculiarly well adapted to demonstrate the predominant sentiments of the people of Tennessee.

"The present age—it encourages the reign of liberal principles. Kings are forced to unite against liberty, and despotism to act on the defensive."

“France—republican or monarchical, in glory or misfortune, she always has claims on our gratitude.”

“Lafayette—tyrants have oppressed him, but freemen honour him.”

After this last toast, the general rose, expressed his thanks, and begged permission to give the following: “The State of Tennessee, and Nashville, its capital—may our heritage of revolutionary glory be for ever united to the unfading laurels of the last war, and thus form a perpetual bond of union between all parts of the American confederation.”

The president then gave the signal for departure, and we went to the masonic lodge, where three hundred brothers, in the most brilliant costume, received us with the most affectionate cordiality. We passed a true family evening with them. An eloquent orator, Mr. William Hunt, delivered an excellent discourse, which, in a masonic form, embodied the most noble precepts of patriotism and philanthropy; and the meeting terminated by an elegant collation, at the end of which the general proposed a toast, which was received with the greatest enthusiasm; it was to the memory of our illustrious brother Riego, the martyr of liberty! In retiring to our quarters at Dr. M'Nairy's, we found the town brilliantly illuminated, and a great number of houses decorated with transparencies representing General Lafayette, with a variety of ingenious emblems.

The next morning, as soon as we rose, we proceeded to the southward of the city, where we found all the militia of the adjoining counties collected in a camp, which they occupied for some days whilst waiting for the arrival of Lafayette; some of the corps we saw under arms, had come, we were told, more than fifty miles, to add by their presence to the solemnity of the reception given to the guest of the nation. The general, after having seen them manoeuvre before him, went through their ranks to express his admiration of their discipline, and his gratitude for the proofs of affection they had shown him. During this time, Mr. George Lafayette and myself conversed with an officer of the staff, who had the goodness to give us some details as to the organization of the military force of Tennessee.

This officer might perhaps be thought to have been en-



thusiastic in his praises, and to have shown much national vanity, but I am persuaded he only spoke as he felt. He extolled the military qualities of his fellow citizens, from conviction, and as he would have praised, in strangers, any points he thought worthy of commendation. I have often remarked that the Americans, in general, are little given to the species of hypocrisy we term modesty, and with which we think we should always veil ourselves when we are speaking of our own virtues. They believe, and I am of their opinion, that true modesty does not consist in depreciating ourselves, but in not speaking with exaggeration or without cause of our own merits.

A frugal repast, prepared and served by the military, under a tent, terminated this visit to the camp of the Tennessee militia, after which we returned to the city, where we successively visited an academy of young ladies of Nashville, and Cumberland college. In both these establishments, the general was received as a beloved father, and he left them with the sweet and consoling certainty, that the careful and excellent manner in which they inculcated learning and a love of liberty, would greatly augment the glory and perpetuate the happiness of his adopted country. The committee of instruction of Cumberland college, presented to him and to General Jackson, a resolution of the trustees, by which two new chairs, under the names of Lafayette and Jackson, for teaching the languages and philosophy, were about to be established by a voluntary subscription of the citizens of Tennessee. They both accepted this honour with great satisfaction, and subscribed their names at the bottom of the resolution before leaving the establishment, which, although recently formed, already promises the most satisfactory results.

At one o'clock, we embarked with a numerous company, to proceed to dine with General Jackson, whose residence is a few miles up the river. We there found numbers of ladies and farmers from the neighbourhood, whom Mrs. Jackson had invited to partake of the entertainment she had prepared for General Lafayette. The first thing that struck me on arriving at the general's, was the simplicity of his house. Still somewhat influenced by my European habits, I asked myself if this could really be the dwelling of the most popular man in the United States, of him whom

the country proclaimed one of her most illustrious defenders; of him, finally, who by the will of the people was on the point of becoming her chief magistrate. One of our fellow passengers, a citizen of Nashville, witnessing my astonishment, asked me, whether in France, our public men, that is to say, the servants of the public, lived very differently from other citizens? "Certainly," said I; "thus, for example, the majority of our generals, all our ministers, and even the greater part of our subaltern administrators, would think themselves dishonoured, and would not dare to receive any one at their houses, if they only possessed such a residence as this of Jackson's; and the modest dwellings of your illustrious chiefs of the revolution, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, &c. would only inspire them with contempt and disgust. They must first have in the city an immense and vast edifice, called a hotel, in which two large families could live with ease, but which they fill with a crowd of servants strangely and ridiculously dressed, and whose only employment, for the most part, is to insult those honest citizens who come on foot to visit their master. They must also have another large establishment in the country, which they call a chateau, and in which they accumulate all the luxuries of furniture, decorations, entertainments, and dress, in fact, every thing that can make them forget the country. Then they must have, to enable them to go from one to the other of these habitations, a great number of carriages, horses, and servants." "Very well," interrupted the Tennessean, shaking his head as if in doubt, "but who provides these public officers with all the money thus swallowed up in luxury, and how do the affairs of the people go on?" "If you ask them, they will tell you that it is the king who pays them, although I can assure you that it is the nation, which is borne down by taxes for the purpose; as to business, it is both well and badly attended to, but generally the latter." "And why do you submit to such a state of things?" "Because we cannot remedy it." "What! you cannot remedy it? A nation so great, so enlightened as the French, cannot prevent its officers, magistrates, and servants, from enjoying, at their expense, a scandalous and immoral luxuriousness, and at the same time not attending to their duties! whilst we, who have just assumed our name among

nations, are enjoying the immense advantage of only having for magistrates, men who are plain, honest, laborious, and more jealous of our esteem than solicitous for wealth. Permit me to believe that what you have told is only pleasantry, and that you wished to amuse yourself for a moment with a poor Tennessean who has never visited Europe. But rest assured, that however ignorant we may be of what passes on the other side of the water, it is not easy to make us credit things which militate so strongly against good sense and the dignity of man." Do what I could, I could never make this good citizen of Nashville believe that I was not jesting, and was obliged to leave him in the belief that we were not worse governed in France than in the United States.

General Jackson successively showed us his garden and farm, which appeared to be well cultivated. We every where remarked the greatest order, and most perfect neatness; and we might have believed ourselves on the property of one of the richest and most skilful of the German farmers, if, at every step, our eyes had not been afflicted by the sad spectacle of slavery. Every body told us that General Jackson's slaves were treated with the greatest humanity, and several persons assured us, that it would not surprise them, if, in a short time, their master, who already had so many claims on the gratitude of his fellow citizens, should attempt to augment it still more, by giving an example of gradual emancipation to Tennessee, which would be the more easily accomplished, as there are in this state but 79,000 slaves in a population of 423,000, and from the public mind becoming more inclined than formerly to the abolition of slavery.

On returning to the house, some friends of General Jackson, who probably had not seen him for some time, begged him to show them the arms presented to him in honour of his achievements during the last war; he acceded to their request with great politeness, and placed on a table, a sword, a sabre, and a pair of pistols. The sword was presented to him by congress; the sabre, I believe, by the army which fought under his command at New Orleans. These two weapons, of American manufacture, were remarkable for their finish, and still more so for the honourable inscriptions, with which they were covered. But it

was to the pistols, that General Jackson wished more particularly to draw our attention; he handed them to General Lafayette, and asked him if he recognized them. The latter, after examining them attentively for a few minutes, replied that he fully recollected them, to be a pair he had presented in 1778 to his paternal friend Washington, and that he experienced a real satisfaction in finding them in the hands of one so worthy of possessing them. At these words the face of old Hickory was covered with a modest blush, and his eye sparkled as in a day of victory. "Yes! I believe myself worthy of them," exclaimed he, in pressing the pistols and Lafayette's hands to his breast; "if not from what I have done, at least for what I wished to do for my country." All the bystanders applauded this noble confidence of the patriot hero, and were convinced that the weapons of Washington could not be in better hands than those of Jackson.

After dinner we took leave of General Jackson's family, and returned to Nashville to attend a public ball which was very brilliant; and afterwards went on board the Artisan to continue our journey. Governor Carroll of Tennessee and two of his aides-de-camp accompanied us. We rapidly descended the Cumberland, and on the 7th of May again entered the Ohio, otherwise called "*la belle rivière*," for it was thus the first French who discovered its shores designated this majestic body of water, which for eleven hundred miles waters the most smiling and fertile country on the globe. The Ohio is formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany at Pittsburgh, and empties itself into the Mississippi about the 37° of latitude. Its current is usually about a mile and a half per hour, but when the waters are high, it often equals that of the Mississippi, whose ordinary swiftness is four miles per hour. The water of the Ohio is said by the Americans to possess great prolific powers, and when you demand on what ground they found this opinion, they proudly point out the numerous dwellings which are infinitely multiplied on its banks, and the prodigious number of children who issue forth every morning, with a little basket of provision on their arms, to spend the day at school, to return in the evening to the paternal roof, singing the benefits of liberty.

On the 8th at break of day, we arrived opposite Shawneetown, where we landed with Governor Coles and the other members of the committee from the state of Illinois, and who, to our great regret, could not accompany us any farther. General Lafayette accepted a dinner provided for him by the inhabitants of that town. We continued our voyage, urging the speed of our small vessel with the whole power of the engine. Notwithstanding the departure of Governor Coles and his companions, we still had a numerous company on board. All the beds in the great cabin, were occupied by the deputations from Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and by other persons who had asked permission to accompany General Lafayette to Louisville. The general, his son, Mr. de Syon, and the author of this journal, shared in common, what is called the ladies' cabin, situated in the stern of the vessel, and which could only be reached by descending about a dozen steps.

During the whole of the 8th we worked hard. The general replied to a great number of letters, which were addressed to him every day from all parts of the Union, and dictated to me some directions to the superintendent at La Grange; indicating what changes and improvements he wished made before his return to France. Being somewhat fatigued by this labour, he retired early to bed, and was already asleep, when at 10 o'clock, Mr. George Lafayette, coming below from the deck where he had been walking, expressed his astonishment that in so dark a night, our captain did not come to, or at least abate the speed of the vessel. We fully agreed in the justice of this remark, but being accustomed for some months to permit no difficulty to arrest us, and to travel at all times, we soon began to speak of other things, and Mr. George Lafayette also laid down and slept with every feeling of safety. I remained conversing with Mr. de Syon and correcting some notes. With the exception of the pilot and two men, every body was asleep around us, and at 11 o'clock the profound silence that reigned on board, was only broken by the deep grating of the engine and the dashing of the water against the sides of the vessel. Twelve o'clock struck, and sleep was beginning to invite us to repose, when our vessel suddenly received a horrible shock, and stopped short. At this extraordinary concussion, the general awoke with a

start, his son sprung from his bed, half dressed, and I ran on deck to learn what was the matter. I there found two of our fellow passengers, whom anxiety had brought up, but who were returning, saying we had probably struck on a sand bank, and that there was no danger. Not trusting this opinion, I went into the great cabin; all the passengers were in a state of great agitation, but still in doubt as to the nature of the accident; some had not even quitted their beds. Decided on not going below without positively ascertaining the real state of things, I seized a light and ran forward, the captain arrived there about the same time, we opened the hatches, and ran forward; the hold was already half filled with water, which rushed in torrents through a large opening. "A snag! a snag!" cried the captain, "hasten Lafayette to my boat! bring Lafayette to my boat." This cry of distress had reached the great cabin, and every mouth repeated it with dismay, but it had not been heard in our cabin, where I found the general, who had, by the advice of his son, permitted himself to be partly dressed by his faithful Bastien. "What news?" said he, on seeing me enter. "That we shall go to the bottom, general, if we cannot extricate ourselves, and we have not a moment to spare." And I immediately began to collect my papers, which I threw pell-mell into my port-folio; George Lafayette on his part, hastily collected those objects he thought most necessary to his father, and begged him to follow us, but his toilet not being yet made, he wished us to go first and provide means of escape. "What!" cried his son, "do you think that in such circumstances we will leave you for a moment?" and immediately we each seized a hand and dragged him towards the door. He followed us, smiling at our haste, and began to ascend with us, but had scarcely reached the middle of the stairs, when he perceived that he had forgotten his snuff-box, ornamented with a picture of Washington, and wished to return for it; I went to the end of the cabin, found it and brought it to him. At this time the rolling of the vessel was so violent and irregular, and the tumult over our heads augmented to such a degree, that I believed we should not have time to escape before she sunk. At last, we reached the deck, where all the passengers were in the greatest confusion, some bringing their trunks, others looking for the boat,

and crying out for Lafayette. He was already in the midst of them, but owing to the darkness of the night, no one recognised him; the boat heeled so much to starboard, that it was with difficulty we could keep our footing on deck. The captain assisted by two sailors, had brought his boat to this side, and I heard his sonorous voice crying out, Lafayette! Lafayette! but we could not reach him on account of the confusion around us. Nevertheless the vessel heeled more and more, each moment augmented the danger, we felt that it was time to make a last effort, and pushed into the middle of the crowd, where I cried, "here is General Lafayette!" This exclamation produced the effect I anticipated. The most profound silence succeeded to the confusion, a free passage was opened for us, and all those who were ready to spring into the boat, spontaneously checked themselves, not wishing to think of their own safety before that of Lafayette was ascertained. The difficulty was now to determine the general himself to depart before all his fellow passengers, and almost alone, for the boat would only hold a few persons, but he was soon obliged to yield to the will of all, energetically expressed by each; the irregular concussions of the vessel, and the rocking of the boat which was more than four feet lower than our deck, rendered a passage from one to the other extremely difficult, especially in the dark. The most active young man would not have hazarded a leap, for from the darkness he would have risked plunging in the water; great precautions were therefore to be adopted, as regarded the general. I went first into the boat, and whilst the captain kept her as near as possible to the vessel, two persons descended with the general, holding him under the shoulders. I received him in my arms, but his weight added to my own on the side of the boat, nearly capsized it, and losing my equilibrium, I should probably have fallen into the water with him, if Mr. Thibeaudot, formerly president of the senate of Louisiana, had not given me his support, and thus saved us both. As soon as we were assured that the general was safely on board, we pushed off as rapidly as possible, to prevent the other passengers from overloading our slight batteau. Although the greatest difficulties were overcome, all danger was not passed. The land was to be made; but at what distance was it from us? towards what

shore should we direct our course? This the darkness of the night prevented us from ascertaining with certainty. Our captain soon made up his mind with decision. Holding the rudder with a firm grasp, he directed us to the left bank, and ordered his two sailors to row gently. In less than three minutes we happily reached a bank covered with a thick wood.

In landing, our first care was to count and recognise each other; we were nine: the captain, two sailors, General Lafayette, Mr. Thibeaudot, Doctor Shelly, carrying in his arms a child of about seven years of age, a daughter of a presbyterian clergyman, the father of the child and myself. It was then only that the general perceived that his son was not with him, and immediately his habitual coolness in the presence of danger abandoned him. He was filled with anxiety, and in a state of the most violent agitation. He began to call, George! George! with all his strength, but his voice was drowned by the cries which arose from the vessel, and by the terrible noise made by the steam escaping from the engine, and received no answer. In vain, to re-assure him, I represented to him that his son was a good swimmer, and that he doubtless had remained on board voluntarily, and with his coolness he would escape all danger. Nothing had any effect; he continued to traverse the shore calling on George. I then threw myself into the boat with the captain to go to the succour of those who so much needed it. The vessel still floated, but almost on her beam ends. The captain mounted on board, and I received in his place a dozen persons, who precipitated themselves into the boat, and whom I carried to land, without having been able to speak to George, Mr. de Syon, or Bastien. I dared not give an account of this first attempt to the general, and therefore made preparations for another trip, when a horrible crash and cries of despair announced to me that the vessel was sinking. At the same instant, I heard the water agitated in several directions by the efforts of those who were saving themselves by swimming. Mr. Thibeaudot, who had advanced into the water in order to judge better of what was passing, and to afford assistance to those who needed it, perceived a man, exhausted with fatigue, drowning a few paces from the shore, in a spot where the water was only



three feet in depth. He drew him out with such ease, that a child might have rendered him the same service, and laid him on the grass. But the unfortunate man was so agitated by fear, that he continued to make on land all the movements of swimming, and would perhaps have killed himself by these useless efforts, if Mr. Thibeaudot had not succeeded in calming him. At every instant, other persons arrived on shore, and among them I always expected to recognise Mr. George Lafayette; and the general demanded news of his son from all, but in vain. I now myself began to fear for him. Another arrival of the boat informed us that the vessel had not entirely sunk; that the starboard side was under water, but that the larboard and gangway were still above it; and that a great number of passengers had taken refuge there. Thinking that there was an urgent necessity for succouring those who remained in this critical situation, I again entered the boat, and aided by a sailor approached the vessel. I first arrived at the prow; I called George with all my strength, but there was no answer. I then dropped along her side to the stern. In passing, I heard a voice over head cry out, "Is that you, Mr. Levassèur?" I listened and examined attentively; it was our poor Bastien, who was holding with difficulty to the roof of the upper cabin, the pitch of which was very great from the oversetting of the vessel. As soon as I came near him, he slid down and fortunately fell into the boat. When I arrived at the stern, I again called George; he instantly answered me. His voice appeared to be perfectly calm. "Are you in safety?" said I. "I could not be better," replied he gaily. This reply gave me much relief, for my fears were really becoming serious. At the same instant, Mr. Walsh of Missouri, who was near him, gave me every thing that could be saved of our baggage. This was a small portmanteau of Mr. George Lafayette's, a bag of his father's, my own port-folio, which I had thrown on the deck when I was aiding the general to descend, and about sixty out of the two hundred letters we had prepared for the post, on the preceding days; all the others were lost. I now returned to land with Bastien and two other persons I had received in the boat, and hastened to assure the general of the safety of his son.

As I had satisfied myself that the vessel, having found

support, could not sink any deeper, and consequently that there was no farther danger to those on board, I thought that I might dispense with making other voyages, and occupy myself a little with the general, for whom we established a good bivouac around a large fire of dry branches. In the midst of this occupation, Mr. George and Mr. de Syon, with the remainder of the passengers, arrived. We then learnt that at the moment of the wreck, Mr. George, seeing that I was in the boat to watch over his father, had returned to the cabin, into which the water had already penetrated, and had made Bastien and Mr. de Syon, who were imprudently endeavouring to save their effects, leave it. Then, only yielding ground as the water forced him, he had indefatigably occupied himself with the care of those around him. At one moment, the water reached to the middle of his body. But his coolness and presence of mind re-assured some persons, who, without him, would perhaps have been dismayed and exposed to the greatest danger. Finally, we were told, he would not leave the vessel, until he was satisfied, that all who remained on board belonged to her and could dispense with his assistance. "Mr. George Lafayette must often have been shipwrecked," said the captain, "for he has behaved to-night as if he was accustomed to such adventures."

• From other accounts, it appears that almost immediately after the departure of the general, the water entered our cabin with a violence which would not have permitted us to leave it, if we had remained there a few minutes longer.

When we were well assured that no person had perished, we lighted several large fires as well for the purpose of drying ourselves, as to discover our situation. The general slept for some moments on a mattrass which had been found floating, and was nearly dry on one side. The rest waited impatiently for day, and occupied ourselves in cutting wood to keep up the fires. A tolerably heavy rain added to our troubles, but fortunately it was not of long continuance.

At day break, they recommenced their trips to the vessel, to endeavour to save some of the baggage and to procure food. The captain, Governor Carrol of Tennessee, and a young Virginian, Mr. Crawford, directed these re-

searches with great activity. It was a singular and touching event, to see a governor of a state, that is to say, a first magistrate of a republic, without shoes, stockings or hat, doing the duty of a boatman as if it had been his real occupation, and that much more for the benefit of others than for himself, for he had very little on board to lose by the shipwreck. Those different searches obtained us a trunk belonging to the general, in which were his most valuable papers, and a small part of the passengers' baggage. They also brought a leg of smoked venison, some biscuits, a case of claret and a keg of Madeira. With these provisions, about fifty men, for such was our number, repaired their strength, exhausted by a night of labour and anxiety.

The day, on its return, shone on an interesting picture. The shore was covered with wrecks of all kinds, in the midst of which each eagerly searched for their own property; some mournfully recounted the extent of their losses, others could not avoid laughing at the nakedness or costume in which they found themselves; this gaiety soon became prevalent, and pleasantries circulated around the fires of our bivouac, and at last smoothed the visages of the most sorrowful, and almost transformed our shipwreck into a party of pleasure.

At nine o'clock we induced the general to cross the river, and go to a house we perceived on the other bank, to shelter himself from the storm which threatened us. Mr. Thibeaudot and Bastien accompanied him. He had scarcely left us, when one of the party, who was on the look out on the shore, pointed out to us a steamboat descending the river, and immediately afterwards another. This double news filled us with joy and hope. Soon these two vessels arrived opposite to us and stopped. One of them, a vessel of large size and remarkable beauty, was the Paragon; she came from Louisville and was going to New Orleans, with a heavy cargo of whiskey and tobacco. By a very lucky circumstance for us, one of our companions in misfortune, Mr. Neilson, was one of the owners of this vessel, and hastened to put it at the disposal of the Tennessee committee to transport General Lafayette, generously taking on himself all the chances of another misfortune and the loss of insurance. Immediately our whole party, abandoning our bivouac, repaired on board

of the Paragon. Before leaving the captain of the Artisan, who remained with his vessel to endeavour to save something, we offered him our services, which he peremptorily refused, assuring us that he had hands enough for this work. But the poor man was very much depressed, not from the loss of the vessel, nor that of 1200 dollars he had on board, or even from any fear of not finding employment; his grief arose from having shipwrecked the guest of the nation. "Never," said he, "will my fellow citizens pardon me for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night." To endeavour to calm him, we drew up and all signed a declaration, in which we attested that the loss of the Artisan could not be attributed either to the unskilfulness or imprudence of Captain Hall, whose courage and disinterestedness had been experienced by us all during the accident. This declaration, which was sincere on the part of all the signers, appeared to give him great pleasure, but did not entirely console him. As soon as the Paragon got under way, I went with Mr. George Lafayette in search of his father. After half an hour's rowing, we rejoined our new vessel, which in two days, and without accident, conducted us to Louisville, where we remained twenty-four hours. It was about 125 miles from that place, near the mouth of Deer Creek, that we met with our misfortune.

The entertainments given to General Lafayette at Louisville were marred by the stormy weather; but the expression of public feeling was not the less pleasing to him. The idea of the danger he had incurred, excited in all breasts a tender solicitude, which every one testified with that simplicity and truth of expression only appertaining to freemen. In the midst of the joy occasioned by the arrival of Lafayette, the citizens of Louisville did not forget the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Neilson, to whom they presented the strongest proofs of gratitude. His name was coupled with that of the general, in the toasts they gave at the public dinner. The insurance company declared that the Paragon should remain insured without an additional charge, and the city presented him a magnificent piece of plate, on which was engraved the thanks of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians for the generous manner in which he had risked the greater part of his fortune that the

national guest should receive no delay nor inconvenience in his journey.

The day after our arrival, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, the general crossed the Ohio to accept the invitation that was sent him by the citizens of Jeffersonville in the state of Indiana. He remained there some hours, and returned in the evening to Louisville to attend a dinner, ball, and various spectacles that had been prepared for him. On Friday morning, the 12th of May, after having presented a standard to a corps of volunteer cavalry that had been expressly formed some days previous, to escort him on his arrival, he began his journey by land to Cincinnati, passing through the state of Kentucky, as he wished to visit its principal towns, Frankfort, Lexington, &c. Governor Carrol, who, after having fulfilled his mission, in placing the guest of the nation under the care of the Kentucky committee, wished to return home, with his staff, yielded to the pressing invitations which were given him by the committee to accompany General Lafayette yet farther. On the day of our departure, all the militia were under arms. We found, by their excellent discipline, armament and uniforms, that they strongly resembled those of Tennessee, with whom they are united in brotherly feeling, to which the events of the last war gave a new force.

At the end of our first day's journey, we arrived at Shelbyville, a large and flourishing village, situated in the midst of a most fertile and diversified country; the next day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the general made his entrance into Frankfort, the seat of government of Kentucky. The entertainments given on this occasion by the inhabitants of the town, to which were joined those of the neighbouring counties, were very brilliant, and strongly impressed with that ardent and patriotic character which distinguishes all the states of the Union, but which, among the Kentuckians, is more manifest, and expressed with all the energy of a young people, enthusiastic in the cause of liberty.

After having traversed the principal streets of Frankfort, we arrived in the centre of the town, where we stopped in front of a triumphal arch, under which the governor waited for the guest of the nation; the sound of a cannon, discharged from a neighbouring hill which overlooked all the neigh-

bourhood, arrested the acclamations of the people, when the governor advanced in the midst of a profoundly silent and attentive crowd, and delivered an eloquent and appropriate address. This discourse was loudly applauded by the multitude, and I heard it asserted every where around me that it was impossible to express the sentiments of the people of Kentucky with greater exactness.

After passing several hours in receiving visits and marks of friendship from the whole population, the general went to a dinner that had been prepared for him in the public square. The table was of a semi-circular form, and contained places for eight hundred persons, in order that all the detachments of militia that had escorted General Lafayette from Louisville might be accommodated, as well as a great number of officers from Tennessee and Kentucky, who had particularly distinguished themselves during the last war, as General Adair, Colonel M'Affee, &c.

Notwithstanding his desire to avoid transgressing any of the established customs of the United States, the general was obliged to travel on Sunday, for his time was rigorously appropriated until his arrival at Boston, where he was obliged to be on the 17th of June. We therefore set out on Saturday, the 14th of May, from Frankfort, and travelling almost without stopping, till we reached Lexington, which we entered on Monday, about the middle of the day. On the way, we visited the pretty little town of Versailles, where we remained some hours, to attend a public dinner, given by the citizens of the town and the surrounding country; and we slept on Sunday night about three miles from Lexington, where, on Monday morning, a large body of militia cavalry, conducted by a deputation from Lafayette county, arrived to escort the general. The procession was formed on an eminence from whence we could discover Louisville in the distance, with the fertile fields that surrounded it. We took up the line of march about eight o'clock. The rain fell in torrents, and the sky covered with thick clouds, presaged a bad day; but at the moment we began to enter the town, a discharge of artillery from a neighbouring hill announced the arrival of the procession; and at this signal the rain ceased, as if by enchantment, the clouds dispersed, and the returning sun discovered to us the neighbouring country, covered with

crowds of people anxiously expecting the arrival of the national guest. This almost magic scene added still more to the enthusiasm of the multitude, and their joyful acclamations were mingled with the continued roar of artillery which surrounded us. The entertainments at Lexington were extremely brilliant; but of the proofs of public felicity, that which most attracted the general's attention, was the developement and rapid progress of instruction among all classes of people. In fact, is it not an admirable and astonishing circumstance, to find in a country, which not forty years ago was covered with immense forests, inhabited by savages, a handsome town of six thousand inhabitants, and containing two establishments for public instruction, which, by the number of their pupils, and the variety and nature of the branches taught, may rival the most celebrated colleges and universities in the principal towns of Europe? We first visited the college for young men, superintended by President Holly, who received the general at the door of the establishment, and addressed him in an eloquent speech, in which, after having described what Lafayette had accomplished in his youth, for the liberation of North America, he expressed a regret that his efforts had not been equally successful in the regeneration of France. Then reverting to a more consoling topic, he rapidly sketched a picture of American prosperity and the happy influence his visit would produce on the rising generation.

The general replied to the various points of President Holly's speech with his accustomed felicity of expression, and afterwards took his place, in a large hall, prepared for the exercises of the young men; where, in the presence of the public, he was addressed in Latin, English and French, by three of the pupils, whose compositions, as eloquently written as well delivered, merited the plaudits of the auditors. He replied to each of the young orators in a manner that proved that the three languages they had used were equally familiar to him, and that his heart was deeply moved by the expression of their youthful patriotism. He was not less pleased with his visit to the academy of young ladies, directed by Mrs. Dunham, and instituted under the name of the Lafayette academy; one hundred and fifty pupils received him with the harmonious sound of a patri-

otic song composed by Mrs. Holly, and accompanied on the piano by Miss Hammond; several young ladies afterwards complimented him; some in prose, and others in verse, of their own composition. The discourse of Miss M'Intosh and the beautiful ode of Miss Nephew, produced a great effect on the audience, and drew tears from eyes little accustomed to such emotions.

From so many and touching proofs of esteem and veneration for his character, General Lafayette experienced feelings it was impossible for him adequately to express. Surrounded and caressed by these tender and innocent creatures, he abandoned himself to those sweet emotions, to which, in spite of age, his heart has not become insensible; and he could not avoid repeating how much he felt his happiness in having combated during his youth, for a people whose descendants testified such affection for him; and the profound knowledge, even the youngest of the children appeared to possess of every action of his life, penetrated him with the liveliest gratitude. At last, he tore himself from a scene of emotion, too violent to be supported for any length of time, assuring the directress of the academy, that he was proud of the honour of seeing his name attached to an establishment so beneficial in its aim, and happy in its results.

In the midst of entertainments of all kinds, the description of which would be impossible, General Lafayette did not forget what he owed to the memory and former friendship of his old companions; having ascertained that the widow of General Scott lived at Lexington, he went to her house to pay his respects. This visit was highly gratifying, not only to Mrs. Scott and her family, but also to all who had known General Scott, whose noble character and patriotic conduct during the revolutionary war will always be cited with pride by his fellow-citizens.

General Lafayette did not overlook another friendship, which, although more recent, was not less sincere. After this visit he went a mile from Lexington, to Ashland, the charming seat of Mr Clay; the honourable secretary of state was absent, but Mrs. Clay and her children performed all the honours of the house with the most amiable cordiality. This step of the general's was very pleasing to the citizens of Lexington, which was a proof to me, that the



popularity of Mr. Clay, which rests on his talents and services, has not been diminished among his fellow citizens by the gross and perhaps unwarrantable attacks made on him by some party journals at the time of the presidential election.

After forty-eight hours of uninterrupted entertainments, we left Lexington, where we parted with Governor Carol and almost all our companions from Tennessee, Louisiana, Frankfort; &c. and only accompanied by a detachment of volunteer cavalry from Georgetown, we turned suddenly to the left; and in thirty-six hours arrived at that point in the Ohio, on which is situated the handsome city of Cincinnati, in which General Lafayette was expected with the greatest impatience. This journey, from Louisville to Cincinnati, gave us the advantage of seeing the prodigies of art effected by liberty, in a country which civilization has scarcely snatched from savage nature.

In 1775, Kentucky was only known from the reports of some bold hunters, who had dared to establish themselves among the ferocious tribes who inhabited that country. Its name alone, formed of the Indian word Kentucke, signifying river of blood, always recalled to the dismayed whites the numerous murders committed on the first among them who had attempted to enter it, and appeared as if it would deter them from ever establishing themselves there; but the courage, activity, and perseverance of a Carolinian, named Boon, succeeded, after many unsuccessful attempts, in forming a settlement of sufficient size to resist the reiterated attacks of the Indians. Soon after, the revolutionary war, which gave liberty and independence to the English colonies, having terminated, the activity of the inhabitants of the northern states, urging them perpetually to new enterprises, the tide of emigration flowed towards Kentucky, and in the year 1790, the population of this country already amounted to near 74,000. Until this time Kentucky had always been looked upon as a part of Virginia, but then, by consent of that state, it was separated, and formed into a distinct state, which was admitted into the Union in 1782; its population is now 560,000. The Indians, either destroyed, or driven back to distant parts, by civilization, have left the field open to the industry of the whites; in the place of the ancient forests that served

them for an asylum, are now found populous cities, abundant harvests, and active and prosperous manufactures; finally, Kentucky, in spite of its ominous name, has become a hospitable land, and is now one of the most brilliant stars in the new constellation of the west. The courage displayed by the inhabitants of Kentucky during the last war is well known, and in what manner they expressed their patriotic sentiments in the presence of Lafayette. Nevertheless, I will relate the following anecdote, which proves how deeply the hatred of despotism is imparted in the breasts of every class among these happy people.

During a pleasant day of our journey, I ascended a steep hill on foot, on the summit of which I stopped near an isolated cabin, in order to wait for the carriages, which slowly followed me, and were still far in the rear, for I had walked rapidly. A man, who was smoking his segar at the door of the house, asked me to walk in and rest myself. I accepted, with gratitude, this polite invitation. The difficulty with which I expressed my thanks in English marked me for a stranger, and induced a number of questions, as to the place whence I came, where I was going, and the motives of my journey. As these questions appeared to be dictated rather from a feeling of kindness, than from indiscreet curiosity, I hastened to answer with all possible politeness. "Well!" exclaimed my host in a joyful tone, "since you have the happiness of living with Lafayette, you will not refuse to drink a glass of whiskey with me to his health," and segars and whiskey were immediately presented to me, and we began to converse on what appeared most to interest my Kentucky entertainer, the guest of the nation. After exhausting this subject, he spoke of my country, and the extraordinary man who had bestowed upon it fifteen years of glory and despotism. He seemed enthusiastic on the military exploits of Napoleon, and deeply afflicted at his unhappy end. "Why," said he, "had he the folly to give himself up, in his misfortunes, to his most cruel enemy, to the English government, whose perfidy he had so often experienced? why did he not rather seek an asylum on our hospitable shores? Here he would have found admirers, and what is better, sincere friends, in the midst of whom, freed from all inquietude, he might have peacefully enjoyed the recollection of his great actions."

"I suspect," answered I, "that you know little of Napoleon's character; his soul was not formed for the mild enjoyments of peace; he constantly required new food for the prodigious activity of his genius; and who knows, that if seduced by new dreams of ambition, at the view of the resources of a new country, he would not have attempted to substitute, as he did with us, his own will for your wise institutions?" "We should have considered such an attempt as an act of madness," replied my host with a smile of disdain, "but if, against all probabilities, we had submitted for a moment to his tyrannous ascendancy, his success would have been fatal to him. Look at that rifle," added he, pointing to one in a corner of the room, "with that I never miss a pheasant in our woods at a hundred yards; a tyrant is larger than a pheasant, and there is not a Kentuckian who is not as patriotic and skilful as myself."

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## CHAPTER XI.

Arrival at Cincinnati—Entertainments given by that city—Swiss of Vevey—State of Ohio—The Vinton family—Journey from Wheeling to Uniontown—Speech of Mr. Gallatin—New Geneva—Braddock's field—General Washington's first feat of arms—Pittsburgh.

ON the 19th of May, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we arrived on the left bank of the Ohio. The first object that attracted my view on the side, and almost opposite to us, was the handsome city of Cincinnati, majestically covering a large amphitheatre, at the foot of which, the river, upwards of half a mile in width, flows peaceably. Several boats, carrying a deputation from the city of Cincinnati, and some officers of the staff, had been waiting since morning for the arrival of General Lafayette. We entered, with our fellow travellers from Frankfort, into the handsomest of these boats, and rapidly crossed the river. We landed under a salute of thirteen guns, and cries of "Welcome, Lafayette," repeated by thousands of voices in honour of the guest of America. In presence of the people assembled on

the banks of the river, and of several regiments of militia formed in line, Governor Morrow received him in the name of the state, and having placed him by his side in a calash, conducted him to the hotel in the midst of enthusiastic testimonies which it would be impossible to describe.

It was General Harrison, whose name is so gloriously associated with the principal events of the last war, who received General Lafayette at his quarters, and addressed him in the name of the state of Ohio. In a discourse, filled with sentiments of tenderness and gratitude towards Lafayette, General Harrison drew a picture of the prodigious increase and prosperity, of which the state of Ohio and city of Cincinnati offered a most admirable example.

When the address was concluded, the crowd, which filled the apartments, pressed with ardour around General Lafayette, each anxious to be personally introduced to him. Many revolutionary soldiers were present, who were not the least zealous in claiming the right to shake hands with their ancient comrade. There was also a citizen of Cincinnati, whose name and aspect excited the most tender emotions in the general's heart. This was Mr. Morgan Neville, son of Major Neville, his former aide-de-camp and friend, and maternal grandson of the celebrated Morgan, who, by his talents and bravery, at the head of his corps of partizans, during the war of independence, gained great reputation. After some moments devoted to official introductions, and reciprocal felicitations, the general returned his thanks to General Harrison, and we proceeded with a numerous train of free masons to the masonic hall, where many lodges had met to receive the nation's guest, and offer fraternal congratulations upon his arrival in the state of Ohio.

A public dinner and display of fire-works from the highest part of the town, terminated the day, which was only the prelude to entertainments on the morrow, more splendid than had ever before been witnessed in Ohio.

The first honours which the general received at sunrise, were from the boys and girls belonging to the public schools. Assembled to the number of six hundred, under the superintendance of their teachers, these children were ranged in the principal street, where they made the air echo with *Welcome, Lafayette*. When the general appeared

before them, their young hands scattered flowers under his feet, and Dr. Ruter advancing, delivered him an address in their name, the sentiments of which sensibly affected the general, who wished to express his acknowledgements to the doctor, but, at the moment, was surrounded by the children, who in a most lively manner stretched out their little hands to him, and filled the air with their cries of joy. He received their caresses and embraces with the tenderness of a parent who returns to his family after a long absence, and then replied to Dr. Ruter's address.

Whilst this ceremony was going on, the militia were called to arms, and at eleven o'clock appeared, formed in line of battle, upon the public square. In front appeared the fine companies commanded by Captains Harrison, Emerson, and Avery. The general passed them in review. Immediately afterwards came the mechanics, forming a long procession, in the midst of which floated the flags representing their various trades. The barge in which Lafayette had the preceding evening crossed the Ohio, followed, mounted upon four wheels, with its oars trimmed and flag floating in the air. A detachment of revolutionary soldiers marched around her. We were desired to place ourselves in the middle of this procession, with which we made various turns through the town on our way to a large square near the court-house. There the general mounted an elegant platform, decorated with verdure. The people pressed around him, and the harmony of a fine band of music having gained the attention of the multitude, Mr. Lee sung, to the air of the Marseillaise, a martial ode, of which the last words of each stanza were enthusiastically repeated by the spectators. A discourse upon the solemnity of the day, succeeded these patriotic songs. The orator who was to pronounce it arose, advanced towards the expecting multitude, before whom he remained some moments silent, his countenance depressed, his hand placed upon his breast, as if overcome by the greatness of the subject he was to treat. At length his sonorous voice, although slightly tremulous, was heard, and the whole assembly soon became fascinated by his eloquence. The benefits and advantages of freedom, the generous efforts made for its establishment in the two hemispheres by Lafayette, the picture of the present and future prosperity of the United States,

furnished the topics of Mr. Benham's address. He took such possession of the imagination of his auditors, that even after he had ceased speaking, the attentive crowd remained some time silent as though they still heard his voice.

Popular eloquence is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Americans of the United States. The faculty of speaking well in public is acquired by all the citizens from the universality and excellence of their education, and is developed in a higher degree by the nature of their institutions, which call upon each citizen for the exercise of that power in the discussion of public affairs. In each town, in every village, the number of persons capable of speaking before a numerous assembly, is truly surprising; and it is not uncommon to meet among them men, who, although born in obscurity, have justly acquired great reputation for eloquence. At the head of such speakers, we may mention the names of Messrs. Clay and Webster, whose parents were, I think, farmers, and who, at the present day, might appear with advantage in comparison with our most distinguished European orators.

After the address of Mr. Benham, the people dispersed, and the ceremonies were suspended until the hour for the public dinner, to allow the general some repose. We had hardly returned to Mr. Febiger's, in whose hospitable house we lodged, when we saw thirty or forty persons arrive, who entered the drawing room, and requested permission to speak to Lafayette. "We are citizens of Vevay," said an old man at their head, who spoke to me in French, and for whom all the rest seemed to possess great deference. "We were induced to hope that the friend of America and of liberty, would come and visit our little town, and that we should have the pleasure of showing him our vineyards, and inducing him to taste the wines of our vintage; but his passage through Kentucky deprived us of this happiness. Nevertheless, we could not miss seeing the man whose name was dear to us even before we left our country, and we resolved upon coming here to salute him."

I communicated this to the general, who, being unable to come down at the moment, sent his son to request the visitors to wait for him a short time. They received Mr. George Lafayette with great tenderness, and after having repeated to him nearly what they had said to me, they

informed us that they were all Swiss, for the most part from the canton of Vaud; that the persecutions of the local authorities, the desire of ameliorating their condition, and love of liberty, had determined them to leave their country and come to settle in the New World; that they had founded in the state of Indiana, on the banks of the Ohio, about one hundred and fifty miles from Cincinnati, a town to which they had given the name of Vevay; and that about one hundred and fifty-six families lived there, principally by the produce of their vines, the culture of which they had succeeded in introducing into this portion of the United States. Whilst we were listening to these details, the general arrived, and immediately the Swiss of Vevay having formed a semicircle to receive him, the most aged among them, whom I had heard called Father Dufour, advanced and welcomed him by an address full of feeling. When he had finished speaking, all these inhabitants of Vevay threw themselves into the arms of the general and tenderly embraced him. They had brought with them some wine of their vintage, which they presented us, and we joined them in drinking to the prosperity of their new and the regeneration of their old country.

It must be confessed that the wine of Vevay is by no means exquisite. Nevertheless, it is quite a pleasant drink, and, according to my taste, the best of the wines made in the United States.\* Although the vine grows naturally in the forests of North America, it nevertheless submits to cultivation with difficulty, and, to the present time, it is only by the greatest care that it can be rendered productive. The sudden changes of temperature cause it to be affected with diseases which show themselves by the appearance of numerous little black spots on the leaves; and the cold nights of autumn often prevent the fruit from

\* Vevay wine is a perfect nondescript; in colour it slightly approaches thin claret; its taste is altogether peculiar; something like it might be made by sweetening vin de grave with brown sugar. Nothing but a strong effort of courtesy, however, can induce any one seriously to call it *wine*, unless the fact of its being made from grapes be sufficient to secure it this title. As to its being "the best of the wines made in the United States," we apprehend the author's experience was scarcely sufficient to make his opinion decisive. It is certainly far inferior to the best of our cider, in all the requisites of a pleasant beverage.—T.

arriving at perfect maturity. The wine-dressers of Vevay have however succeeded tolerably well in acclimating some of the plants of Europe, which promise an abundant produce. On our way to the dinner, as we crossed the public square, we saw the gunners stationed at their park of artillery. Their elegant and martial uniform, was that of the French artillery. We were informed that this was the Vevay Artillery Company. It was, in fact, composed almost entirely of Swiss, among whom a great number had served in the artillery of the French army. Their manœuvres appeared to be executed with a precision and rapidity altogether remarkable.

In the ball which succeeded the banquet, the citizens of Cincinnati displayed the good taste and elegance which characterize a rich city, fruitful in resources and long polished by civilization. But that which charmed the general most, was the delicate attentions offered him on all sides. More than five hundred persons animated this patriotic party, at which Messrs. Morrow, governor of Ohio; Desha, governor of Kentucky; Duval, governor of Florida; Scott, major-general of the United States army; with many other personages of distinguished rank and character, were present.

At midnight, at a signal given by the Vevay artillery, we took our leave of the citizens of Cincinnati, and embarked in the Herald to continue our journey. The general could hardly force himself away from the circle of his friends, nor could he cease from expressing his admiration at the prosperity of Cincinnati, and the state of Ohio, which he denominated the eighth wonder of the world. One cannot, in fact, avoid being struck with astonishment at the sight of such prodigious creations of liberty and industry, of which this state offers so many examples. The simple progress of its population borders on the marvellous. In 1790, there were in it only 3,000, whilst at present there are nearly 800,000. In 1820, the town of Cincinnati contained only 9,642 inhabitants, now it has 18,000. Ohio is both an agricultural and manufacturing state. Its fertile soil produces abundance of grain and a variety of fruits. In the southern part they raise a little cotton, whilst the northern section is celebrated for its rich pasturage. Agriculture is said to occupy 112,000 individuals, while



only about 19,000 are annually engaged in manufacturing. Last year the manufactures of wool, cotton, and thread; of leather, iron, nails, and maple sugar, amounted to nearly two millions of dollars. All these products, along with those of agriculture, have a prospect of increasing considerably every year, and the excess over the internal consumption always finds an easy market, the state of Ohio being admirably situated as to facilities of exportation. For more than four hundred miles, the beautiful river which waters its south and south-east limits is navigable for large vessels. Its northern frontiers are for seventy-five miles washed by the waters of Lake Erie, and a canal running across the whole state joins these two points, so that Ohio stands upon the great line of internal navigation which connects New York with New Orleans, passing beyond the Alleghany mountains.

To all these natural sources of prosperity, Ohio unites another advantage, which she owes to the happy construction of her constitution; namely, the abolition of slavery and involuntary servitude. A slave becomes free as soon as he touches the happy soil of Ohio; and if he does not enjoy the right of suffrage, and some other political privileges, he ought not to ascribe it to the partiality of legislators, but to the melancholy state of ignorance in which his unfortunate race still exist.

It was on the 22d of May at midnight, when we embarked on board the Herald, which was to carry us to Wheeling, a small town in Virginia, situated on the banks of the Ohio, almost on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Although we had to run more than three hundred miles, we nevertheless landed there on the 24th before night. It is true, that, during our passage, we did not stop except to take in the necessary supplies of wood, and visit some establishments which we found on the banks of the river, such as Portsmouth, Gallipolis, Marietta, &c. which, for the most part, were founded by the French, but the population is now altogether American, at least with very few exceptions. It was in one of these small towns, Gallipolis, I believe, that we visited the family of Mr. Vinton, one of the Ohio representatives to congress, who was of the small minority that voted against the national recompense given to Lafayette. Mr. Vinton had not yet returned from

Washington city, but his family received the general in his behalf, with every mark of tenderness and veneration; and Mrs. Vinton did not leave him until he returned on board the Herald, whither she wished to accompany him on foot with all her relatives. This civility in the Vinton family, sensibly touched the heart of the general, and afforded him a proof, that the members of the small opposition who had voted against the proposition of the 20th of December, were not the less his sincere friends; and that, if they had hazarded their popularity among their constituents in such a case, it was, as I have before said, only from motives of public order, and a steady resolution to oppose every extraordinary measure of finance.

From Wheeling we again entered the state of Pennsylvania, by Washington, Brownsville, Uniontown, &c. In all this route, the general found the Virginia and Pennsylvania population in the same dispositions as in the preceding year; that is to say, the people every where crowding his way, and conferring upon him the greatest honours. The little town of Washington, the seat of justice for the county of the same name, distinguished itself by the brilliancy of its festivals. At Brownsville we crossed the Monongahela in a batteau, bearing twenty-four young girls dressed in white, who came to receive the general, and who crowned him with flowers the moment he came within the limits of the town. At Uniontown, the seat of justice for the county of Lafayette, he was received with a simplicity and cordiality calculated to recall the character of the founders of Pennsylvania. For the purpose of addressing their national guest, the inhabitants of Uniontown employed, as their organ of communication, one of his oldest and best friends, Mr. Gallatin, known in Europe from his diplomatic labours, and whom the American leaders have always reckoned among the number of their most able defenders.

Placed upon a stage raised in the centre of the town, Mr. Gallatin received General Lafayette, and addressed him in the name of the surrounding people, who listened in silence.

Mr. Gallatin is not of the number, unfortunately too great, of those foreigners, who, from ignorance or envy, incessantly confound the cause of legitimacy, and the

happy results of the French revolution, with the horrible and sanguinary excesses afterwards perpetrated by those wretches, who were only the instruments of the servile partizans of privilege, and who, for the purpose of checking liberty in its noble career, thought to bring it into disrepute by the crimes committed in its name. The justice Mr. Gallatin rendered to the courage and wisdom of the French patriots of 1789, deeply affected General Lafayette, who expressed to him his gratitude, in a reply distinguished by its eloquence and the elevation of its sentiments.

After twenty-four hours passed, I will not say amidst entertainments, but rather in the reception of the most tender and affectionate testimonials of attachment from the inhabitants of Uniontown, the general accepted the invitation of Mr. Gallatin, to repose himself a short time in the bosom of his family; and we accordingly set out with him for New Geneva, a charming residence, situated on the high and rocky banks of the Monongahela, at some miles distance from Uniontown. A detachment of militia from the county of Lafayette, in whose ranks was a son of Mr. Gallatin, escorted us; and through the whole route we met groups of the inhabitants, who, in their joyous acclamations, blended the name of Lafayette with that of Gallatin, to which were associated the remembrance of innumerable services rendered to this part of Pennsylvania. We found at New Geneva all that could contribute to the pleasure of a visit. To the advantages of a situation happily chosen, are added the charms of an amiable and intelligent society. But the general was very far from finding there the solitude which his friend had promised him. During twenty-four hours which we remained at this delightful place, the doors remained open, to give free access to the good people of the neighbourhood, who came in crowds to salute their well beloved guest.

On the 28th of May Mr. Gallatin reconducted us to Uniontown, when we took leave of him to go to Elizabethtown, a little village situated on the banks of the Monongahela. We arrived there about twelve o'clock; when a boat, propelled by four oars, received us on board, and we descended the river to the famous Braddock's Field, which reached some time after sunset. We were favoured

with delightful weather during our sail, which was rendered highly interesting by the conversation of our companions, the members of the committee from Uniontown. We surveyed the shores, which in times past echoed with the cries of victory from the adventurous sons of France, and which were also the witnesses of disasters which the faults of a government as presumptuous as imbecile drew upon them. The recital of the events of that period; chained our attention until the moment of our landing. It was nine o'clock when we arrived at Braddock's field, where the English troops, under the command of a general of that name, were completely defeated in the month of July, 1755, by the French and Indians united. The principal circumstances of that memorable event are too familiar to all those whose attention has been directed to American history, for me to relate them here. I will content myself by only repeating, that, it was on that day, so fatal to British arms, that the man who has since established the glory and independence of his country, gave the first proofs of his military talents, and calm intrepidity in battle. If General Braddock had not scorned the advice of his young aide-de-camp, Washington, he would not have fought upon ground where every thing was in favour of the enemy, and thus have sacrificed his army, his fame, and his life. Although his advice was rejected, the young Washington did not fight the less heroically; and it was owing to his courage and coolness that the wreck of the conquered army was saved.

Upon the field of battle, where, even at this day, the plough could not trace a furrow without turning up bones whitened by time, and fragments of arms corroded by rust, is situated the large and elegant mansion of Mr. Wallace, by whom we, as well as our companions, were received with the most touching and amiable hospitality. We there found already assembled a numerous deputation sent by the city of Pittsburg, to meet the general, and the next morning at day-light, detachments of volunteer cavalry arrived to serve as an escort on our route to that city.

The road which led from Braddock's field to Pittsburg, although many miles long, was soon covered by a considerable crowd, in the midst of which the cavalcade advanced slowly towards the city. On the road we visited the United States arsenal, which was about half way. The

discharge of twenty-four guns announced the entrance of General Lafayette into that establishment, when Major Churchill, and the officers under his command, invited him to breakfast. After having examined the armoury and work-shops, in which we remarked great regularity, order, and activity, we continued our route towards Pittsburg, where the general was received, on his entrance into the city, by the magistrates, at the head of the people, and the militia in order of battle.

I have had to describe so many triumphal entries into great and rich cities, whilst narrating General Lafayette's incomparable journey through the twenty-four states of the American Union, that, to avoid repetition, I am obliged to pass over in silence a great number of receptions whose principal features were alike. It is for this reason I omit the account of his reception at the national hotel at Pittsburg; although that city yielded to no other in the United States in the splendour of her festivals, and in the expression of her sentiments of patriotic gratitude. But I have yet before me so long a route to survey, and so many things to relate, that I am forced to imitate Lafayette, who was obliged to shorten the delicious moments that friendship had every where prepared for him on his journey, that he might be present at the celebration at Bunker's Hill. I will not, however, quit Pittsburg without paying my tribute of admiration to the eloquence of Mr. Shaler, who addressed the general in the name of the citizens, and that of Mr. Gazzam, charged with the presentation of the children of the public schools. These two orators, so remarkable for elevation of thought, and elegance of expression, obtained the approbation of their auditors, and excited in the heart of him whom they addressed the most profound sentiments of gratitude.

Among the persons or corporations officially presented to General Lafayette, was a group of old men, who, by their enthusiasm in speaking of old times, were easily recognized for soldiers of 1776. One of them addressing his old general, asked him if he still remembered the young soldier who first offered to carry him on a litter, when he was wounded at the battle of Brandywine? Lafayette, after having attentively surveyed him, threw himself into his arms, crying, "No, I have not forgotten Wilson, and it

is a great happiness to be permitted to embrace him to-day!" Wilson himself, who asked the question, was much affected, and the incident penetrated the spectators in the most touching manner.

General Lafayette recognized one of his old companions in arms during the revolution, in the person of the Reverend Joseph Patterson, who came to visit him with the ministers of different denominations in the city and neighbouring counties. Joseph Patterson, although a clergyman, had shouldered his musket, and fought for the independence of his country through two terrible campaigns of the revolution, and had assisted at the battle of Germantown.

After having devoted the day of his arrival at Pittsburg to public ceremonies, the general wished to employ a part of the next day in visiting some of the ingenious establishments which constitute the glory and prosperity of that manufacturing city, which, for the variety and excellence of its products, deserves to be compared to our Saint-Etienne, or to Manchester in England. He was struck by the excellence and perfection of the processes employed in the various workshops which he examined; but that which interested him above all was the manufacture of glass, some patterns of which were presented to him, that, for their clearness and transparency, might have been admired even by the side of the glass of Baccarat.

Pittsburg is situated on the point where the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela mingle their waters, forming the majestic river Ohio, which, flowing towards the western and southern states, and even to the Atlantic, afford an easy outlet for the products of its industry. These, with the population, increase each year with wonderful rapidity. Pittsburg now contains eight thousand inhabitants, and a great many workmen, strangers, who are drawn hither by the prosperity of the manufactories, coming every year to communicate to them secret processes and improvements, brought to light by the activity of the European manufacturers.

## CHAPTER XII.

Route from Pittsburg to Erie—Commodore Perry's Victory—Night Scene at Fredonia—The Indian Chief at Buffalo—Falls of Niagara—Visit to Fort Niagara—Appearance of Lockport—Passage from Lockport to Rochester—Aqueduct over the Genessee River—Route by land from Rochester to Syracuse—Passage from Syracuse to Schenectady, Rome, and Utica—Grand Canal.

ON leaving Pittsburg, the general was obliged to part from his old friends of the state of Ohio, represented by Governor Morrow, who had accompanied him with his staff. Conducted by a committee of the city of Pittsburg, and escorted by a company of militia, we took the route by way of Franklin, Meadville, Waterford, and Erie, to gain the shores of the great lake which bears this name. All this western portion of Pennsylvania, watered by French Creek, is remarkable for the beauty and variety of its scenery. In each of the villages through which we passed, the general was detained several hours in receiving the honours which had been prepared for him by the citizens and public officers.

The trophies suspended over our heads, the name of Perry and the view of lake Erie, necessarily directed the thoughts of the guests to the events of the last war; and in a short time the gallant deeds of the American navy became the subject of general conversation. As it was perceived that Lafayette took great pleasure in hearing a narration of the glory of the descendants of his former companions in arms, all the details of that memorable day were given him, in which, after a combat of three hours, an American squadron entirely captured a British fleet far superior in the number of guns.

In hearing the recital of those noble actions, Lafayette cast his eyes alternately on the numerous English flags that floated over his head, on the lake; the theatre of such glorious events, and on the seamen who surrounded him; and his heart was filled with pride, on perceiving that the Americans of 1813 had shown themselves worthy sons of his

old fellow soldiers, the immortal heroes of the revolution of 1776.

On leaving the table, the general took leave of the inhabitants of Erie, and departed from this town at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the committee of Chatauque county, who had come to announce to him that a steam-boat was waiting at Dunkirk to take him to Buffalo. Before sunset, we left the territory of Pennsylvania and entered on that of New York. As we had fifty miles to accomplish, and as the general did not wish to detain the vessel too long, we travelled until day-break without stopping. In this rapid journey, we passed through many large villages, the population of which, assembled in the public places around large fires, waited patiently for the arrival of the national guest to salute him with patriotic acclamations. These nocturnal scenes have left a strong impression on my mind. I shall never forget the magical effect that was produced at Fredonia. On leaving Portland, yielding to the fatigue of the preceding days, we were sleeping in the carriage notwithstanding the violent jolting occasioned by the trunks of the trees forming the road over which we were rapidly passing; on a sudden the startling explosion of a piece of artillery awoke us, and our eyes were immediately dazzled by the glare of a thousand lights, suspended to the houses and trees that surrounded us. We were solicited to alight, and we found ourselves in the middle of an avenue, formed on one side by men and boys, and on the other by young girls and women holding their infants in their arms. At the sight of Lafayette, the air resounded with joyful cries, all arms were stretched out towards him, the mothers presented their infants to him and begged his benediction on them, and warlike music uniting its sound to the din of artillery and bells gladdened all hearts. Struck by so touching a reception, the general was unable for some time to subdue his emotions; at last, he advanced slowly through the crowd, at every step shaking affectionately the hands that were stretched out to him, and replying with tenderness to the sweet salutation of the children who accompanied his progress with cries of "*Welcome, Lafayette.*"

On a stage built in the centre of a large place, lighted by barrels of burning rosin, an orator was waiting to address him in the name of the people of Fredonia, who afterwards



defiled before him in order to salute him once more. Notwithstanding the striking character of this scene, the general felt himself obliged to abridge it, that he might not expose to the cold, for a longer time, the women and young girls, who, slightly clad, had passed all the night in the open air, waiting for him. It was three o'clock in the morning, when, after having partaken of a collation, we left Fredonia. The sun already began to gild the summits of the forests we left to the right, when we arrived at Dunkirk, a small port on Lake Erie, when the boat that was to convey us to Buffalo, was waiting for us. A committee from that town, and a great number of ladies, had come to meet the general, and received him on board to the sound of music, the delightful harmony of which accorded deliciously with the beauty of the morning, and the romantic aspect of the bay in which we were.

At twelve o'clock we were within sight of the shores of Buffalo; but retarded in our progress by violent and contrary wind, we were unable to enter the port for two hours. Although the town of Buffalo was almost entirely destroyed by the English, who burnt it during the last war, we were nevertheless struck with its air of prosperity, and the bustle in its port. We landed near one of the extremities of that grand canal, whose other extremity we had visited five hundred miles from this, near Albany, and which serves as a link between Lake Erie and the Atlantic. After the first ceremonies of the reception of the national guest by the magistrates and citizens of Buffalo, we went to snatch a few moments of repose at the Eagle tavern, where our lodgings had been prepared. There, the general received a great number of persons who desired to be particularly presented to him; among them we had the pleasure of seeing an old Indian chief of the Senecas, who had acquired a great reputation for courage and eloquence, not only among his own people, but also among the whites, who call him Red Jacket. This extraordinary man, although much broken by time and intemperance, still preserved, to a surprising degree, the exercise of all his faculties; he immediately recognised General Lafayette, and recalled to his recollection that they had been together in 1784 at Fort Schuyler, where a great council had been held, in which the interests of all the Indian nations, whether

friendly or otherwise, who could have any relation to the United States, were settled. The general replied to him that he had not forgotten this circumstance, and demanded of him if he knew what had become of the young Indian who had so eloquently opposed "the burying of the tomahawk." "He is before you," replied the son of the forest, with all the brevity of his expressive language. "Time has much changed us," said the general to him, "for then we were young and active." "Ah," exclaimed Red Jacket, "time has been less severe on you than on me; he has left you a fresh countenance, and a head well covered with hair; whilst as for me—look!" and untying the handkerchief that covered his head, he showed us, with a melancholy air, that his head was entirely bald. The bystanders could not help smiling at the simplicity of the Indian, who appeared to be ignorant of the means of repairing the injuries of time; but were cautious not to explain his error; and perhaps did right, for he might have confounded a wig with a scalp, and wished to have regarnished his head at the expense of that of one of his neighbours. Like all the Indians, who have preserved their primitive haughtiness, Red Jacket obstinately adheres to his native language, and entertains a great contempt for all others. Although it was easy to see that he understood English perfectly, he nevertheless refused to reply to the questions of General Lafayette, before they were translated into Seneca by his interpreter. The general, having remembered a few Indian words which he had learned during his youth, pronounced them before him; he appeared sensible of this politeness, which singularly augmented the high opinion he already entertained of Lafayette.

The Seneca tribe is one of the six nations known formerly by the name of Iroquois, and now inhabiting the northern part of the state of New York, under the protection of the government of that state. These six nations are the Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Mohawks, and Senecas. I wished much to have visited a large village inhabited by the latter, a short distance from Buffalo, but the little time we spent at that place, was so completely and agreeably taken up by entertainments prepared by the inhabitants for their guest, that it was impossible for me to spare the time.

We passed the night at Buffalo, and the next day, at an early hour, we set out in a carriage for the Falls of Niagara: on our way we breakfasted with the family of General Porter, at Black Rock, a small but handsome port which rivals that of Buffalo in bustle; and a few hours afterwards, a hollow rumbling which seemed to shake the earth, and a thick column of vapour which we saw at a distance rising towards the clouds, announced to us, that we were about to enjoy the sight of one of the greatest wonders of nature.

At two o'clock we arrived with our fellow passengers from Buffalo and Black Rock at Manchester, a small village situated on the right bank of the Niagara, near the falls, where the general was received and complimented by a large deputation from the county of Niagara. Full of an impatience that may readily be conceived, we abridged as much as possible, the duration of a public dinner, of which we were obliged to partake on arriving, and at half past three we went over to the island that divides the Niagara into two unequal parts, at the point where the waters form the cataracts and precipitate themselves in a gulf of 150 feet in depth. The sight of the bridge which leads to this island, called Goat Island, admirably prepares the mind for the contemplation of the imposing scene that presents itself, and gives a high idea of the boldness and skill of those who constructed it. Built on a bed of rocks, whose numerous points are elevated above the water, and by opposing the current only increase its violence, its wooden pillars are agitated by a continued vibration, which seems to announce that the moment approaches when it will give way and be precipitated in the abyss; some minutes after having passed the bridge we found ourselves in presence of the great fall. It is a sublime spectacle, but it must not be expected I should attempt to describe the sensations that I experienced at the sight of the gigantic phenomena; they were of a nature that cannot be expressed: I therefore willingly relinquish the trial, in which, in my opinion, the most skilful writers have greatly failed. We remained near half an hour on the edge of the gulf, silently contemplating the rapid fall of the water, and almost stunned by the noise of its terrible roaring. We should, in all probability, have remained plunged in a reverie much longer, had we not been roused

by the voice of one of our companions, doubtless more familiar than us with this fearful sport of nature, anxious to give us some details, interesting perhaps, but which we certainly should never have demanded.

Mr. A. Porter, the brother of General Porter, with whom we had breakfasted at Black Rock, is the owner of Goat Island; he had the kindness to conduct the general to all the most picturesque points of this singular property, which is, as it were, suspended above the abyss. From the upper extremity of the island, we saw a spectacle less terrible than from the lower point, but which is nevertheless not without majesty. Our view, extending to a great distance, agreeably reposed on the beautiful river Niagara, which rolls its waters as smooth as a mirror, over a large bed unincumbered with obstacles, and between low and fertile banks: it is only in approaching the superior point of the island: that the rapidity of the course is accelerated and it prepares for the terrible fall, whose noise, during the stillness of the night, is heard, it is said, for more than twenty miles around. Woe to the animal or man that has the imprudence to enter this irresistible current, no human power can save him from the insatiable avidity of the gulf. It is only a few years since a young Indian furnished a lamentable example. He was sleeping in the bottom of his canoe which he had fastened to the shore near the small town of Chippewa, when a young girl who had replied to his love, but whom he had deserted for another, passed and saw him. At the sight of him the furies of jealousy kindled in her bosom the desire for revenge. She approached, unfastened the canoe, and gently pushed it from the shore, the current soon acted on it, and carried it down the stream with great rapidity. The noise of the waves soon woke the young Indian, who, on opening his eyes, saw the imminent danger to which he was exposed; his first movement, inspired by a desire of preservation, was to seize his paddle to strive against the current; but he soon perceived the inutility of his efforts, which were derided by his wicked mistress by cries of cruel joy: then having nothing to oppose to his fate but a courageous resignation, he enveloped himself in his blanket, seated himself in the middle of the canoe, and coolly fixed his looks on the gates of eternity soon to

be opened to him, and in a few seconds disappeared in the profound abyss.

The name of Chippewa, pronounced in the recital of the fate of the young Indian, awoke our recollection of the glorious deeds of the American troops, during the last war, on the frontiers of Canada, from which we were only separated at this time by an arm of the Niagara. With this recollection were naturally mingled the names of Brown, Van Ransellaer, Ripley, Scott, Porter, Harrison, Pike, Jessup, Miller, and many others who rendered themselves illustrious in these spots, by their talents, their courage, and their ardent love of country.

After two hours of delightful excursion, we left Goat Island, and cast a farewell look on it from the bridge which unites it to the main land. From this it appeared to us like a garden in the air, supported by the clouds, and surrounded by thunder. The general could not tear himself from this imposing scene, and I believe that when he learnt that Goat Island and its charming dependencies were for sale for 1000 dollars, he strongly regretted that the distance from France would not permit him to purchase it. It would be, in fact, a delicious habitation; the surface of the soil, of about seventy-five acres, is covered with a vigorous vegetation, whose verdure constantly kept up by the freshness of the pure and light vapour that arises from the cataract, presents an agreeable shelter from the heat of summer. The current of water which surrounds it offers an incalculable power which may be applied to mills of all kinds. I do not think that Mr. Porter will wait long before he disposes of a property which offers so many advantages.

On leaving Manchester and the Falls of Niagara, we went to Lewistown to sleep: this is a pretty village situated a few miles below the falls; and the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, we rode to Fort Niagara, where General Lafayette had been invited to breakfast by Major Thomson, the commandant of the garrison. We found the major at the head of his officers, a short distance in advance of the fort, waiting to receive the general, who was saluted by twenty-four guns as soon as he entered the works. Some ladies, wives of the officers of the garrison, assisted their husbands in doing the honours of the enter-

tainment, and contributed not a little by their politeness, in making the time we passed at Niagara appear very short.

This fort is built precisely at the point where the river enters into Lake Ontario, on which Commodore Chauncey reaped laurels, like those gathered by Perry on Lake Erie. Almost opposite, on the other bank, is fort George, occupied by the English. Hostilities were frequent between these two posts in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, but the fortifications of both have since been repaired, and it would now be difficult to trace the ravages of war.

The general shortened his visit to Fort Niagara, in order to arrive early at Lockport, where we were to embark on the grand canal, to descend to Albany. On a height near Lockport we met a troop of from seventy to eighty citizens on horseback, and under this escort entered the village, where the general was saluted by an extraordinary kind of artillery. Hundreds of small blasts, charged with powder by the workmen engaged in quarrying the bed of the rock to form the canal, exploded almost at the same moment, and hurled fragments of rock into the air, which fell amidst the acclamations of the crowd. The appearance of Lockport filled us with astonishment and admiration. No where have I ever seen the activity and industry of man conquering nature so completely as in this growing village. In every part may be heard the sound of the hatchet and hammer. Here trees are felled, fashioned under the hands of the carpenter, and raised on the same spot in the form of a house; there, on a large public square, which exists as yet only in project, an immense hotel already opens its doors to new settlers, who have not any other habitation. Scarcely is there to be found in the whole town a sufficiency of the necessaries of life, and yet, by the side of a school, in which the children are instructed whilst their fathers are building the houses that are to shelter them, is to be seen a printing press, which every morning issues a journal, teaching the labourers, in their hours of repose, how the magistrates of the people fulfil the confidence reposed in them. In streets traced through the forest, and yet encumbered with trunks of trees and scattered branches, luxury already appears in the light wagons drawn by splendid horses; finally, in the midst of these encroachments of

civilization on savage nature, there is going on, with a rapidity that appears miraculous, that gigantic work, that grand canal, which, in tightening the bonds of the American Union, spreads comfort and abundance in the wilds through which it passes.

Our carriages stopped opposite to an arch of green branches, and General Lafayette was conducted to a platform, where he had the satisfaction of being welcomed by one of his old fellow soldiers, the venerable Stephen Van Rensselaer, now president of the board of canal commissioners. After having been officially presented to the deputation from Monroe county, as well as to a great number of citizens, we sat down to a public dinner, presided over by Colonel Asher Saxton, at the end of which the general, induced by the feelings awakened in him by the sight of so many wonders, gave the following toast: "To Lockport and the county of Niagara—they contain the greatest wonders of art and nature, prodigies only to be surpassed by those of liberty and equal rights."

The free masons of Lockport, not wishing to permit the general to depart without rendering him the honours due to his high masonic rank, begged him to keep in remembrance of their lodge, the rich ornaments with which he had been adorned when he entered the temple. They afterwards accompanied us to the basin, where the boat was waiting to convey us to Rochester. Before we embarked, we had great pleasure in viewing the handsome locks, cut out of the solid rock, to the depth of twenty-five feet. The moment the general stepped on board the barge, a multitude of small blasts, dug in the rock, exploded above our heads, and their deafening detonations added to the solemnity of the farewells of the citizens of Lockport. Before leaving the basin, we received from Dr. ——— a box containing specimens of the different species of rocks through which the canal passed; we accepted this interesting collection with gratitude. Although navigation by steam is not applicable to a canal, whose banks are not of stone, yet, as the horses and the tow-path were excellent, we travelled rapidly and comfortably; for the boat (the Rochester) that carried us, was much more convenient and better provided with the comforts of life than could have been supposed.

We left Lockport at 7 o'clock in the evening, and traversed during the night the sixty-five miles that separate that village from Rochester, where we arrived at an early hour in the morning. We had not yet quitted our cabin, when suddenly the name of Lafayette, pronounced amidst violent acclamations, induced the general to ascend on deck; we followed him, and what was our astonishment and admiration at the scene that presented itself! We were apparently suspended in the air, in the centre of an immense crowd which lined both sides of the canal; several cataracts fell rumbling around us, the river Genessee rolled below our feet at a distance of fifty feet; we were some moments without comprehending our situation, which appeared the effect of magic: at last we found, that the part of the canal on which we were, was carried with an inconceivable boldness across the Genessee river, by means of an aqueduct of upwards of four hundred yards in length, supported by arches of hewn stone. Our fellow passengers, witnesses of our astonishment, informed us that, in its long course, the canal passed several times, in a similar manner, over wide and deep rivers; that above Ironduquot, for example, it pursued an aerial route for more than a quarter of a mile, at an elevation of 70 feet. This kind of construction appears familiar to the Americans. The bridges are usually of an elegance and boldness of execution that is inconceivable. Not far from Rochester may be seen the ruins of a bridge that had been thrown over the river Genessee in a single arch of 320 feet span, and 180 feet elevation above the water; it gave way a few years since whilst two children were crossing it. It was said to have been a masterpiece of art, but the want of size and strength in the timbers prevented its lasting long.

The general left the canal at Rochester, passed a few hours with the inhabitants of that town, who gave him a reception, which, in affection and elegance, fully equalled any that I have hitherto witnessed, and continued his journey by land, passing through the villages of Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, Skeneateles, Marcellus, &c. and re-joined the canal at Syracuse. This journey confirmed us in the opinion, that no part of America, or, perhaps, of the whole world, contains so many wonders of nature as the state of New-York. The lakes of Canandaigua, Seneca and Ca-



yuga, appeared delightful to us from the purity of their waters, the form of their basins, and the richness of their banks. The sight of all these beauties, and still more the kindness and urbanity of the population through which we travelled, often made General Lafayette regret the rapidity with which he travelled. During this journey of upwards of one hundred and thirty miles by land, we travelled night and day, only stopping for a few moments at each village, to enjoy the entertainments, prepared by the inhabitants in honour of their beloved guest, who, said they, by the simplicity, the amenity and uniformity of his manners, towards all classes of citizens, completed the conquest of all hearts, already devoted to him from his adherence to the cause of America in particular, and that of liberty in general.

From Rochester to Syracuse, we were constantly struck with the marked beauty of the horses that formed our relays; and learned that they had been gratuitously furnished by individuals, whose patriotic disinterestedness was fully appreciated by the different committees charged with the care of the general's journey, and who returned them public thanks. Among these generous citizens, I heard particularly cited, Mr. de Zeng, of Geneva, and Mr. Sherwood, proprietor of the stage-coaches at Auburn.

On arriving at Syracuse at six o'clock in the morning, by the fading light of the illuminations, and the crowd that filled the streets, we learned that the people of the village had expected the national guest all night. The splendid supper that had been prepared for the evening before, made us an excellent breakfast, and the general passed three hours amidst the kind congratulations of the citizens, who eagerly pressed around him. At nine o'clock he took leave of his friends at Syracuse, and embarked on board the canal-boat, amid the thunder of artillery, and loud wishes for the happy termination of his voyage.

We resumed this mode of travelling with the more pleasure, as we had lately suffered much from the heat and dust on our last day's journey by land. Always incited by a wish to fulfil the promise he had given to the citizens of Boston, the general determined to travel day and night as long as he was on the canal, and only to halt in the towns on his route a sufficient time to return his thanks to the

inhabitants, all of whom had made preparations for his reception. We often regretted this necessary haste, especially on seeing the handsome towns of Rome, Utica, Schenectady, &c. and hearing the patriotic acclamations of their inhabitants. At Rome, which we passed through in the night by the light of an illumination, we met with the deputation from Utica, at the head of which the general had the satisfaction of recognising one of his fellow soldiers, Colonel Lansing, who fought by his side at Yorktown.

Twenty discharges of artillery announced his arrival in Utica, and at this signal all the population gathered round him to hear the eloquent discourse addressed to him by Judge Williams, in the name of the people. His astonishment was extreme, when the orator informed him that the part of the country he had traversed in so rapid and commodious a manner, was that through which he had passed with so much difficulty and danger during the war of the revolution, to save the garrison of Fort Stanwix from the tomahawks of the Indian allies of Great Britain. He could scarcely believe in so great a change, and was unable to express the happiness he felt. We only spent four hours at Utica; but that time would not suffice to detail all the marks of attachment that were heaped upon him. Obligated to divide his time between his old fellow soldiers and the children of the different schools; between the magistrates and the ladies; and, finally, between strangers and Indians, collected from several miles around to pay their respects to him, he still found means to reply to the enthusiasm of all, and every one that approached him returned satisfied and persuaded that he was an object of particular attention. Three chiefs of Oneidas, Taniatakaya, Sangouxyonta, and Doxtator, asked for a private interview, and recalled to his recollection some circumstances of the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, in which they had rendered him some services. He recognized them again, but was greatly astonished to find, that two of them already advanced in years at the time of which they spoke, were still living; notwithstanding their great age, their features still preserved an energetic expression; they spoke with warmth of the situation of their tribe. "The chase is no longer productive," said they; "it does not supply our wants, and we

are obliged to provide for our subsistence by agriculture, which renders us very unhappy ; but it is not owing to our white brothers of the state of New York ; they act generously towards us ; they permit us to live in peace near the bones of our fathers, which they have not obliged us to transport to a strange land ; and the government often succours us when our harvests fail ; hence we sincerely love our white brothers, the Americans. We formerly fought for them against the English, and we are still ready to raise the tomahawk in their favour, whenever occasion requires it." The general praised them for the sentiments they expressed ; he told them he had not forgotten their former valuable services ; and begged them always to regard the Americans as good brothers ; he then made them some presents of money, and they returned well satisfied. A deputation from the county of Oneida, waited on the general to beg him to assist in laying the first stone of a monument, which the citizens of that county were about erecting to the memory of Baron de Steuben, whose remains had reposed since 1795, at Steubenville, without any mark of distinction. But the time fixed for this ceremony, not according with the public engagements entered into by the general with the citizens of Boston, he was under the necessity of refusing this invitation. " If I could associate with you," replied he to the deputation, " in rendering to the memory of my fellow soldier and friend Baron de Steuben, those honours you intend bestowing and of which no one is more worthy, without my missing the celebration at Bunker's Hill, it would not be the fatigues of a long and rapid journey that would deter me, you may be fully persuaded ; but a single day of delay may occasion my breaking a sacred promise ; you must be aware of this, be good enough therefore to be the bearers of my regrets to the citizens of Steubenville, and assure them that my heart will be with them at this melancholy ceremony, which I am obliged to forego attending in spite of my wishes."

The regrets of General Lafayette were the more acute and sincere, as he could, better perhaps than any other, appreciate the rare qualities and noble character of Baron de Steuben, who had shared with him the toils and dangers of the Virginia campaign.

Frederic William Steuben was born in Prussia, in 1735. Destined for a career of arms, his education was entirely military, and he early entered the service. His knowledge, his well tried courage, and his zeal in the performance of his duties, did not escape the penetration of Frederic the Great, who promoted him rapidly, and attached him particularly to his own person. The young Steuben did not fail to profit by the lessons of his illustrious master, and obtained a brilliant reputation among the best generals of the age. But neither the glory he had acquired, nor the favours of the greatest king of the time, could counterbalance his love for liberty. As soon as he learned that the American colonies, shaking off the despotism of England, were ready to maintain their independence by an appeal to arms, he crossed the ocean and offered them his services, declaring that he was ambitious of no other honour than that of acting as a volunteer in a good cause, and that he would accept neither rank nor pay before he had given proofs of his valour. This noble disinterestedness, and the services he rendered the American army, merited him the friendship of Washington, and the confidence of congress, who elevated him to the rank of major-general. His candour and moderation equalled his skill and bravery. After the peace, wishing to enjoy the fruits of that liberty to which he had contributed so gloriously, he retired to Oneida county, to lands given him by congress, and there, cultivating in solitude his mind and his fields, he philosophically waited for death; which suddenly made him its prey in 1795. He was then about sixty years of age. According to his wish, expressed in his last will, he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a simple wooden coffin, and committed to the earth without a stone or an inscription to mark the place of his sepulchre. He laid for a long time in a thick wood near his house, when his remains were menaced with profanation by the opening of a public road through his property. Colonel Walker, his former friend, hastened to collect them, and the inhabitants of Steubenville, and of the county of Oneida, resolved to enclose them in a durable monument, as an expression of their gratitude and esteem for the German warrior.

A cannon, the signal of the departure of the guest of the nation, had already been heard twenty-four times. The

boat that was to take him to Schenectady was ready, and the people assembled on the quays and the bridges that cross the canal, waited in silence for his departure. When he embarked, and our light vessel, drawn by superb white horses, had begun to glide through the water, three cheers expressed to him the last farewell of the inhabitants of Utica, whilst children placed on the bridges, showered down flowers upon him as the boat passed beneath. Standing on the prow of the vessel with his head uncovered, General Lafayette replied by signs of gratitude to those testimonies of popular esteem. His son and myself, witnesses of this touching scene, remained near him, partaking both of the enthusiasm of the people, and the happiness of him that was the object of it, when our attention was suddenly attracted by the cries of a man who followed the boat, by running along the bank, and making signs to us to stop. His copper colour, half naked body, and grotesque ornaments, marked him for an Indian. Although his intention to board us was manifest, our captain, Major Swartwout, did not think it advisable to stop. The Indian, therefore, exerting all his strength, hastened his pace so much, as to pass us considerably, and at last waited on the last bridge near the town. At the moment he passed beneath it, he sprung on the deck, and fell on his feet in the midst of us, admirably erect. "Where is Kayewla? I wish to see Kayewla," cried he with agitation. The general was pointed out to him. His countenance expressed the greatest satisfaction. "I am the son of Wekchekaeta," said he, stretching out his hand; "of him who loved you so well, that he followed you to your country when you returned there after the great war; my father has often spoken to me of you, and I am happy to see you." The general had already learned that Wekchekaeta had died some years since, and was glad to meet with his son, who appeared to be about twenty-four years of age. He made him sit down, and conversed several minutes with him, and rendered him happy by presenting him with several dollars, when he left us. The young Indian was as little embarrassed to find a mode of leaving the boat as he had been to enter it. We were separated from the bank of the canal by about ten feet; he sprung over this space with the lightness of a deer, and disappeared in an instant.

This singular visit greatly excited the curiosity of our fellow passengers, and the general hastened to satisfy it by relating the history of Wekchekaeta, whom he carried to Europe with him in 1778, and who, soon disgusted with civilization, joyfully returned to his native wilds.

To describe our voyage from Utica to Schenectady, a distance of about eighty miles, would be to repeat what has already been said when speaking of that in the upper part of the canal. We arrived in the latter town next day, 11th June, about dinner time. We remained there only a few hours, which the inhabitants rendered very pleasant to the general, and in the evening set out in carriages for Albany, which is about sixteen miles distant from it. We lost much, we were told, in not continuing our route by the canal, which, during the whole of that route, runs along the river Mohawk, over which it twice passes by aqueducts of 1800 feet in length, but pressed for time, we were obliged to choose the shortest road; besides, we had travelled, since leaving Lockport, for near three hundred miles on the canal, and we had been able to judge of the beauty and utility of this great channel of communication, executed in eight years by the state of New-York alone, unassisted by any foreign aid. There are still some few parts to be finished, before the navigation will be open the whole length of the canal; but these will be accomplished in a few months, when the boats passing from Lake Erie to Albany will traverse a length of three hundred and sixty miles, and descend a height of five hundred and fifty feet, by means of eighty-three locks built of hewn stone, and whose basin of thirty feet long by fifteen broad, will admit boats of upwards of one hundred tons burthen. The total expenses for the construction of this canal are estimated at ten millions of dollars. This sum appears enormous at first view, but nevertheless it is trifling, when the immense advantages that will accrue to the state of New-York are taken into consideration. The tolls demanded for the right of navigation, although very low, have already produced, during the year 1824, the sum of 350,761 dollars; and it is believed that the receipts will amount this year to 500,000 dollars, and that in the nine succeeding years it will increase at the rate of 75,000 dollars per annum, so that at the end of ten years, the debt incurred

in the accomplishment of this great work will be liquidated, and also, after deducting 100,000 dollars annually for repairs, &c., the state of New York will receive from its canal, a nett revenue of a million of dollars, which is four times more than the expenses of its government.\*

The state of New York will then present the new spectacle of a community of more than two millions of men, not only supporting its government without taxes, but also having money arising from its own property. The citizens of that state will always, it is true, have to pay the duties the general government thinks right to impose on the importation of foreign products; but the independent farmer, who produces on his farm all the necessaries of life, may live without paying any tax either direct or indirect, to the state or the general government.

I present this picture of the public prosperity of the state of New York, for the consideration of our European politicians and economists.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

Return to Boston—Reception of Lafayette by the Legislature of Massachusetts—Celebration of the anniversary of Bunker's Hill—History of the Revolution familiar to the Americans—Departure from Boston.

WE arrived at Albany before sunrise, on the 12th of June, and some hours afterwards we had already crossed the Hudson, and advanced rapidly towards Massachusetts, whose western border is traced parallel to that river at about twenty-five miles from the left bank; we had still to travel one hundred and fifty miles before reaching Boston, but the excellence of the roads insured us a rapid journey, and hence General Lafayette was certain of arriving in time to fulfil his engagements. Nevertheless, he determined to stop only for such time as was absolutely necessary for repose. We therefore entered Boston on the 15th at a little before noon. In publishing this happy arrival,

\* The canal has been completed since this journal was written, and fully equals all anticipations.—T.

the newspapers caused much astonishment and joy, throughout the Union. Few persons believed in the possibility of his return for the anniversary of Bunker's hill, and every one considered the journey he had performed as almost magical. In fact, had he not travelled, in less than four months, a distance of upwards of five thousand miles, traversed seas near the equator, and lakes near the polar circle, ascended rapid rivers to the verge of civilization in the new world, and received the homage of sixteen republics ! And our astonishment is increased, when it is recollected that this extraordinary journey was performed by a man of 67 years of age ! The plan of this journey had been, it is true, ably and skilfully planned by Mr. M'Lean, the postmaster-general, General Bernard, and Mr. George Lafayette ; and had been followed with a precision and exactness, that could only have resulted from the unanimity of feeling which animated both the people and the magistrates of the different states ; but, during so long a journey, amidst so many dangers, it would have been impossible to foresee accidents, one of which, by delaying us only a few days, would have deranged all our calculations, and yet our good luck was such that we never lost a moment of the time so exactly portioned out, and arrived on the precise day fixed upon.

In returning to the city of Boston, where so many old and firm friends expected him, General Lafayette would have experienced unalloyed satisfaction, if he had not been obliged to deplore the loss of two sincere friends, whom death had snatched away during his short absence, the ex-governor Brooks and Governor Eustis, who departed this life, in possession of the esteem and regret of all who knew them, and had experienced their sage administration. This was the commencement of the accomplishment of the prophetic words of Lafayette's companions in arms, who all, in shaking him by the hand, had exclaimed, " We have again seen our old general—we have lived long enough ! "

The day after our arrival, in accordance with an invitation that had been given him, the general went to the capitol, where the new governor, Mr. Lincoln, the senate, house of representatives, and civil authorities of Boston, had united to receive and compliment him. After we had



taken our places in this assembly, the governor rose, and in the name of the state of Massachusetts, congratulated the guest of the nation on the happy termination of his long journey.

As soon as the general had made his reply, the members of the two houses left their places, and crowded round him to offer him an individual expression of their feelings, and sincere congratulations were showered upon him from the galleries, which were filled by a great number of ladies anxious to see him once again. Among the strangers of distinction who were present at this scene, we recognized with much pleasure, Mr. Barbour, appointed secretary of war since Mr. Adams had entered on his functions as president; Colonel M<sup>r</sup>. Lane of the state of Delaware, Colonel Dwight, Drs. Mitchill and Fisk, General Courtland and Colonel Stone of New York, who had all arrived within a few days to be present at the ceremonies of the 17th of June.

On leaving the capitol, the general was re-conducted by a numerous escort of friends to the house of Senator Lloyd, where we found our accommodations prepared the preceding evening, through the hospitable attentions of his amiable family.

The sun of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Bunker's hill arose in full radiance, and thousands of voices uniting with the joyous sounds of the bells and reports of artillery saluted it with patriotic acclamations. At seven o'clock in the morning, passing through a crowd, agitated by glorious recollections of the 17th of June 1775, General Lafayette went to the grand lodge of Massachusetts, where deputations from the grand lodges of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Jersey, had joined the officers of the chapter and knights of the temple, to receive and compliment him.

At ten o'clock, two thousand free-masons, sixteen companies of volunteer infantry and a corps of cavalry, the different corporation and the civil and military authorities, assembled at the capitol, where the procession was formed under the command of General Lyman, whilst the grand master, and deputies of the masonic order, went for General Lafayette to Mr. Lloyd's, where he had retired on leaving the temple.

At half after ten, the procession took up the line of march. It was composed of about seven thousand persons. Two hundred officers and soldiers of the revolution marched at the head; forty veterans, the honourable remains of the heroes of Bunker's hill, followed in eight open carriages; they were decorated with a large riband on which was this inscription: June 17th, 1775. Some wore the cartouch boxes they had emptied on that remarkable day, and one who had been a drummer, still carried the instrument whose sound had so often rallied the American battalions, broken by the English columns; behind them marched a long array of numerous subscribers to the monument, formed in ranks of six, and followed by two thousand masons, covered with rich ornaments and symbols of the order; afterwards came General Lafayette in a superb calash drawn by six white horses. Following him were a long file of carriages, in which were his son, his secretary, the governor of Massachusetts and staff, and a great number of persons of distinction, both natives and foreigners. This column advanced to the sound of music and bells, in the midst of two hundred thousand citizens, collected from all the states in the Union, whilst discharges of artillery and general acclamations saluted it at short intervals. It arrived at Bunker's hill at half after twelve; and in a short time every one was arranged in regular order on the hill on which the monument was to be elevated, as a mark of national gratitude to the first heroes of the revolution.

The modest pyramid formerly raised over the remains of Warren and his companions, and which we had seen on our first visit to Bunker's hill, had disappeared. From its principal piece of timber, a cane had been formed, on the gold head of which was an inscription, alluding to its origin, and mentioning that it was presented by the masons of Charlestown to General Lafayette, who accepted it as one of the most precious relics of the American revolution; and a large excavation indicated the spot on which the new monument was to be placed.

A short time after we had taken our places around this excavation, and silence was established throughout the innumerable crowd, who waited in religious meditation for the commencement of the ceremony, the grand master of the grand lodge of Massachusetts, accompanied by the

principal dignitaries of the order, brother Lafayette, Mr. Webster and the principal architect, proceeded to lay the first stone, with the forms prescribed by masonic regulations; in an iron box were placed medals, pieces of money, a plate of silver on which was engraved an account of the foundation of the monument; over this box was laid a stone on which the grand master poured corn, wine and oil, whilst the Rev. Mr. Allen, the chaplain of the day, pronounced the benediction. The masonic order to finish the monument, was then given, and a discharge of artillery proclaimed that the first part of the ceremony was accomplished.

The procession then marched to a vast amphitheatre constructed on the north-east side of the hill, in the centre of which rose a platform, from which the orator of the day could make his voice heard by the fifteen thousand auditors placed in the amphitheatre; all the officers and soldiers of the revolution, some of whom had arrived from distant places to assist at this solemnity, were seated in front of the platform; the survivors of Bunker's hill forming a small group before them. At the head of these, in a chair, was the only surviving general of the revolution, General Lafayette; and immediately behind, two thousand ladies, in brilliant dresses, appeared to form a guard of honour to the venerable men, and to defend them against the tumultuous approaches of the crowd; behind the ladies, were more than ten thousand persons seated on the numerous benches placed in a semi-circular form on the side of the hill, the summit of which was crowded by more than thirty thousand spectators, who, although beyond the reach of the orator's voice, maintained the most perfect silence. After the agitation that inevitably accompanies the movement of so large a concourse had subsided, the melodious voices of a great number of musicians were heard; these, placed behind the speaker's stand, chaunted a patriotic and religious ode, whose sweet and simple harmony prepared all minds for the deep impressions of eloquence. To this chaunt, succeeded a prayer by Dr. Dexter. When that venerable pastor, who had the honour of combating at Bunker's hill, appeared before the assembly, with his white locks falling over his shoulders, when he lifted upwards his hands withered by time, and in a voice which was still strong, implored the benediction of the Eternal on the labours of the day, all

the bystanders were penetrated with inexpressible emotions. At last, the orator of the day, Mr. Webster, presented himself; his lofty stature, his athletic form, noble expression of face, and the fire of his looks, were in perfect harmony with the grandeur of the scene around. Already celebrated for his eloquence, Mr. Webster was received by the assembly with strong marks of satisfaction; the flattering murmur with which he was saluted, rose from the base to the summit of the hill, and prevented him from commencing his discourse for some moments. During his speech, the orator was sometimes interrupted by bursts of applause from his auditory, who could not restrain the expression of their sympathetic feelings, when Mr. Webster addressed himself to the revolutionary veterans and General Lafayette, and they, uncovering their venerable heads, arose to receive the thanks he bestowed upon them in the name of the people. A hymn chaunted in chorus by the whole assembly succeeded the discourse, and terminated the second part of the ceremony.

At a signal gun, the procession was again formed, ascended the hill, and seated themselves at a banquet, spread on the summit; there, under an immense wooden building, four thousand persons were accommodated at table without confusion or discomfort; the tables were disposed with so much art, that the voice of the president and of those who gave the toasts or delivered addresses was easily heard, not only by the guests, but likewise by a great number of the spectators around; the names of Warren, of the orator of the day, and of the guest of the nation, were successively proclaimed during the repast. Before leaving the table, General Lafayette rose to return his thanks to the members of the association for erecting the monument on Bunker's hill; and concluded by offering the following toast: "Bunker's hill, and that holy resistance to oppression, which has already disenthralled the American hemisphere. The anniversary toast at the jubilee of the next half century will be, to Europe freed."

This toast was enthusiastically received, and immediately afterwards the guests left the table in order to return to their homes.

The brilliance and heat of a clear summer's day was succeeded by a delicious evening, cooled by a gentle sea

breeze; to enjoy it the better, Mr. George Lafayette proposed to me to return to Boston on foot. I accepted his invitation, and we mingled with the crowds that were slowly descending the hill and discussing the ceremonies of the day; these discussions were always mingled with a mention of the guest of the nation, and a recital of the principal actions that had entitled him to the gratitude of the American people. Here, as in all other assemblies of the people, that I had an opportunity of observing, during our journey, I was struck with a remarkable peculiarity; the perfect knowledge of the events of the revolution that is disseminated through all classes of community, not even excepting the children; I have often heard boys of from eight to ten years of age, talking to each other of the events of the revolutionary war with astonishing precision; they related to each other what they had read or learnt, how, for example, Lafayette arrived in the United States, his receiving a wound at Brandywine, what he had done at Rhode Island and Monmouth; that, whilst he was commander in chief in Virginia, he had, after a campaign of five months, forced Cornwallis to take refuge in Yorktown, where the French fleet under Count de Grasse, and Washington at the head of Rochambeau's division and that of Lincoln, had joined him and laid siege to that town, and forced the English and their Hanoverian auxiliaries to capitulate. I am aware that the arrival of Lafayette in the different towns, gave rise to a recollection of those facts; I also had constant proofs, that the other events of the revolution were equally familiar to all classes of society, from the veterans, with whom they were a never failing topic of conversation, to school children, who were proud of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the republican liberty, they had the happiness to enjoy. Another very remarkable trait in the American character, is, that the people are not only free and happy, but that they appreciate this happiness and liberty; and what English travellers have termed vanity, is only the firm conviction of the superiority of the institutions and civil dignity maintained by the Americans, as a man in perfect health returns thanks to heaven for the blessings he enjoys; this is so true, that American patriotism (we may say the same of French liberalism, but not of English patriotism) is entirely free from

a jealousy of other nations, whose liberty and prosperity are cordially hailed by the people of the United States.

Yielding to the wishes of the inhabitants of Boston, General Lafayette remained several days in their city after the ceremonies at Bunker's hill, and divided his time amidst the society of his private friends and the public, who, till the last moment, bestowed on him testimonies of their attachment. On the 20th he accepted a dinner given him by the Mechanics' Society, where he met all the public functionaries, and the most distinguished personages of the state, who had accepted the invitation with equal warmth, so great is the deference paid by every one in the United States to the useful classes of society.

During his visit to Boston, General Lafayette received and accepted invitations from the states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, where his presence was impatiently looked for by the people, and one from the city of New York, who ardently desired that he would celebrate the 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, with them. To fulfil all these engagements in so short a time, appeared difficult, but still the general did not despair of accomplishing it, for he knew by experience how much both the magistrates and the people strove to render his journeys agreeable and rapid. On the 20th he went to take leave of his old friend, John Adams; and employed all the day of the 21st to receiving farewell visits in the city; on the 22d he set out, accompanied by the committee of arrangement and a corps of volunteer cavalry.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**Rapid and hasty visit to the states of New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont—Return to New York—Celebration of the Anniversary of American Independence—American vessels of war—Patriotism and disinterestedness of the Seamen of New York.**

IN commencing this journal, I had determined to record each day, all the events of this extraordinary journey, but their multiplicity, and above all, the rapidity of our movements, often obliged me to forego the rigorous fulfilment of this plan; and it was in traversing the states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, more especially, that I felt the utter impossibility of noting all the interesting occurrences, all the honourable and interesting circumstances that characterised the visit of General Lafayette to that part of the Union. We travelled through these states at a speed of eleven miles per hour. We often passed through so many villages and towns on the same day, that my memory could not retain their names. I could not therefore find the necessary time to record all the historic or statistical details, which I had amply gleaned in a majority of the other states, and shall only be able, in this chapter, to retrace some of the entertainments given by the Green Mountain boys, and their neighbours, to the guest of the nation.

I have said that General Lafayette left Boston on the 22d May, early in the morning. A few hours after his departure, he arrived at Pembroke on the borders of New Hampshire, where he was received by a deputation from that state at the head of which was Mr. Webster, brother to the orator of Bunker's hill, who complimented him in the name of his fellow citizens. From Pembroke to Concord, the capital of the state, his triumphal progress was attended by a large escort of citizens collected even from distant places. On arriving in that town, he was imme-

diately conducted to the capitol, where the house of representatives and the senate, presided over by the governor of the state, were assembled to receive him. The address delivered by Governor Morrill, was remarkable for the vivid expression of the feelings of gratitude and attachment entertained towards him by the people of New Hampshire. He replied to this speech with great emotion.

After this reception the general was led into another room in the capitol, where General Pierce was in attendance, and who presented to him a great number of his old fellow soldiers, who, notwithstanding age and fatigue, had not hesitated to leave their distant fire-sides to shake hands and recall with him for a moment, scenes long passed. They, as well as the senators and members of the house of representatives, were individually introduced to him; the people joyfully prepared a dinner in the public square for six hundred guests, to which we were invited on leaving the capitol. The general had the pleasure of finding himself seated in the midst of two hundred officers and soldiers of the revolution, who could scarcely restrain their joy at the presence of their old friend.

Before leaving the table, several expressed in their toasts their feelings of philanthropic liberty. One drank "to the holy alliance between Lafayette and liberty—may it overthrow all plots against the rights of man." Another gave "North America as she is, France as she ought to be." The general replied to these wishes by the following toast: "The state of New Hampshire and its representatives, and this town, the residence of the constituted authorities of the state. May the citizens of New Hampshire always enjoy civil and religious liberty, benefits which the elevated souls of their ancestors led them to seek in a distant land, and which their fathers have founded on the solid basis of the sovereignty of the people, and the rights of men." A discharge of artillery, and the unanimous plaudits of the crowd that surrounded the tables, attended this toast, and we left the table to proceed to the capitol square, where the militia were drawn up, waiting until the general reviewed them.

Our evening was divided between the musical society, who performed an excellent oratorio, and a party at Governor Morrill's, at which were crowds of ladies, wishing to take leave of the national guest, who the next day left



Concord with an escort of a corps of cavalry, and took the road to Dover, where he arrived before evening, and was received with an enthusiasm I shall not pretend to describe.

After having quitted Dover, we arrived on the frontiers of Maine, where General Lafayette was received by a deputation, with which we directed our course to Portland, the seat of government of that state. On the way we visited Kennebunk, a small town of about 2,500 inhabitants, remarkable for the commercial activity of its port. The sound of bells and artillery announced to the general with what pleasure he was expected by the people, with whom he resolved to spend some hours. When he entered the town-house, where the authorities of the state waited for him, he was received by Dr. Emerson, who addressed him in the name of his fellow citizens.

Although the general had but a short time to devote to the citizens of Kennebunk, he yet accepted the public dinner they had prepared for him, and took his seat on a chair elegantly decorated with flowers by the ladies of the town: at the end of the repast each citizen expressed the feelings he experienced at this patriotic re-union, and Dr. Emerson gave the following toast: "Our national guest, General Lafayette—he left Europe to give liberty to America; he returned to teach his country the manner of achieving happiness. To-day he comes among us to enjoy the result of his glorious deeds."

The general replied to this toast by the following: "The village of Kennebunk, on the site of which the first tree was felled on the day in which the first gun was fired at Lexington, the signal of American and universal liberty! May that glorious date always be a pledge of the republican prosperity and increasing happiness of Kennebunk."

On leaving the table, and before departing from the town, the general repaired to the house of one of the principal citizens, Mr. Storer, where all the ladies were assembled to be introduced to him. He thanked them affectionately for the delicate attentions which they had paid him during his stay at Kennebunk, and at 4 o'clock, P. M. he commenced his journey to Saco, where he slept.

On the 25th we arrived at Portland, a pretty town on the sea shore, between the rivers Saco and Penobscot. It has been for a long time the seat of government of Maine, and

its population, almost entirely commercial, is about nine thousand souls. The citizens of Portland and their magistrates had prepared a reception worthy of their love for Lafayette, and it may be said not to have yielded in magnificence to that accorded him by the largest cities of the Union; the militia, assembled from every part of the state, presented an imposing body in front of the town. The children of the different schools occupied the streets through which the general was to pass, and strewed flowers upon his path. The triumphal arches under which he passed, were remarkable for their good taste, and the delicacy of the inscriptions with which they were decorated. Upon one of them was a small model of a ship, under which was written, "*I will purchase and equip a vessel at my own expense!*" Words which Lafayette addressed, as is known, to the American commissioners at Paris, in 1777, when the latter acknowledged the inability of their country to provide the means of transporting him to the United States. Upon others were the names of the battles in which the young companion in arms of Washington had fought. Having slowly traversed the town amidst the acclamations of the crowd, the general arrived at the state house, where Governor Parris received and addressed him on behalf of the citizens of Maine, and in the presence of the representatives and magistrates of the people. The governor, in his address, recalled with enthusiasm the glorious epoch which commenced the reputation of Lafayette, and offered a merited tribute of eulogy and admiration to the soldiers of the revolution.

Replete with a vivid emotion in which all his auditors participated, General Lafayette briefly replied, but with that aptness and vigour, for which he was uniformly conspicuous.

From the senate chamber the general went to the house of Mr. Daniel Cobb, which had been prepared for him. He was there waited upon by a great number of deputations, who offered him the greetings of the neighbouring towns and villages. The grand officers of the masonic lodge of Portland were also there, and the president of the academy, who, in presence of the professors and students, conferred upon him the title of LL.D. As soon as he could disengage himself for a moment from the crowd, he

visited Mrs. Thatcher, the daughter of his illustrious companion in arms, James Knox, with whom he remained until he was informed that the public authorities waited to accompany him to the dinner prepared by the citizens.

From Portland, the general would have been well pleased to continue his route to the extremity of the state of Maine, but time was wanting; he therefore retraced his steps towards Burlington, passing through Windsor, Woodstock, Montpelier, &c. Although Vermont is very mountainous, which rendered the road more difficult, we travelled with extreme rapidity, advancing almost all the time more than nine miles an hour, relays of horses having been well disposed by the inhabitants, in order that the general might not be retarded in his progress to New York. On the morning of the 28th, we arrived at Burlington, the beautiful situation of which, on the delightful shores of Lake Champlain, excited our admiration. Whilst we were viewing, with pleasure and astonishment, the beauties of nature spread before us, we heard the thunder of artillery, and an instant afterwards saw advancing towards us a body of militia, preceded by a crowd of citizens, who hastened in front of the national hotel. The good order of this body of troops, the bold and firm step of the men who composed it, answered perfectly to the reputation for bravery and patriotism which the inhabitants of Vermont had acquired in the revolutionary war, and in that of 1814. Every one knows, that it was the Vermonters who, in 1777, completed, by their presence, the embarrassment of the English General Burgoyne, who, at sight of their intrepid bands, presented his capitulation. Some days before his surrender, he wrote to the British minister: "The inhabitants of the New Hampshire\* grants, a territory uninhabited and almost unknown during the last war, flock together by thousands, and accumulate upon my left like dense clouds." This letter had not yet been received in England when already the thunderbolts which these clouds enveloped had struck him. It was also the soldiers of Vermont, to the number of 800 only, who, led by General Starke, engaged,

\* The territory of Vermont was at first part of the state of New Hampshire, from which it was separated in 1764, to be annexed to that of New York. It was not until 1791, that Vermont was admitted into the confederation as an independent state.

on the same day, two English detachments, took from them seven hundred prisoners, four pieces of artillery, and all their camp equipage. Finally, it was these intrepid Green Mountain boys who formed the troops which preserved Plattsburg from pillage by the English, on the 11th of September, 1814; and the raw crews, who, with vessels built in eighteen days, forced an enemy superior in number, to strike a flag which claimed the absolute empire of the sea.

The governor, who had met the general at Windsor, and who had travelled with him from that city, introduced him to the citizens and magistrates of Burlington, who received him with the most affectionate addresses. I shall not insert here, notwithstanding their eloquence, the numerous speeches addressed to him by the representatives of the different branches of the administration and government, nor his answers, in which he congratulated the state of Vermont on their enjoying so nobly the benefits of the new American social order, so superior to the least vicious institutions of Europe, and at having replaced European tolerance by religious *liberty*; *privilege* by right; a shadow of representation and an unequal compromise between the aristocratic families and the people, by a true representation by the principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and its self-government. But I cannot refrain from relating some of the patriotic remarks of these veterans, glorious and living monuments of the revolutionary war, who crowded around their old chief, the companion of former dangers, privations, and glory, and repeating with enthusiasm the names of the battles, in which he had aided them in achieving the independence of their country. Formed in column in the public square, to the number of more than a hundred, they listened at first in silence to the discourse addressed to the general by Mr. Griswold, president of the council; afterwards they advanced in their turn, conducted by one of their comrades, David Russel, whom they had chosen to be the organ of their sentiments, and who performed the office with that eloquence of heart which is inspired by love of country and of liberty. When the general had answered to the professions of attachment of his old companions in arms, they all in turn in approached to shake hands with him, reminding him more particularly of the circumstances under which each had known

him, or had fought by his side. One of them, Sergeant Day, showed him a sword, saying, "It is nearly half a century since I received this from your hands, general." And I heard it said in the crowd, that notwithstanding his great age, Sergeant Day had not found this sword too heavy for his arm in 1814.

After the public dinner, which was concluded before night, the general visited the university, where he was invited to lay the corner stone of a new building intended to be added to the establishment, which an incendiary had destroyed a year before, and which the zeal of the inhabitants of Vermont for the diffusion of knowledge had entirely rebuilt in a few months. In the solidity and elegance of these buildings it was easy to see the *hand of the people*. The ceremony of laying the corner stone took place in presence of the pupils of the university, their professors, the magistrates of the city, and a great concourse of citizens, who saw with joy the restoration and enlargement of an institution destined to render more permanent the support of their wise institutions, by instructing and enlightening the rising generations. Mr. Willard Preston, president of the university, thanked General Lafayette for the evidence he had given of his interest in the education of the youth of Vermont, and we proceeded to the residence of Governor Van Ness, whose delightful dwelling and gardens arranged with exquisite taste, were still more charmingly embellished by an assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, who, during the whole evening, contended for the pleasure of approaching the nation's guest, to express their sentiments of affection and gratitude for the services he had rendered to their country and forefathers; for, in the state of Vermont, as in all the rest of the Union, the females are not strangers either to the principles of government, or to the obligations of patriotism; their education, more liberal than in any part of Europe, places them in a condition more worthy the rank of thinking beings, as it is well known that in all the great events which have agitated the United States at different periods, the enthusiasm of the women powerfully seconded the energy of the magistrates, and the devotion of the warriors. One of the circumstances which contributed most to augment my attachment to the Americans during my stay among them,

is the profound respect that they pay to females of every rank, and the tender care with which they protect this sex.

About midnight General Lafayette quitted the town of Burlington, carrying with him the good wishes and benedictions of the inhabitants, who accompanied him to the shore, where there were two steamboats, the Phoenix and Congress, both having awnings, illuminated and ornamented with designs and transparencies. He went on board the Phoenix, which saluted him with thirteen guns on his embarkation, when the anchor was quickly weighed, amidst the loud farewells of the crowd who lined the shores. The Congress having on board a deputation from Vermont, and a large number of citizens, followed the Phoenix, and during the whole night we ploughed the waters, upon which Commodore M'Donough and his intrepid sailors covered themselves with glory on the 11th Sept. 1814. We should have been pleased, before leaving these places, to visit Plattsburg, where on the same day General M'Comb merited the gratitude of his country, by repulsing the veteran troops of Britain, with a handful of raw volunteers, who, at the first rumour of the invasion of their territory, had flocked around him; but the 4th of July was approaching, and rendered it necessary for us to hasten our progress.

The following day, June 30, about noon, we arrived at Whitehall, where General Lafayette disembarked under a canopy formed of two hundred flags of all nations, to the thunder of artillery, and between two lines of girls who scattered flowers over him as he passed. Whitehall is celebrated in the history of the revolutionary war. General Burgoyne boasted in parliament, at London, that those whom he called the rebels of America, were so incapable of resisting, that with five thousand regular troops he would march from Canada to Boston, where he would take up his winter quarters. He embarked in fact with his army on Lake Champlain, disembarked at Whitehall, and not far from the latter place, at Saratoga, he was compelled to capitulate, and passed, it is true, the winter at Boston, but as a prisoner of war. At the conclusion of the public dinner which the citizens of Whitehall gave to General Lafayette, he referred to this remarkable fact, by giving the following toast:—"Whitehall! May this town for ever en-

joy the advantages resulting to her from the manner in which the English general's prophecy was accomplished!"

We could remain but a short time with the inhabitants of Whitehall, who having furnished good carriages, and excellent horses, enabled us to pass rapidly over the eighty miles that separated us from Albany, where we were to embark for New York. After sunset we crossed Fish Creek, and stopped some minutes at the house of Mr. Schuyler, which is built on the precise spot where General Burgoyne delivered his sword to General Gates. At Whitehall we were told of the boast of the English general, and we now found ourselves on the field of battle which humbled his pride; we should have been exceedingly pleased to visit this theatre of one of the most glorious events of the revolution; but the night was too far advanced, and we were compelled to forego this pleasure. To make amends, as far as he could, Mr. Schuyler had the goodness to give us a very detailed account of the battle of Saratoga. "The ground," he told us, "has not undergone any change; the entrenchments, though considerably effaced by time, are nevertheless easy to be recognised." In fact, the old patriots of that period can still show their children the path which the aid of General Gates took, when he carried the *ultimatum* to the English general, and the road by which the English army left their entrenchments to lay down their arms before rebels, who, almost without arms, and destitute of equipments, commenced so gloriously the acquisition of their independence. But these traces will one day disappear. Why not erect in the midst of them, a more durable monument, which shall remind future generations of the courage and patriotism of this glorious generation, which time will soon render extinct?

After a short time passed with the family of Mr. Schuyler, we left them, to sleep at a neighbouring town, and the next morning we continued our journey by a road which winds along the Hudson, sometimes to the right, at others on the left of the northern canal, which latter is constructed parallel to the river, and a short distance from its right shore; in crossing Fish Creek we re-entered the state of New York. We crossed the Hudson at Waterford; this spot is rendered remarkable by the junction of the northern with the western or great canal, which is just at the

confluence of the rivers Mohawk and Hudson. On the 2d of July, we visited Lansinburgh, and returned to Troy, but without stopping any time. A steam-boat had been prepared for us at Albany; on board of which we went that evening, and at daylight we arrived at New York, where we disembarked almost unexpectedly.

Nevertheless, there was a great bustle, and a great number of strangers were observed in the streets; every moment vessels and carriages were arriving, followed by others which seemed to come from a greater distance. Detachments of militia from the neighbouring towns, inhabitants of the surrounding country, were constantly swelling the population of New York. Night did not interrupt these movements, the precursors of a great event. Accordingly at midnight, a discharge of artillery announced the commencement of a day ever glorious in the records of the history of the New World, and some hours afterwards the sun of the Fourth of July rose radiantly to illumine the 49th anniversary of the declaration of independence of a republic, whose great lessons will not be lost to the human race.

In the morning the militia were under arms, the streets, the public places, and the entrances to the churches, were thronged with people, and the air resounded with thanksgiving. At eight o'clock the officers and magistrates of New York and Brooklyn, with a number of citizens, visited General Lafayette, and invited him to lay the corner-stone of a building for a mechanics' library at Brooklyn. The general acceded with pleasure to the wishes of the magistrates, and proceeded to Brooklyn, where, assisted by some free-masons of Long Island, he laid the corner-stone of the edifice, in presence of a great concourse of citizens, arranged in front of whom the young mechanics loudly expressed their joy and gratitude; finally, he returned to New York, followed by companies of journeymen tailors, shoemakers, bakers, stone-masons, cutlers, coopers, riggers, &c., who, preceded by their banners, accompanied him to church, where he attended divine worship. The sermon, the subject of which was the solemnity of the day, was followed by the reading of the declaration of independence, which was listened to with profound attention. This declaration, a monument of fearlessness and wisdom, whose



magic influence saved the colonies at a moment when, without money, munitions of war, or arms, they engaged in a formidable contest with the colossal power of Great Britain, affected the Americans even at the present day, after half a century, as if it were the moment when it was first proclaimed. Not only is it read every year on the fourth of July, in public, but also in many families. It is not uncommon to find the houses of the Americans ornamented with the declaration of independence, beautifully engraved with fac similes of the signatures of the immortal signers attached to it, and splendidly framed. Even children know it by heart; it is commonly the first object upon which the youthful memory is exercised; it is their pleasing task to translate it into the different languages which they study; and when they recite it in the midst of a circle of their relations or friends, it is easy to perceive that they are penetrated, as were their fathers, with the incontestible truth of the principle, that "when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

I have often heard children of from ten to twelve years of age recite this extract in English and French, and it was never without deep emotion that they enumerated the oppressions and vexations exercised towards the American colonies by the mother country. It was easy to perceive that patriotism and liberty had taken deep roots in their young hearts, when they pronounced the pledge which terminates the concluding paragraph.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy

war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

After leaving church, General Lafayette went to the Park, where all the militia and firemen were assembled, who manœuvred and defiled before him with great precision. One of these companies had a splendid flag, on which was represented an equestrian portrait of the nation's guest. After this review he entered the city hall, where the governor presented him to the senate; by whom he was received with honours never before bestowed upon any one. On his entrance the members arose and uncovered themselves; the president of the senate advanced towards him, and felicitated him on his return, and expressed to him the gratification of the citizens of New York, at his uniting with them in the celebration of the anniversary of the glorious fourth of July.

From the council chamber we passed into that of the governor, where the general was attended by the members of the society of Cincinnatus, the European consuls, and a great number of distinguished persons, whom the municipal body had invited to a banquet, the arrangement of which had been given to a committee, who performed the duty in excellent taste. Memorials of glory, of patriotism, and of liberty, were assembled in astonishing numbers in the superb saloon of the city hall, where the tables were arranged. The busts of Washington and Lafayette, the portraits of Bolivar and of De Witt Clinton, were arranged in the midst of trophies, above which always floated united the American and French flags. The arm chair used by Washington when president, was placed in the centre, and covered with branches of laurel and evergreens.

The company having seated themselves at table, we observed, amidst the happy soldiers of 1776, proscribed persons from almost every country of Europe, to whom places had been assigned by the republican hospitality of the new world. Among these exiles were members of the Spanish cortes, driven from their country by despotism; some learned Germans flying from punishments

as singular, as atrocious and unjust;\* French officers,† compelled to seek, in a foreign land, a repose which they have had so often sacrificed for their native country, and all, notwithstanding the miseries they had suffered, appeared consoled, and their spirits revived by the prospect of the happiness enjoyed by the freemen among whom they reside.

According to the American custom, after dinner a number of appropriate toasts were drank. The general, after having received the felicitations and good wishes of all the company, went to the Park theatre, where the audience saluted him on his entrance and his departure with three cheers.

After the exertions of such a day, the general required rest, and the citizens, always attentive to his wishes, allowed him, during some days, freely to enjoy the calmer and not less pleasant attentions of his private friends. It was with delight that he consecrated this period to the society of his old companions in arms, among whom were Colonel Platt, Colonel Willett, Colonel Varick, General Van Cortland, and many others, whose names, though they dwell in the memory of the general, have escaped mine.

He did not again leave the sweets of private life except to cross the river to New Jersey, to pass a short time with his friend, Col. Varick, who had invited him to dine with some of the principal citizens of New York. The corporation of boatmen claimed the honour of conveying him across the Hudson in a boat whose name was rendered popular by a recent occurrence, which still occupied public attention.

The captain of the English frigate Hussar, which arrived at New York in December, 1824, had a gig of remarkably light construction, with which he had won several races in different European ports, especially in England. Proud of his success, and full of confidence in the speed of his gig,

\* Professor List was condemned to ten years of *hard literary labour*, for having consented to be the organ of his fellow citizens to the king of Wirtemberg.

† Among these was General Lallemand, who is too well known for me to eulogise him, and my two friends, my companions in arms, the brothers Peregrinet, who for a long time followed in Europe by honourable persecutions, finally obtained in New York a safe asylum, where American hospitality has enabled them to obtain the means of living independently. The military academy which they have established upon the most extensive and liberal scale, already enjoys popular favour.

he challenged the boatmen of New York, and proposed a race for \$1000; this was accepted, the money made up on their side by subscription, and a beautiful new boat called the American Star, chosen for the contest. The day, hour, and place were fixed. The English captain selected four of the most expert oarsmen of his crew, and acted as cockswain himself. The *Whitehallers* took four of their number without much choice, and a youth of fifteen for cockswain. The distance to be rowed was about three miles, between Castle Garden and the point of Long Island. The English sailors, stooping violently to their thwarts, and bending their oars at every stroke, launched forward with impetuosity, leaving in their wake large whirls of sparkling foam. The *Whitehallers*, seated perpendicularly on their thwarts, with motionless bodies, and their arms also nearly fixed, scarce skimmed the waves with their slight oars, but pressing and multiplying their pulls, were under way as soon as their adversaries, scarce disturbing the transparent water around them. A few minutes decided the victory, sometimes so long uncertain. Though started at the same time, the two boats were soon separated. The Englishmen, quickly exhausted by their violent exertions, could not equal the rapid flight of their rivals, whose prompt arrival at the goal was announced by the joyful acclamations of the spectators, whom curiosity had drawn from all points of the city and vicinity to the shores. Astonished at his defeat, but unable to contest its completeness, the English captain eagerly acknowledged the superiority of the American boat to his own, and offered to purchase her for \$3,000. But the *Whitehallers* refused to sell her. "We wish to keep her," said they, "as a monument of the victory we have had the honour of gaining over you; but to lessen the regrets caused by our refusal, we will run you another race, for double the stake, in which you shall man our boat against us, and we will man yours." But, however the English captain was surprised, fearing a new defeat, or the loss of his money, he declined the proposal. In the evening, the victorious boat was drawn on a triumphal car through the city, and carried to the theatre, where it was crowned, along with its four oarsmen and young cockswain. The next day it was placed as a monument on the wharf, with the names of the crew inscribed on the thwarts,

and this legend on her gunwale: *AMERICAN STAR*, Victorious, 4th December, 1824.

It was in this boat, and with the same oarsmen who had gained the victory, that the Whitehallers wished to convey General Lafayette to Sandy Hook, on the other side of the North river. In this passage we could judge of their dexterity and skill; the numerous boats which carried the other guests were compelled to follow at a distance. On his return, as soon as the general had disembarked, the boatmen in a body, under the flag of their association, and led by the victors, presented themselves, to thank him for the services which he had formerly rendered their country, and the testimonies of esteem accorded them. Then, after briefly relating the history of the boat in which he had crossed the river, they begged him to accept, and take it with him to La Grange, that it might continually recall to him the remembrance of his New York friends, the perfection of the mechanic arts in America, and the great motto of American seamen: "*Free trade and sailors' rights.*"\*

The nature of the present and the delicacy with which it was offered, did not permit the general to refuse it.

Meanwhile the period which was to separate us from the citizens of New York arrived, and our hearts were oppressed with sadness. On the 14th of July we left that city, to which we should not return previous to quitting America. The magistrates and the people attended the nation's guest. A deep melancholy was evinced in every countenance; and although the wharves were covered with an immense multitude, a solemn silence was observed during our embarkation, interrupted only by the last farewell.

\* The wish of the Whitehallers is accomplished. The *American Star* is now at La Grange, placed with its oars and rudder under an elegant building which the general has had built expressly to shelter it, worthy of the recollections it represents.

## CHAPTER XV.

Letter of Mr. Keratry on the anniversary of Bunker's hill—Fair Mount Water Works at Philadelphia—Germantown—Mr. Watson's Historical Box—Field of the Battle of Brandywine—Invocation of the Rev. William Latta—Clergy of Lancaster—Return to Baltimore, lighted by a fire.

WHILST the citizens of the United States were exhausting every means to prove their grateful recollections of the ancient friend of their fathers, of their country, and of their institutions, France was not indifferent to the honours rendered to one of her sons on a distant shore. By means of her writers, her poets and her orators, she united her voice to that of republican America, to celebrate the principal circumstances of this triumph, honourable alike to the two nations. It was by means of one of the public journals,\* printed at Paris and transmitted to the United States, that Mr. Keratry, inspired by the solemnity of Bunker's hill, expressed the aspirations and sentiments of every friend of liberty in France:—

“ Nations acquit themselves of a sacred debt in honouring the memories of their great citizens; but even by that they perform also an act of personal preservation, since nothing can better excite a generous patriotic devotion than the certainty secured to its author, of escaping oblivion.

“ There is in fact, in the acclamations of public gratitude, something inspiring and almost contagious, which snatches man from himself, and the interests of daily life. We sacrifice this life to assure ourselves of another more brilliant and enduring. If told that these plaudits should be decreed to frigid ashes, one would feel himself revived to participate in this futurity of glory; and by a miracle of patriotism, the

\* *Courrier Français.*

general safety of a country results from all the sacrifices of individuals.

“Nations capable of these sacrifices, even while endeavouring to throw off a yoke of oppression, the inevitable tendency of which is to degrade our species, wherever it is submitted to, were never without virtue. We are entirely convinced, that as God judges men individually, by their earthly conduct, in a future state, he pronounces also collectively on nations here below according to their sum of merit, and this is the providential justice of the present economy. According as he weighs them, they prosper or they perish! Thus have colonies become empires—thus have empires been swept away.

“Inhabitants of North America! citizens of an enfranchised world! behold what has permitted you to become embodied and constitute a nation; see what has guaranteed to you a perpetuity of ennobled existence! Your nobility is produced by your habits of laborious exertion, and by your domestic virtues. These virtues exist amongst you: where women are chaste, men are brave; where religion is the free and spontaneous motion of the creature toward the Creator, and is not transformed into a political lever of worldly interests, salutary faith presides over social order, and nerves the soul. You have had a Franklin, a Washington, a Samuel Adams, a Jefferson: if needed, you will find others. The tree abounds in sap, why then shall it not produce new fruits? Your prosperity no longer excites my astonishment; it is in the nature of things both human and divine.

“You do well, however, in enhancing the renown of these supporters of your liberty; and in raising monuments worthy of those who died in insuring it. The great citizen, who in 1765 was one of the founders of the noble conspiracy in Boston, so influential on your destinies; he who was on two memorable occasions commissioned by that city, to console, by his eloquence, the shades of your illustrious compatriots, massacred the 2d of March, 1770; he who in 1775 assisted you to win the brilliant auguries of the battle of Lexington, and who fell by a mortal blow at Breed’s Hill, in the second engagement of your struggle for independence, Dr. Warren, merited

from yourselves and from your children, a peculiar distinction.

“It was perhaps sufficient for the glory of this gallant patriot, whose virtue was attested by the sorrow of his most decided enemies, and to whose courage the entrenched earth yet bears witness, which received with his blood his last drawn sigh: it was sufficient, I say, that his collected remains should have found an honourable sepulture in the bosom of that city whose liberty he was so desirous to behold accomplished. You have decreed more than this for his heroic companions in arms. Men of North America, I congratulate you that the services of the brave remain vivid in your memories: for it were the extreme of rashness, to expect aught for the future of nations that forget the past, by which they were established and by which they exist. There are in you the elements of vigour, and you well know how to cherish them. You have desired that the hand of one of the earliest defenders of your liberty might assist you to complete the pious duty. Already have our imaginations and our eyes followed to the tomb of Washington, this aged soldier celebrated in the annals of two nations; nor can I believe that the sun ever shone on a more noble spectacle on this earth. Let us accompany him yet farther, when on the 17th of the next month, he united with you in founding the monument built by the citizens of Boston to the memory of the brave of Bunker’s hill: fully worthy, indeed, to solemnize with you this great obligation, his views no doubt were directed toward his own country, whilst assisting you in the discharge of your country’s debt. He shall intercede by his prayers for us, and perhaps without envying the happy situation you owe to the civil and military talents of your citizens, he will humbly ask of Providence why those happy days seem to have been withdrawn from France, the dawn of which she once beheld. No! in his grief he will be silent, lest the tombstone, and the sacred bones which it protects, should render him a reply too severe for us, inhabitants of ancient Europe, where pretensions to liberty are made without sacrifices, and to happiness without virtue!

“Happy nation! in thy calendars are found no victories but those which established thy independence. Nor dost



thou desire others, unless a noble sentiment should dictate to thee to be interested in the cause of men oppressed by one of the hemispheres; for thou hast been oppressed, and hast received succour.

“Permit no one of thy citizens to become great with a greatness which would be too personal to him, or which would disparage his compeers: for a nation should not become a pedestal.

“Grant no distinctions to the living which they have not merited by their achievements; nor to the dead, such as would retard the excellence about to arise in competition with the past; for the transmission of hereditary glory is the act of an unwise people, who alienate their posterity to the advantage of strangers.

“Simple citizens of another state! I feel encouraged to send you this address across the sea, whose waves separate us; but my spirit has wished to commune with yours, and I have believed that the counsel of a native son of France who rejoices in your fortunes, would not find a haughty and disdainful reception, even at the moment when one of his own countrymen is receiving the honours of your gratitude. That man to whom is accorded the privilege of beholding himself honoured as posterity will honour similarly great men, is preparing for a return to his native shore: you know his heart went in search of the great and the happy of the age, but that to him the cause of the just will ever be the good cause, whether in triumph or defeat. Blow auspicious, then, ye winds. Laden with gifts as in ancient days, crowned with flowers gathered by the hands of your beauteous virgins and of their virtuous mothers, may he speedily regain his fire-side! Soon may he be restored to expectant, welcome embrace! Detain no longer the noble visitant on your shores! You are rich enough in citizens. I shall not assent that they yet enrol themselves amongst us, for it is permitted to no one to speak evil of his country; but when the weak feel their own weaknesses and fears, the presence of the strong is the more important.”

Governed by the feeling of his duties as a citizen, and by his affections as the head of a numerous family, General Lafayette required not the expression of these emanations of friendship to insure his speedy return to

France: nevertheless it was not without the kindest emotions that they penetrated his bosom. This demonstration of his countrymen's continued affection contributed to mitigate the sacrifice he felt himself bound in duty to make, in rejecting the entreaties of the citizens of the United States, who universally and simultaneously begged he would fix his residence amongst them.

The intention of the general was, to re-embark previous to the return of the inclement season, but before quitting the American soil, he wished to fulfil some engagements which he had made in different places; to pass some time at the seat of the general government of the Union, and to make a final visit to the ex-presidents, in their retirement in Virginia. We were now in the middle of July, and there remained less than two months for the execution of these designs, and he hastened immediately to reach Pennsylvania. He passed rapidly through New Jersey, surrounded by the customary demonstrations of the veneration of the people. I shall not speak of the entertainments offered him by the inhabitants of the towns he passed through, nor of his second visit to Joseph Bonaparte, on his journey to Bordentown, where we had the pleasure of meeting again, Colonel Achille Murat, who had just returned from an interview with his brother, recently arrived from Spain. But we shall pause an instant longer in Philadelphia, to visit the Water Works, and attend the celebration festival with which the citizens particularly engaged in these works, desired to honour the nation's guest.

We had visited, during our first stay in Philadelphia, the fine machinery, established on the Schuylkill, for the supplying of water to a population of one hundred and twenty thousand persons, and we had been struck with the simplicity of its mechanism, its admirable force, the elegance and good taste of the building prepared for its protection; however, being then pressed with other engagements, we but slightly glanced at its general aspect, without entering into the examination of details, and it was to supply this defect of our information that we returned hither a second time with the committee entrusted with the superintendance of the expenses of the establishment.

The tide in the Delaware, extending far above Philadelphia, followed that its inhabitants could not employ the

water of that stream for culinary purposes, and heretofore they had no supply of potable water but that which was furnished by some cisterns, which became exhausted during the great dryness of the summer, or furnishing but an unwholesome beverage, a great number of diseases ensued. The rapid growth of the population soon rendered indispensable the supply of water of a better quality, and in larger quantity. One pump wrought by steam power was established on the border of the Schuylkill. The expense of maintaining this pump in operation was very great, and its power insufficient, being the only resource for the supply of a population of more than eighty thousand souls at the end of the year 1818, at which time the watering committee, composed of citizens distinguished for their skill and their zeal in the public service, began to devise means for substituting, in place of the old machinery, other works at once more suited to the increasing demands of the city, more economical in their structure and in the cost of continuing them in operation. Fair Mount, on the left bank of the Schuylkill, seemed the point most favourable for the execution of the views of the committee. The Schuylkill Navigation Company having permitted the damming of the river to obtain a fall of water, on condition that a canal with locks should be constructed at the expense of the city, on the right bank of the river, in order that the navigation should not be interrupted; and Messrs. White and Gillingham having consented to yield, for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, their rights in the water courses, the committee, freed from every obstacle, submitted their plans to the city councils, who approved them, and voted the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the commencement of their execution.

The labour was commenced the 19th of April, 1819, under the direction of Ariel Cooley, engineer, and was completed in four years. At the sight of the canals it was found necessary to open, the immense piers and embankments that had to be raised, the reservoirs which must be excavated to a great depth in the solid rocks, it is almost inconceivable that so many things could be achieved in so short a time. Money, it is true, was not withheld, but money is not always sufficient, we well know amongst us, for the accomplishment of great affairs; to act well and

promptly, we must have agents of promptness and ability, and at the same time animated with honest zeal for the public welfare: such was Cooley, who unfortunately forfeited his life in consequence of his activity in the accomplishment of his duties. Incessantly exposed either to the heat of the sun or to the freshness of the nights, he contracted a fatal disease, which did not permit him to enjoy the fruits of his labour. Philadelphia, to this day, regrets in him a good citizen, an accomplished and disinterested artist.

As we have now seen them, the water works at Fairmount can abundantly supply the demands of the city, and afford to the friends of the useful arts a monument worthy of their attention. The building that encloses the machinery, is constructed of stone of a brilliant whiteness. It is two hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, and built in the Doric order of architecture. The inferior section is divided into twelve solid vaulted apartments, designed for the reception of eight forcing pumps, to be put in operation by wheels of fourteen feet in diameter, and fourteen feet in length. Each extremity of the building is terminated by a pavilion of the same order of architecture, the one serving for the meetings of the watering committee, the other appropriated to the superintendent of the establishment. Of the eight pumps there are yet but three in operation, and by these alone there are carried into the reservoir of distribution, which is more than a hundred feet above the level of the river, nearly five millions of gallons of water in twenty-four hours. Each wheel performs thirteen revolutions per minute; they are formed with buckets perpendicular to the circumference, and revolve with surprising regularity. Their construction is due to the talents of Mr. Drury Bromley, who in this circumstance has forfeited no part of his reputation as an able mechanician.

The pumps are from the establishment of Messrs. Rush and Muhlenburg; they are castings of sixteen inches diameter, and are placed horizontally after the plan of Mr. Graff. Their play is so simple and so easy, that when they are in motion neither the smallest noise nor friction can be observed. Throughout all the parts of this admirable monument of American industry have been executed with the

same care, and it is impossible to visit it without a strong excitement of admiration for all the individuals who have contributed to its design and completion. Mr. John Moore, mason, and Mr. Frederick Erdman, carpenter, have an equal share of honour with their collaborators; nor does any one omit a just tribute of praise to the precision in the calculations of Mr. Thomas Oaks, respecting the estimate and the application of the forces requisite to obtain, with the least possible expense, the most advantageous results. The total sum of expenditure, made in the construction of this establishment, amounts to four hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and thirty dollars, the interest of which at five per cent, is twenty-one thousand three hundred and sixteen dollars. The annual expense for salaries of workmen, repairs of machinery, fuel, oil, &c. is only fifteen hundred dollars, which added to the interest makes a total sum of only twenty-two thousand eight hundred and sixteen dollars, for distributing in the city of Philadelphia, almost five millions of gallons of water every twenty-four hours. The original steam engine could not supply more than one million six hundred thousand gallons of water in twenty-four hours, and cost annually thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight dollars: and in order to obtain, by steam power, a daily supply of five millions of gallons, it would have required an annual expense of at least sixty-one thousand seven hundred and sixteen dollars. Thence there has been secured, by the introduction of the new machinery, an annual saving of thirty-eight thousand nine hundred dollars. To this great improvement, must likewise be added many other equally important advantages, such as the healthfulness of the city, its great security against the ravages of fire, the embellishment of public places by abundant fountains, the opportunity afforded to every inhabitant of supplying his residence with water, at the moderate price of five dollars a year, and the facility of establishing in the city various factories, &c. by the aid of water power.

All these details were received with a lively interest by General Lafayette, who expressed his satisfaction and admiration, saying that the water works at Fair Mount appeared to him the perfect representation of the American government, in which were combined simplicity, power and

economy: Just as we were leaving this interesting spot, Mr. Lewis, as president, and in behalf of the committee, presented the general a model of the machinery, and a vertical section of the building perfectly executed in mahogany: He received it thankfully, and assured Mr. Lewis that he would have sincere pleasure in exhibiting to his friends in Europe, this evidence of the perfection of mechanic arts in the United States.

Although, during the whole period of our second visit to Philadelphia, the heat was excessive, so that Fahrenheit's thermometer was generally at the 98th degree, and rose sometimes to 104°, General Lafayette was not the less assiduous in employing every day either in uniting with his friends in the festivities to which he was invited, or in visiting the environs of the city, nor did his health sustain one moment's unfavourable impression.

It was the 20th of June that we went to visit the field of battle at Germantown and the mansion of Mr. Chew, on the walls of which may yet be discovered traces of the cannon and musket balls, proving the prominence of its situation in the battle that raged around it. After having breakfasted with Mr. Benjamin Chew, the proprietor of this historic mansion, the general continued his route to Chesnut Hill, in sight of Barren Hill, where on the 20th of May, 1778, he effected so happily and so successfully the famous retreat which laid the foundation of his fame in military tactics: thence he returned to Germantown, to pass a short time with the inhabitants, who anxiously requested he would visit their academy, at which he was received by the students with enthusiasm. We found amongst them the young Fernando Bolivar, adopted son of the Liberator. General Lafayette spoke to him with pleasure of the hopes which the friends of liberty and humanity repose in the character of his uncle, who, until the present moment, had advanced with a firm pace in the career pursued by Washington; the young man seemed penetrated with grateful emotions, and expressed himself in such a manner as to excite a hope, that his having been sent to the United States to study her political institutions would not be without permanent benefit.

As we were leaving Germantown, Mr. John F. Watson offered for the acceptance of the general a present of great

value, on account of the recollections it awakened. It was a box formed of many pieces of different kinds of wood, the origin and history of which he thus recited:

“The body of the box is made of a piece of black walnut, an ancient son of the forest, that once occupied the spot where Philadelphia now stands. Cotemporary with the trees which lent their shade to William Penn and his companions, it continued till 1818, spreading its noble branches in view of the hall in which our declaration of independence was ratified.

“The cover is composed of four different pieces.

“The first is of a branch of a forest tree, the last surviving of those which were removed in order to dig the first foundations of Philadelphia.

“The vigour that yet animates the vegetation of this ancient tree, is an evidence of the rapid growth of the city, which has risen and become great whilst the tree is still flourishing.

“The second is a piece of oak, broken off the first bridge built in 1683, over the little river Canard. This piece was found in 1823 at about six feet below the surface of the earth.

“The third is a piece of the famous elm under which Penn’s first treaty with Shackamaxum was made. It fell from old age in 1810, but a branch from it is now growing, and in a flourishing state, in the garden of the hospital, and our fellow citizens delight to recount the story of its origin whilst protected by its shade.

“The fourth awakens recollections of yet more olden time. It is a fragment of the first house raised by European hands upon the American shores! It is a piece of mahogany of the habitation constructed and occupied in 1496, by the immortal Columbus. Honour to the Haytien government, which still watches with care for the preservation of this precious monument.

“I offer you these reliques with confidence,” continued Mr. Watson, “persuaded, as I am, that it is with interest you receive every thing connected with the remembrance of the first movements of a nation that has received so many proofs of your friendship.”

General Lafayette was, indeed, highly flattered by Mr. Watson’s present. He received it with gratitude, and

a pledge that it should find a place amongst the most precious memorials of his tour. To this first present Mr. Watson added also another not less valuable; a piece of the American frigate, "Alliance," in which Lafayette had twice crossed the ocean during the revolutionary war.

On the 21st, we went to spend the day in the *state* of Schuylkill. But before speaking of the honours conferred there on the voyager, a few words of explanation of this "state," will be requisite. "In 1731 some citizens of Philadelphia united themselves into an association having both pleasure and beneficence for its design. They purchased a large tract of land near the falls of the Schuylkill, built a house for the accommodation of their meetings, elected a governor, council, secretary of state, treasurer, and judge, established a seal, and constituted themselves the 'Colony of the Schuylkill.' More than half a century passed away without the slightest circumstance transpiring to give occasion of trouble to the colony: every day was marked by its benefactions, and delight and mutual confidence presided at all the periodical festivals, at which the members were assembled at a common table. But subject to the destiny of states, all of which have their vicissitudes, the colony of Schuylkill was also to experience a revolution. In 1783, at the conclusion of a dinner of more than fifty covers, the colony rose and declared independence: resolved to revise their constitution, and the Colony of the Schuylkill became, in the course of a few hours, the 'republic of the State of Schuylkill,' and no attempt was made on the part of the mother country to oppose it. Since that time the new republic has gone on advancing in strength and riches; its pleasures and its acts of benevolence followed at an equal rate. Possessed now of an enlarged estate acquired by a treaty with a farmer, she has transferred her seat of government, that is, her nets, her kitchen and cellar, three miles farther down the stream, under the cool shades on the banks of the river."

Here it was that General Lafayette was received by the citizens and magistrates, who, in the costume of fishermen, awaited his arrival on the frontier of their state. In a short and eloquent address, the secretary of state recounted to him the history of the republic, from its establishment to the present time, and concluded by announcing to him that the title and all the rights of citizen had been granted



to him by a unanimous vote. As soon as the general had expressed his acceptance of the honour and his gratitude, he was invested with the national costume, and, his head being protected with the large straw hat, he entered into the occupations of the community. Mr. George Lafayette, Mr. de Syon, and myself, were also admitted to partake of the duties of the day; people and magistrates, all with one accord, assisted without distinction in the work. We embarked in the batteaux belonging to the republic, and obtained an abundant supply of fish, and in four hours we were seated at the banquet prepared by our own hands. Never was a repast attended with greater gaiety, nor cheered by better wine, and long shall we have the pleasure of remembering the delight and good cheer we found in the state of Schuylkill.

The week we had just spent in Philadelphia, as it were in his own family, had entirely composed the fatigue of the general; and although the heat continued excessive, he undertook, on the 25th, his journey to Wilmington, where a great number of Pennsylvanians and Virginians were in waiting to conduct him to the field of the battle of Brandywine. This field was not rendered illustrious by a victory, as has been said, but its remembrance is not less dear to Americans, who gratefully recollect the blood spilled there by their fathers, and by young Lafayette, in the defence of their rights, and to secure their independence. Happy that country in which events are appreciated more by their influence on its destinies than by the eclat of the moment! The men who took the first steps in procuring the liberties of the United States in the battles of Bunker's hill and on the banks of the Brandywine, are at this day not less honoured in the eyes of the nation than those who sealed it last, at the battle of Yorktown.

In the beginning of September, 1777, General Howe, at the head of eighteen thousand men of the British army, embarked on board the fleet commanded by his brother, and left New York without the possibility of the Americans ascertaining precisely the object of his expedition. A few days after it was ascertained that he had entered the Chesapeake, and had landed at the Head of Elk, for the purpose of marching to attack Philadelphia. Washington immediately marched through this city, where

the congress were then in session; and advanced to meet the enemy; annoying him with several attacks between the point of his debarkation and a small stream, the Brandywine, behind which the American army, greatly inferior in number, and composed almost wholly of militia, had just taken their position. Chads-Ford was in front of their encampment, where it was contemplated to give them battle; but General Howe leaving a body of troops on the opposite side of the stream, in order to cover his manœuvre, marched forward to pass another ford on the right of the Americans. This movement was so much the more difficult to reconnoitre, as the banks of the stream were densely grown with wood, and, by a singular fatality, the two parallel roads leading to the two fords were called by the same name, so that the reports received by Washington from his scouts, though apparently contradictory, were nevertheless true. This confusion of names threw the American general into a most painful anxiety; he hesitated too long on the course he was to pursue, and lost a most precious moment which might have given him the victory. Had he been able to procure definite intelligence of the movements of the enemy, he would have passed the ford before him, and most certainly would have defeated the British division which remained at Chads-Ford, commanded by Knyphausen, and then falling suddenly on the body under General Howe, surprising him by an attack in flank, would almost inevitably have succeeded in a complete defeat of the English army; but the occasion passed rapidly, and the firing of muskets on his right soon apprized Washington of the danger of his situation. Happily he had established a position behind the second ford, of three brigades, commanded by Sullivan and Sterling. These three brigades sustained the attack with vigour, and for a short time arrested the British by a deadly fire: but their line being attacked both right and left, by superior forces, the wings gave way. The centre continued its position firmly, in defiance of the shower of broken brass that was poured in upon them. But this centre itself at last began to yield, and was about to beat a retreat, when young Lafayette, notwithstanding his rank of brevet-major, was yet serving as a simple volunteer near the commander-in-chief, dismounted from his horse, and went, sword in hand, to place

himself at the head of a company of grenadiers, who, re-animated by this noble effort, maintained themselves firmly for a few moments. Soon, however, Lafayette received a shot below the knee, and was obliged to retire with his grenadiers; but he had already reaped the reward of his devotedness, for he had procured the opportunity for Washington to join the division of General Greene, and of recommencing the action in a second line. Here the fight raged on either side with obstinate perseverance, and the astonishing spectacle was exhibited of militia rallying after a first check, and fronting with firm step an enemy superior in numbers and in discipline. The event of this second contest was yet doubtful, when suddenly Washington learned that the pass of Chads-Ford was forced, and that Knyphauzen was about to fall on his left flank; he immediately resolved to secure a retreat to Chester, where he arrived with his army the same evening.

The battle was lost, but the British had paid dear for their victory, and the moral force of the Americans was augmented even by their defeat. In this day's engagement Lafayette had sealed with his blood his alliance with the principles for which he had crossed the ocean, and for ever secured to himself the gratitude of a nation amongst whom generous and noble sentiments outlive the ravages of time.

It was once more to evince their gratitude for their long tried friend, that the revolutionary soldiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had now assembled with their sons to conduct Lafayette to the field of the battle of Brandywine. We left Chester on the 26th of July, with a retinue, at the head of which appeared the two oldest revolutionary officers of the neighbouring counties, Colonel M'Lean and Captain Anderson. Numerous bodies of militia had preceded us, and were already gone to take their position at the ancient encampment of the American army, where may yet be discovered traces of one of the redoubts. It was about noon when we arrived on the borders of the Brandywine, along which we were to travel to the point at which, as we had been informed, the army had passed. But on approaching the stream, General Lafayette cast a glance on the surrounding country, and said, "It cannot be here that we passed in 1777, it must be a little higher up the stream." It was

in fact ascertained that the passage had been effected just above the spot we occupied. This accuracy of observation and vivid recollection excited in a high degree the admiration of the numerous witnesses.

At Chads-Ford the general learned that one of his companions in arms, Gideon Gilpin, under whose roof he had passed the night before the battle, was now confined to bed by age and infirmity, and despaired of being able to join his fellow citizens in their testimony of respect to the general: he went to visit the aged soldier, whom he found surrounded by his family. Gideon Gilpin, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, recognized him on his entrance, and proved by tears of grateful and tender recollection how much this visit tended to the comfort and soothing of his last moments.

On arriving at the field of battle, General Lafayette recognised successively, and pointed out to us himself, all the principal points on which the two armies had manœuvred and fought on the 11th of September 1777; nor did his recollection wander a single moment. Being arrived at the spot where the first attack was made, and where he had been wounded, he paused a moment; his ancient companions pressed around his carriage, and the militia passed before him, amid the loudest acclamations and the cry a thousand times re-echoed, "long live Lafayette." During the whole of this scene, of profound emotion on his part, and which his modesty induced him frequently to attempt to abridge, he spoke to those around him of nothing but the presence of mind evinced by Washington on the fatal day of the 11th September, and of the courage manifested by the officers and soldiers in supporting him. But in vain he recalled the names of the most illustrious chiefs, and attributed to them all the glory of having saved the army: the reply he received was by pointing him to the soil on which he had spilled his blood, and the sight of this indestructible monument exalted to the highest degree the gratitude of the crowd of spectators who accompanied him. In prolonging our excursion along the route by which the British had conducted their first attack, we arrived at the house of Mr. Samuel Jones. It had been for a short time occupied by General Howe during the battle, and yet retains traces of the well directed fire of the American artil-

lery. After the elegant collation with which we were entertained by Mrs. Jones, we had presented to us various implements and remains of arms found on the field of battle; and we returned with these precious reliques to West Chester, where we concluded the day in the enjoyment of festivities prepared by the inhabitants.

In the multiplied recitals I have made of the public rejoicings at which I assisted, during my stay in the United States, it was impossible not to be struck with the constant association of religious ideas and patriotic sentiments which so strongly characterise the citizens of this republic: but what is not less remarkable is, that their religion, free of practical minutiae, seems as much an uniform sentiment as their love of liberty resembles an uniform faith. With them a political orator never terminates a prepared address without an invocation, or grateful recognition of divine power; and a minister of the gospel on taking the pulpit commences, by recalling to the notice of his auditors their duties as citizens, and their peculiar privileges in living under the wise institutions of their country. It may also be remarked, that this union of political morals and theology influences all the actions of the Americans with a gravity and deep conviction, the charm and tendency of which are wholly inexpressible. How could any one listen to these simple and touching invocations without being deeply affected, and without uniting in their humble and pious acknowledgements? We were about being seated at the hospitable board prepared by the citizens of West Chester at the National Hotel, when the president of the day remarked that a minister of the church was in the company, and invited him to ask a blessing on the assemblage, which was done in the most affecting manner by the Rev. William Latta.

A committee of the citizens of Lancaster having been deputed to escort General Lafayette from West Chester, he committed himself to their care on the 27th, after taking leave of a great number of the soldiers of 1776, who could not receive the last adieu of the aged general without testifying their emotion with tears.

I have already, I believe, mentioned the remarkable fact, that at the south, as at the north, and from the east to the west of the United States, we had met with men of

different manners and languages, submitting for the general good to the same democratic government; living in harmony, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness and of public prosperity, under the shield of the same institutions. Having made this observation, we naturally concluded that neither great wealth nor diverse habits of the people of this country, are obstacles to the establishment and the administration of republican government, which is founded on an equal appreciation of the interests and rights of all. Nothing perhaps more strongly confirmed General Lafayette in this opinion, than a view of the city and county of Lancaster, where are found men from all parts of America and Europe, and of almost every diversity of religious faith, yet all attached to the wise and excellent institutions by which they are governed.

I shall not describe the festivities with which the citizens of Lancaster entertained the man, who, whilst they received him as a guest, they most warmly claimed as their friend, though they were not inferior either in elegance or cordiality to those of the largest cities of the Union. I shall not, however, pass over in silence, events which by their nature serve to explain the unity of sentiments and principles which characterise all classes of the American people. I shall, therefore, relate the proceedings of the clergy of every denomination in the city and vicinity, who, at the intelligence of the arrival of the general, spontaneously collected to unite their patriotic felicitations with those of the other citizens. Their congratulations were conveyed by the dean on their behalf, without distinction of sect. If the address were to be given at length, it would give additional weight to the opinion I have already advanced respecting the American clergy: but it will suffice, I trust, to relate a portion of the general's reply, in which this opinion is expressed with a strength and precision which leave no doubt of his convictions.

"I accept," replied he, "with sincere gratitude the proofs of kindness and regard which the clergy of this city and vicinity have voluntarily accorded to me, and which you, sir, have expressed in so impressive a manner. In my happy sojourn in this country, I have often had occasion to remark the veneration which the clergy of every denomination inspire, whose individual members, apostles of

the rights of man, are the immediate functionaries of a religion founded on the principles of liberty and equality, and on the principle of elections by the people of evangelical ministers."

On quitting Lancaster, we travelled to Port Deposit, on the shore of the Susquehanna, where we were met by a deputation from Baltimore, with whom we embarked, destined for this latter city. On our way we visited Havre-de-Grace, a small town situated on the Susquehanna, at its entrance into the Chesapeake. Here we remained several hours, and then continued our voyage favoured by fine weather, our way being beguiled also by the pleasures we enjoyed on board. From the deck of our vessel, we beheld expanded to our view the delightful vallies and the rich hills of Maryland: the companions of our voyage, pressing around Lafayette, and designating to him the fields in which, during their struggle for liberty, he had fought to obtain it: and at short distances on the shores, groups of the inhabitants attracted by the sounds of national airs which echoed from our deck, testified, by incessant acclamations, the delight occasioned by the presence of the adopted son and benefactor of their country.

The sun had left the horizon some time ere we arrived at the mouth of the Patapsco, and it was not till midnight that we touched the wharf at Baltimore. Though at that advanced and unseasonable hour, a large number of persons were in waiting for the appearance of our vessel, and on disembarking General Lafayette found himself surrounded by a crowd of friends. At the moment of placing his foot on shore, an immense burst of light suddenly illuminated the port, and looking to the southern quarter of the city we saw volumes of flame rising almost to the clouds. Instantly the hollow cry of "fire, fire," resounded in every street. Anxious to offer the first assistance, we left the general in care of two members of the committee, who conducted him directly to the hotel provided for him, and we ran at our utmost speed toward the scene of conflagration, but we discovered that we had been outstripped by four engines, which on our arrival were already in full operation. Other engines arrived from all quarters, directed by young men, volunteers in this patriotic employment, and commenced their operations with such promptness

and activity, that, although the fire had originated in a frame building occupied as a store, the flames were very soon subdued, and indeed wholly extinguished. We found ourselves involuntarily amidst the inactive crowd of spectators, and returned to our lodgings at two o'clock in the morning, filled with admiration of the spontaneous exertions as well as the zeal and ability of the young firemen of Baltimore.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Return to Washington—Character of the new President—Visit to the ex-president, become a farmer and justice of peace—Government offers Lafayette a ship of war to return in to France—Presents made to Bolivar through Lafayette—New homage from the city of New York—Farewell of the President to the Nation's Guest—Departure from Washington city—Embarkation in the Brandywine—Voyage—Testimonies of attachment and regret of the crew of the Brandywine to Lafayette—Reception at Havre—Some hours at Rouen—Reception of Lafayette at La Grange by the inhabitants of his vicinity.

AFTER resting two days at Baltimore we set out for Washington city. General Lafayette wished to depart privately, and the citizens, always solicitous to satisfy his desires, contented themselves with calling in the evening to take leave and express their regrets. This circumstance employed several hours, and left in our hearts impressions of profound melancholy. We commenced our journey on the 1st of August, accompanied by two members of the Baltimore committee. A few miles from Washington we were met by an elegant carriage, which drew up near us, from which a young gentlemen alighted and inquired for General Lafayette. This was the eldest son of the new president Mr. Adams, who was sent by his father to the nation's guest, to inform him that he had solicited and obtained from the citizens of the metropolis, permission to offer him the use of the president's house. The general accepted the invitation for himself and travelling companions, entered Mr. Adams's carriage, and we conti-



nued on our route. Our two members of the Baltimore committee had not anticipated such an occurrence, which threw them into considerable embarrassment. They had been zealous "Jackson men," and had declared themselves strongly against Mr. Adams, during the election; of this Mr. Adams was not ignorant, and on this occasion it appeared difficult to them to present themselves under the auspices of General Lafayette, without exposing themselves to the chance of being thought willing to make the *amende honorable*. They determined to separate from our party, on entering the city, and took lodgings in a hotel.

During the canvass of the presidential election, I had frequently heard the adversaries of Mr. Adams accuse him of aristocratic habits, contracted, as they said, in the foreign courts at which he had passed many years. This accusation appeared to me much opposed to what I had seen and have related of his conduct in the steam-boat going from Frenchtown to Baltimore; but, at length, in consequence of hearing the charge frequently repeated, I began to fear, that, with the exercise of power, he might fall into what we call in Europe the manners of a prince; my surprise was therefore the more agreeable, to find, on reaching Washington, that the president was not changed. It is true, we found Mr. Adams in the place of Mr. Monroe; but the public man was still the same. The plainness of the domestics, and facility of access to the house, appeared not to have undergone the least alteration, and in Mr. Adams's reception of us we experienced all the cordiality of his predecessor. He soon ascertained why our companions had not remained with us, and hastened to send them an invitation to dinner, which they accepted without embarrassment or hesitation, as men who understood the politeness intended them, but who did not consider themselves as being in any way pledged by accepting it.

The lodgings prepared for us in his own house by the president were plain, but commodious and in good taste. Anxious to enable General Lafayette to enjoy the repose he thought him to need after so many and such long voyages, and after numerous and profound emotions, he secluded himself with us in entire privacy. Aided by Mrs. Adams, her two sons, and two nieces, he made us taste, if I may so express myself, the sweets of domestic life. During

the early portion of our stay, there rarely set down to table or around the hearth more than two or three persons at once, and usually these were some public officers who, after being occupied all day with the president in business, were detained by him to dinner and the familiar conversation of the evening. It was during this period which glided away so swiftly, that I could appreciate the character of Mr. Adams, whom I had previously known only by the eulogies of his friends or the attacks of opponents. I discovered that the first had but done him justice, and the last been misled by party spirit. It is difficult to find a more upright and better cultivated intellect than is possessed by the successor of Mr. Monroe. The beautiful reliefs of the capitol, to which he is not a stranger; his treatise on weights and measures, and the numerous diplomatic missions he has discharged with distinction, bear witness to his good taste in the arts, the correctness of his scientific judgment, and his skill in politics. As to the accusation of aristocracy, which some have preferred against him, it is sufficiently refuted by his manners, which remain unaltered by his elevation to the chief magistracy of the republic.

Notwithstanding that General Lafayette was daily preparing to return to Europe, before quitting the American soil, he wished once more to see some of his old Virginia friends, and especially desired again to embrace and thank him, who, as head of the government, had first welcomed him to its capital, and who, at present returned to private life, continued to give his fellow citizens an example of all the virtues, in cultivating his modest patrimony. The general mentioned the subject to Mr. Adams, who offered to accompany him on this visit, saying, "that he would gladly take this occasion to go and present to his predecessor his tribute of veneration and attachment." The 6th of August was the day fixed upon for this visit, and we set out for Oak Hill, the seat of Mr. Monroe, which is thirty-seven miles from Washington, unaccompanied by any escort. Mr. Adams took the general and Mr. George Lafayette, with one of his friends, in his carriage; I rode in a tilbury with the president's son. At the Potomac bridge we stopped to pay the toll, and the gate-keeper, after counting the company and horses, received the money from the president,

and allowed us to pass on; but we had gone a very short distance, when we heard some one bawling after us, "Mr. President! Mr. President! you have given eleven-pence too little!" Presently the gate keeper arrived out of breath, holding out the change he had received, and explaining the mistake made. The president heard him attentively, re-examined the money, and agreed that he was right, and ought to have another eleven-pence. Just as the president was taking out his purse, the gate-keeper recognized General Lafayette in the carriage, and wished to return his toll, declaring that all gates and bridges were free to the nation's guest. Mr. Adams told him, that on this occasion General Lafayette travelled altogether privately, and not as the nation's guest, but simply as a friend of the president, and, therefore, was entitled to no exemption. With this reasoning, our gate-keeper was satisfied, and received the money. Thus, during his course of his voyages in the United States, the general was but once subjected to the common rule of paying, and it was exactly upon the day in which he travelled with the chief magistrate; a circumstance which, probably in every other country, would have conferred the privilege of passing free.

We did not reach Oak Hill until the morning after we left Washington. We found the ex-president of the United States, now a farmer, pleasantly settled with all his family, in a handsome house near his farm. He was engaged in superintending his agricultural affairs, and endeavouring to improve his property, which had long been neglected for public business. Some of Mr. Monroe's friends had collected to assist him in entertaining Lafayette. We passed three days in their company, and then the inhabitants of Leesburg, a small adjacent village, came in company with the Loudon county militia, to invite the presence of the nation's guest at an entertainment prepared for him. The president, ex-president, and chief justice of the United States, accompanied him, and received their share of popular attention; but it was easy to perceive that this homage was inspired by the veneration of their virtues, rather than by any titles which they possessed.

After the Leesburg and Loudon county festivals we took leave of Mr. Monroe to return to Washington. Wishing to make the journey in a single day, we set out very early, but

soon had cause to repent of this arrangement; about two o'clock the heat became so oppressive, that one of Mr. Adams's horses was struck down by apoplexy. The driver in vain attempted to save its life by copious blood-letting, and in a few minutes the animal expired in the ditch where it had fallen. As soon as the accident happened, we all alighted to help the horse, but finding him dead, we took seats on the grass until a waiter went to the nearest village for another horse. Travellers were passing us continually, and cast inquisitive glances upon our group, without once suspecting the presence of the first magistrate of the republic, or that of the adopted son of a great nation. Having procured another horse, we resumed our journey, but the delay caused by this accident prevented our arrival at Washington until long after sunset, which prevented us visiting the falls of Potomac, near to where we crossed the river. Although these falls are of slight elevation, their effect is said to be very fine.

A few days afterwards we again left the capital to make a last tour in Virginia. On this occasion we visited Albemarle, Culpepper, Fauquier, Warrenton and Buckland. Although in all these towns the progress of Lafayette was marked by popular festivals, he could not avoid feeling pained by the recollection that in a few days he was about to leave, perhaps for ever, a country which contained so many objects of his affection. At Albemarle we were rejoined by Mr. Monroe, whom we now found invested with a new public character. Faithful to the doctrine that a citizen should always be entirely at the service of his country, he did not think that his title of late president of the republic withheld him from being useful to his countrymen; and he had therefore accepted the office of justice of the peace, to which he had been elected by the confidence and suffrages of the people of his county. Mr. Madison had also left his retreat and rejoined us on the road to Monticello, whither the general went to take leave of his old friend Jefferson, whose enfeebled health kept him at present in a state of painful inaction. The meeting at Monticello, of three men, who, by their successive elevation to the supreme magistracy of the state, had given to their country twenty-four years of prosperity and glory, and who still offered it the example of private virtues; was a suffi-

ciently strong inducement to make us wish to stay there a longer time; but indispensable duties recalled General Lafayette to Washington, and he was obliged to take leave of his friends. I shall not attempt to depict the sadness which prevailed at this cruel separation, which had none of the alleviation which is usually left by youth, for in this instance, the individuals who bade farewell, had all passed through a long career, and the immensity of the ocean would still add to the difficulties of a reunion.

One of Mr. Adams's first cares on attaining the head of the administration had been to decide General Lafayette to accept the use of a public ship for his return to France. This vessel, built in Washington navy yard, was launched about the end of June, and was to be ready for sea by the beginning of September, the time fixed upon by General Lafayette for his departure. "It is customary," Mr. Adams wrote to him, "to designate our frigates by the names of rivers of the United States; to conform to this custom, and make it accord with the desire we have to perpetuate a name that recalls that glorious event of our revolutionary war, in which you sealed with your blood your devotion to our principles, we have given the name of Brandywine to the new frigate, to which we confide the honourable mission of returning you to the wishes of your country and family. The command of the Brandywine will be entrusted to one of the most distinguished officers of our navy, Captain CHARLES MORRIS, who has orders to land you under the protection of our flag, in whatever European port you please to designate."

This invitation was too honourable, and made with too much delicacy, to be for an instant refused by General Lafayette; therefore he hastened to return to Washington to express his gratitude to the president, and concert with Captain Morris the day of sailing, which was settled for the 7th of September. When this determination became known, a great number of persons thronged from the neighbouring cities to take a last farewell of the nation's guest; and all the constituted authorities of the capital determined to take a solemn leave of him. From this time to the day of our embarkation the general devoted his whole time to the duties of friendship, and in answering to the invitations of

various cities, which, for want of time and on account of their distance, he had been unable to visit.

The fame of Bolivar's exploits in combating for the liberty and independence of the South American republics, at this time resounded through the United States, whose citizens applauded with transport his republican patriotism, which then was free from all suspicion. Mr. Custis, the adopted son of Washington, whose ardent spirit is ever ready to sympathise with all that is great and generous, conceived the thought of presenting to the Liberator, as a testimonial of his admiration, a fine portrait of General Washington, and a medal of pure gold, which had been decreed to the great citizen by the American nation, at the festival of independence. He thought that these presents, although sufficiently precious on account of their origin, would acquire a still greater value by passing through the hands of the veteran of liberty in the two worlds, and General Lafayette consented with pleasure to the request made him to be the organ of communication. On the 2d of September these presents were placed in the hands of M. Villenilla, member of the Colombian Legation, with a letter for Bolivar, from Lafayette.

On the 6th of September, the anniversary of Lafayette's birth, the president gave a grand dinner, to which all the public officers, and numerous distinguished persons then in Washington, were invited. The company had already assembled and were about to sit down to table, when the arrival of a deputation from the city of New York was announced, which came to present to General Lafayette, on behalf of the city council, a book containing an account of all the transactions and events occurring during his stay in that city. This magnificent volume, removed from its case, and exhibited to the company, excited general admiration. It is in fact a masterpiece that may be compared with the most beautiful and rich of those manuscripts which formed the glory and reputation of libraries before the discovery of printing. It contained fifty pages, each ornamented with vignettes designed and painted with the greatest skill; views and portraits perfectly executed, completed this work, of which the writing was done by Mr. Bragg, and the paintings by Messrs. Burton, Inman, and Cummings. The view of the Capitol at Washington, of the City Hall of

New York, and the portraits of Washington, Lafayette, and Hamilton, left nothing to be desired; and in order that this beautiful work should be altogether national, it was upon American paper, and bound by Mr. Foster of New York with admirable richness and elegance.

General Lafayette gratefully accepted this fine present, to which the president and his cabinet gave additional value by placing their signatures in it. Although a large company partook of this dinner, and it was intended to celebrate Lafayette's birth-day, it was very serious, I may say, almost sad. We were all too much pre-occupied by the approaching journey to be joyous: we already felt, by anticipation, the sorrowfulness of separation. Towards the conclusion of the repast, the president, contrary to diplomatic custom, which forbids toasts at his table, arose and proposed the following: "To the 22<sup>d</sup> of February and 6<sup>th</sup> of September, birthdays of Washington and Lafayette." Profoundly affected to find his name thus associated with Washington, the general expressed his thanks to the president, and gave this toast, "To the fourth of July, the birth-day of liberty in both hemispheres."

At last the day which we ardently wished for, and whose approach, however, filled us with profound sadness, the day which would begin to convey us towards our country, but must, at the same time, separate us from a nation which had so many claims to our admiration and affection, the day of our departure, the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, dawned radiantly. The workshops were deserted, the stores were left unopened, and the people crowded around the president's mansion, while the militia were drawn up in a line on the road the nation's guest was to move to the shore. The municipality collected about the general to offer him the last homage and regrets of their fellow citizens.

At eleven o'clock he left his apartment, slowly passed through the crowd which silently pressed after him, and entered the principal vestibule of the presidential dwelling, where the president, surrounded by his cabinet, various public officers, and principal citizens, had waited for him a few minutes. He took his place in the centre of the circle which was formed on his approach; the doors were open, in order that the people who were assembled with-

out might observe what took place, and the slight murmur of regrets which were heard at first among the crowd, was succeeded by a solemn and profound silence ; the president, then visibly agitated by emotion, addressed him as follows, in the name of the American nation and government :—

“GENERAL LAFAYETTE—It has been the good fortune of many of my distinguished fellow-citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task now devolves upon me, on bidding you, in the name of the nation, adieu.

“It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous, to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life—incidents which associated your name, fortunes and reputation, in imperishable connection with the independence and history of the North American Union.

“The part which you performed at that important juncture was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the *authentic* records of human history.

“You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and the privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

“That this choice was not less wise than magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all unable to express the gratitude of the heart with which your visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed, afford ample demonstration.

“When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

“Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom, and with whom you had fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits ; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spread-



ing in population ; enlarging in territory ; acting and suffering according to the condition of their nature ; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and, we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

“ In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils ; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the exception of a few, to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places ; and their children’s children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them and in their cause to conquer or to fall.

“ The universal prevalence of these sentiments was signally manifested by a resolution of congress, representing the whole people, and all the states of this Union, requesting the president of the United States to communicate to you the assurances of grateful and affectionate attachment of this government and people, and desiring that a national ship might be employed, at your convenience, for your passage to the borders of your country.

“ The invitation was transmitted to you by my venerable predecessor ; himself bound to you by the strongest ties of personal friendship, himself one of those whom the highest honours of his country had rewarded for blood early shed in her cause, and for a long life of devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say, that it has been, to the people of the Union, a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four states of this great confederacy : You have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companions in arms : You have been hailed as a long absent parent by their children, the men and women of the present age : And a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard

the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at your approach ; and the shouts of unbidden thousands, which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters, from every corner of our land.

“ You are now about to return to the country of your birth, of your ancestors, of your posterity. The executive government of the Union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our independence.

“ The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

“ Go, then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valour ; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the fourth Henry ; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D’Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of Lafayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame ; for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love, stronger than death,

which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

“At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections; and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the mean time, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell.”

An approving murmur drowned the last words of Mr. Adams, and proved how deeply the auditors sympathised with the noble sentiments he had expressed in favour of France, and her children whose whole life and recent triumph would add still more to his glory and exaltation. General Lafayette, deeply affected with what he heard, was obliged to pause a few moments before he was able to reply. At last, however, after having made an effort to regain his voice, he thus expressed himself:

“Amidst all my obligations to the general government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to present the people of the United States with a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible gratitude.

“To have been, in the infant and critical days of these states, adopted by them as a favourite son, to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already pervaded this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere, to have received at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

“But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of public

affection, which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelve-months' progress through the twenty-four states, and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favours bestowed on me by the several branches of their representatives, in every part and at the central seat of the confederacy?

“ Yet, gratifications still higher await me ; in the wonders of creation and improvement that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private, in a practice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognise a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of that union between the states, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every where more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

“ And now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feelings for the assurances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem and friendship, for your so very kind references to old times, to my beloved associates, to the vicissitudes of my life, for your affecting picture of the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people on the remaining days of a delighted veteran, for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour of separation, on the country of my birth, full, I can say, of American sympathies, on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing again the country that has designed, near a half century ago, to call me hers ? I shall content myself, refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, before you, sir, and this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial confirmation of every one of the sentiments which I have had daily opportunities publicly to utter, from the time when your venerable predecessor, my

old brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me the honourable invitation of congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, whose friendly connection with me dates from your earliest youth, are going to consign me to the protection, across the Atlantic, of the heroic national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name of which has been not the least flattering and kind among the numberless favours conferred upon me.

“God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat.”

In pronouncing these last words, General Lafayette felt his emotion to be rapidly increasing, and threw himself into the arms of the president, who mingled his tears with those of the national guest, in repeating those heart-rending words, Adieu! Adieu! The spectators, overcome by the same feelings, also shed tears and surrounded their friend, once more to take him by the hand. To abridge this scene, which could not be suffered much longer, the general retired for a short time into his own apartment, where Mrs. Adams surrounded by her daughters and nieces came to express their wishes and regrets. On the evening before, this lady, whose cultivated mind and amenity of character had greatly contributed to the pleasure of our visit to the president's house, had presented him with a fine bust of her husband, and had added to this present a copy of verses in French, whose charm and elegance proved that this was not the first occasion in which her muse had spoken in our language.

Detained as if by a magic spell, General Lafayette could not make up his mind to leave his friends; a thousand pretexts seemed to retard the definitive moment of separation, but at last the first of the twenty-four guns, which announced his departure, having been heard, he again threw himself into Mr. Adams's arms, expressed to him his last good wishes for the American nation, and retired to his carriage. The president repeated the signal of adieu from the top of the steps, and at this sign the colours of the troops which were drawn up before the president's house were bowed to the earth.

Accompanied by the secretaries of state, treasury, and navy, the general proceeded to the banks of the Potomac,

where the steam-boat Mount Vernon was waiting for him. On a level above the river, were all the militia of Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington, drawn up in solid columns, waiting to defile before the general. In advance of the troops were the magistrates of the three cities, at the head of their fellow citizens, to whom numbers of strangers had joined themselves. When the general arrived at a point from whence he could embrace this scene at a glance, the family of General Washington and the principal officers of government, ranged themselves around him, when all the different masses of men who had hitherto been so motionless, moved on to the sound of artillery, and advanced melancholy and silent to receive his last adieu. When the different corps had passed, the general took leave of all the friends that surrounded him, and went on board of the Mount Vernon, with the secretary of the navy and those officers of government who were to accompany him on board of the Brandywine.

During this time, the innumerable crowd which lined the shores of the Potomac for a great distance, governed by a painful feeling of sorrow produced by his departure, remained in the most profound silence; but when the steam-boat had pushed off with the object of their affections, they gave vent to a mournful cry, which, repeated from echo to echo, was finally mingled with the deep sound of the artillery of fort Washington. A few moments afterwards we passed Alexandria, and the general received the same marks of regret from the population of that city. But it was when he came in view of Mount Vernon, that he felt most deeply affected, and experienced the great sacrifice he made to his country in leaving the American soil, that hospitable land, where every step he made was accompanied with heartfelt recollections.

In a few hours we reached the Brandywine, which was anchored at the mouth of the Potomac, where she only awaited our arrival to set sail. The general was received on board with the greatest honours, the yards were manned, the gunners at their posts, and the marines drawn up on deck. Of the whole company that had attended us from Washington, the secretary of the navy, Mr. Southard, alone went on board the Brandywine with the general, to present and recommend him to the care of Commodore Morris in

the name of the American nation and its government. We had experienced so many marks of kindness from Mr. Southard, that it was with real grief that we took leave of him. As soon as he had received our last farewells, he returned on board the Mount Vernon, and our commander gave orders to weigh anchor; but at this moment another steam-boat appeared in sight, which apparently wished to speak us; we soon recognised her as the Constitution, which had arrived from Baltimore, carrying a great number of the inhabitants of that city, who desired once more to see General Lafayette, and to express to him the good wishes of their fellow-citizens, as well as their own. We experienced great pleasure in observing among them a majority of those with whom we were most intimate in our different visits to Baltimore. Their presence, at this time, in recalling to our minds the happy time we spent with them, made us forget, for a moment, that we had already left the American soil, perhaps for ever, and our illusion was prolonged until the evening gun announced that all communication between us must cease.

The night was now too far advanced to get under sail, and Commodore Morris waited till next day to weigh anchor. It was the 8th of December we entered the Chesapeake under full sail, traversing the centre of a brilliant rainbow, one of whose limbs appeared to rest on the Maryland shore, and the other on that of Virginia. Thus the same sign that appeared in the heavens on the day on which Lafayette landed on the American soil, also appeared when he left it, as if nature had reserved to herself the erection of the first and the last of the numerous triumphal arches dedicated to him during his extraordinary journey.\*

The wind blowing brisk and favourable, we soon passed the capes of Virginia, and were in a short time out at sea. It was then only that our captain, disengaged from the care

\* The day of our arrival at Staten Island, whilst the general was receiving the congratulations of the people, from the balcony of the vice president's house, a rainbow, one of whose limbs enveloped and tinged fort Lafayette with a thousand colours, appeared; the multitude, struck with the beauty and opportuneness of this circumstance, exclaimed, "that heaven was in unison with America in celebrating the happy arrival of the friend of the country."

a difficult navigation near the shore always induces, made us more particularly acquainted with his officers and our new abode. From the character of the former and commodious arrangement of the latter, it was readily perceived that the American government had neglected nothing that could contribute to the safety or comfort of Lafayette's return to his own country. The captain announced to the general, that the last instructions he had received from the president, was to put himself entirely at the general's disposal, and to conduct him to any part of Europe that he might designate, and to land him under the protection of the American flag; hence, that he must from that moment consider himself as absolute master, and to be assured that his orders would be executed with the greatest readiness. The general was deeply affected but not surprised at this fresh instance of kindness in the American government, and declared to the captain, that the only use he should make of these honourable prerogatives would be a passage to Havre. Two motives, added he, make me desirous of re-entering France by that city; my family will be there to receive me, and my heart feels a strong desire to present myself, in the first instance, to those who received my farewell with such kindness, when I last year left my country.

The wind blew so violently, that in forty-eight hours from our leaving Chesapeake bay, we were in the Gulf stream, whose waves, opposed by the wind, made us experience all the agonies of rolling and pitching horribly combined. Added to the sea-sickness which attacked nearly all of us, another source of anxiety arose. The frigate leaked without it being discovered at what place; the pumps, in spite of their constant employment, could not keep the vessel clear, and some persons already regretted we were so far from the land, but our captain and his crew were not to be intimidated so easily. After a close examination of our situation, Captain Morris was of opinion that the vessel was too deep in the water, and should be lighted; he therefore had 32,000 weight of iron, part of his ballast, thrown overboard. This operation, which was performed in a few hours, remedied every inconvenience. The frigate being lighter was in better trim, and in rising some inches more above the surface of the water, discovered the leak, which was just under the water-mark: from this moment the dan-



ger, which had never been serious, entirely disappeared, and our voyage was accomplished without the slightest anxiety.

As the president had told the general, in offering him the use of the Brandywine to carry him to France, we had for commander one of the most distinguished officers in the American navy. During his youth, Captain Morris had distinguished himself in several engagements before Algiers, under the command of Commodore Rogers. At a later period, during the last war with Great Britain, he had added to his reputation, from his skill in manœuvring his vessel, in the presence of an overwhelming force; and his comrades generally attributed to him a great part of the glory of the victory of the Constitution over the Guerriere, who, proud of her formidable artillery and the experience of her numerous crew, had sent a challenge to any American vessel, that had the courage to meet her, and seemed to wait with impatience for some one to accept her defiance, when the Constitution appeared and soon made her repent of her presumption.

The officers who served under the orders of Captain Morris, on board of the Brandywine, had also distinguished themselves in the last war, and each could boast of having added to the glory of the American navy, by his own gallant deeds. I regret that I cannot record all their names, and some of the actions by which they merited the gratitude of their country, and the esteem of their fellow-citizens; but such details would lead me far beyond all due bounds, and I hope that my silence will be taken rather as a proof of my incapacity to act as their historian, than as a proof of my indifference to men, whose society was so delightful to us, during a voyage which would have appeared very short, if we had not been returning to our own country.

The government of the United States has no theoretical school for her marine officers, but each national vessel, when going on service, receives on board a certain number of midshipmen, and thus forms a practical school at little expense as to money, and attended with the happiest results. When it was rumoured, that the Brandywine was destined to conduct Lafayette back to France, all those parents who intended their children for the navy, were ambitious to obtain them a birth on board of this frigate, and the

president found himself beset with petitions from all parts of the Union. Not being able to satisfy all, but at the same time wishing to amalgamate, as much as possible, private interests with public good, he decided that each state should be represented by a midshipman, and hence the Brandywine had on board twenty-four, instead of eight or ten, as is usual in vessels of her size. It was gratifying to the general, thus to find himself surrounded by these young representatives of the republics he had visited with so much pleasure, not only as their presence recalled spots he loved, but also as some of them, being sons of old revolutionary soldiers, gave him an opportunity of speaking of his former companions in arms; and the young men, on their part, proud of the mission they were engaged in, endeavoured to render themselves worthy of it, by strict attention to study, and the performance of their duties. The paternal friendship testified towards them by the general, during the voyage, so completely gained their affection, that they could not separate from him without shedding tears. They begged that he would permit them, to offer him a durable mark of their filial attachment, that would also recall to his mind the days passed with them on board the Brandywine.\*

The wind continued strong during the whole passage, but was very variable, thus rendering our voyage unpleasant. Nevertheless, in spite of their inconstancy, Captain Morris found means to make us advance rapidly; and on the 3d of October we arrived in sight of the coast of Havre, in twenty-four days after leaving the Chesapeake. This passage ought to be considered as very short, particularly when it is considered that it was our vessel's first voyage, and consequently that she required to be studied with greater care by those who navigated her.

\* This present, which was received by General Lafayette a short time after his arrival at Paris, is a silver urn, of an antique form and beautifully engraved. It rests on a base of the same metal, three of the faces of which are ornamented with exquisite sculpures, representing the capitol at Washington; the visit of Lafayette to the tomb of Washington, and the arrival of the Brandywine at Havre. On the fourth face is inscribed, in relief, the offering of the young midshipmen to their paternal friend. This magnificent work was executed at Paris, under the direction of Mr. Barnet, the American consul, who replied to the confidence of the young seamen, with that zeal which he always displays, in every thing relating to the glory of his country, or the interests of his fellow-citizens.

I will not speak of the feelings that agitated us at the sight of our country. There are few who have not experienced them on again seeing their native land, even after a short absence; and to those who have never known the torments of absence, or the sweet emotions of a return, I fear that my words would appear exaggerated or ridiculous.

As there was a great swell, and the wind variable, the captain would not hazard the frigate by approaching too near land in the night; he therefore sent one of his officers to Havre for a pilot, and stood off and on until his return. About midnight, a fishing boat boarded us, and brought letters, by which we learnt, that a great part of General Lafayette's family, and numbers of his friends, among whom was my father, had waited for us at Havre for several days, and would join us in a few hours.

It may be readily supposed, that such news kept us awake all night, expecting with impatience the return of day, to restore us to our friends, our families, and our country. At six o'clock, the pilot being on board, he cautiously guided the vessel towards Havre, which we saw gradually becoming more visible on the horizon. At three o'clock we anchored, from the impossibility of approaching nearer without danger in a vessel the size of our frigate. Captain Morris then fired a salute of twenty-four guns, which was answered from the fort a few moments afterwards. At 11 o'clock, a steam-boat having boarded us, we experienced the happiness of seeing our friends.

We also received on board some citizens of Havre, among whom was M. de Laroche, who begged the general to accept of lodgings in his house, as long as he should remain in the city. Mr. Beasley, American consul at Havre, was also among our visitors. Our captain and his officers received them with distinction, and showed them every part of the frigate, whose beautiful proportions and admirable order excited their admiration.

But the time rapidly passed, and the moment of separation from our fellow passengers arrived. It would be difficult to portray the expression of grief and regret that was observable on the faces of all on board, when they advanced for the last time to bid farewell to him whom they had so proudly conducted across the ocean. The officers surrounded him for a long time, not being able to permit him

to depart. Their first lieutenant, Mr. Gregory, who had been commissioned by them to express their sentiments, experienced so much emotion, that his voice faltered in pronouncing the first words; but, as if suddenly inspired, the young seaman sprung towards the national flag which floated at the stern of the vessel, rapidly detached it, and presented it to the general, exclaiming, "We cannot confide it to more glorious keeping! Take it, dear general, may it for ever recall to you your alliance with the American nation; may it also sometimes recall to your recollection those who will never forget the happiness they enjoyed of passing twenty-four days with you on board of the *Brandywine*; and in being displayed twice a year on the towers of your hospitable dwelling, may it recall to your neighbours the anniversary of two great epochs, whose influence on the whole world is incalculable;—the birth of Washington and the declaration of the independence of our country."

"I accept it with gratitude," replied the general, "and I hope that, displayed from the most prominent part of my house at La Grange, it will always testify to all who may see it, the kindness of the American nation towards its adopted and devoted son. And I also hope, that when you or your fellow countrymen visit me, it will tell you, that at La Grange you are not on a foreign soil."

At this moment, the noise of cannon and the huzzas of the sailors on the yards, prevented any further adieus, and we went on board the steam-boat, whence we saw the *Brandywine* spread her sails, and leave us with the majesty of a floating fortress.

Captain Morris, who was to accompany the general to Paris; Captain Reed, a distinguished officer of the American navy, charged with a scientific mission to Europe by his government; and Mr. Somerville, envoy from the United States to the court of Sweden, left the *Brandywine* with us; and this vessel, under the command of Lieutenant Gregory, sailed for the Mediterranean, to reinforce the squadron there.

On his landing, General Lafayette perceived that the sentiments expressed towards him by the citizens of Havre, at his departure, had not changed, and he was much affected at their warmth. As to the administration, it was what it

ought to have been the preceding year, that is, it permitted a free expression of public opinion, so that in his passage from the quay to Mr. de Laroche's, the general had not the grief of seeing his friends menaced by the sabres of the gens d'armes, or humiliated by the presence of foreign troops.

General Lafayette ardently desired to see such of his children as could not come to meet him, and waited for him at La Grange, and he therefore decided on leaving Havre the day after his arrival. His son embarked on the Seine with his family and friends, to proceed to Rouen, where he would wait for him, whilst, accompanied by Captain Morris and the author of this journal, he went by land. On leaving the suburb, his carriage was surrounded by a large cavalcade of young men, who asked permission to accompany him to some distance. After an hour's march, the general stopped to thank his escort, who did not separate from him until they had expressed the most flattering sentiments, through their young leader, Mr. Etesse, to whom his fellow citizens had also this day given a proof of their esteem and friendship in placing themselves under his orders.

On arriving at Rouen, we stopped at M. Cabanon's, a worthy merchant, who has always been charged with the interests of his department in the chamber of deputies, whenever his fellow citizens have been unshackled in their choice. As an old friend and colleague of the general, he had insisted on his right of receiving at his table the guest of America, and had prepared him the pleasure of once more being seated with his family and a great number of the most distinguished citizens of the ancient capital of Normandy. Towards the end of the dinner, some one came to announce to the general that a crowd of persons in the street, accompanied by a band of musicians, wished to salute him. He eagerly went out on the balcony to reply to this mark of esteem from the population of Rouen, but scarcely were the first acclamations heard, when detachments of the royal guard and gens d'armes appeared from the extremities of the street, who, without any previous notice, began to disperse the crowd. The moderation with which the royal guard executed the orders they had received from an imprudent and blind administration,

proved how repugnant they were to them, but the gens d'armes, anxious to prove themselves the worthy instruments of the power that employed them, *bravely* charged on the unarmed citizens, and were not to be checked by the cries of the women and children overthrown by the horses. A manufacturer of Bolbec, an elderly man of Rouen, and several other persons, were severely wounded. Many others were illegally and brutally arrested. After these glorious exploits, the gens d'armes, being conquerors, waited for the appearance of General Lafayette, and, sabre in hand, accompanied the carriage to the hotel where we were to spend the night. But here their success was checked; young men stationed at the door forbid all entrance into this asylum, where many of those who were obliged to fly had taken refuge, and where General Lafayette could receive, in peace, the feeling and honourable congratulations of those citizens who wished, in spite of the interdict of those in authority, to testify the satisfaction they felt at the return of a man, who by the triumphs decreed to him by a free nation had so much added to the glory of the French name.

This atrocious conduct of the magistrates and their servile instruments afflicted us the more, from having a few days previous enjoyed the free expression of the feelings and enthusiasm of the American people, and which in spite of ourselves forced a comparison that was far from being favourable to our own country. The presence of Captain Morris and some of his countrymen who had accompanied him to Paris, added still more to our sorrow and embarrassment. We seemed to read in their stern expression, the feelings they experienced in seeing a people once so energetic in the cause of liberty, now timidly submitting to the despotism of bayonets. As soon as I found an opportunity of speaking to them for a moment, I hastened to tell them that they must not confound prudence and moderation with weakness, which was here only so in appearance. That, in this instance, the citizens could not have supposed that the local authorities would have been foolish enough to oppose the expression of sentiments so inoffensive and natural, and consequently no one had thought of making preparations for a resistance, whose necessity had not been foreseen. Some young men who were near us overhearing

this conversation, added with warmth, "we hope our moderation will not be misinterpreted by those who know us, and that they will understand that we only submitted to be thus driven back by some gens d'armes, because we wished to spare our friend General Lafayette the chagrin of being the cause of a greater disturbance." The American officers applauded the courage and delicacy of this feeling, and comprehended that under other circumstances, the triumph of the police and its gens d'armes over the citizens of Rouen would not be so easy.

The next morning, October 8th, the court of the hotel was filled by young men on horseback, intended as an escort to the general as far as the first post-house. Their countenances, and some words I overheard, proved to me that they were full of the scene of the evening before, and were firmly resolved that it should not be renewed with impunity. The posts of the infantry and gens d'armes had been doubled during the night, as if the day was to be productive of great events; but the magistracy confined itself to those ridiculous demonstrations, and General Lafayette left the city in peace, receiving on his way numerous testimonials of the good wishes of the citizens.

At the end of the suburb, the escort was augmented by more young horsemen, who accompanied him to the first relay of horses, where they took leave of him, after having presented him with a crown of "Immortelles," which was laid in his carriage on the sword given him by the New York militia.

That evening we slept at St. Germain-en-Laye, and the next day, October 9th, we arrived at La Grange, where, for the three last days, the neighbouring districts had been occupied in preparations for a fete on the arrival of one so long and ardently looked for.

At a certain distance from the house, the carriage stopped; and the general on descending from it, found himself in the midst of a crowd, whose transports and joy would have deceived a stranger, and led him to suppose that they were all his children. The house was filled until evening, by the crowd, who only retired after having conducted the general, by the light of illuminations and to the sound of music, under a triumphal arch, bearing an inscription, in which they had dedicated to him the title of "friend of the

people." There he again received the expressions of joy and happiness induced by his return.

The next day, the general was occupied in receiving the young girls who brought him flowers and chaunted couplets in his honour, the company of the national guard of Court Palais, and a deputation from the town of Rosay. The inhabitants of the commune in offering a box of flowers to their friend, congratulated him on his arrival through their leader M. Fricotelle.

The following Sunday, the inhabitants of Rosay and its environs gave the general a brilliant fete, the expenses of which were defrayed by common subscription. The preparations which had required several days' labour, were the work of the citizens, who did not wish to be aided by any mercenary hands. At five o'clock in the evening, more than four thousand persons, many of whom had arrived from a distance of some leagues, filled the apartments and courts of La Grange, to salute him, whom all voices hailed as the friend of the people. At seven o'clock, a troop of young girls marching at the head of the population of Rosay, presented a basket of flowers to the general, and chaunted some simple and touching couplets; after which Mr. Vigne pronounced in the name of the canton a discourse filled with noble sentiments. After the general's reply, which was received with transports of joy, he was conducted in triumph to the meadow, where an elegant tent had been erected for him and his family. Illuminations artfully disposed, fire-works prepared by Ruggieri, animated dances, a great number of booths of all kinds, and a population of upwards of six thousand persons, all contributed to recall to Lafayette some of the brilliant scenes of his American triumph; and with the more truth, since he found so much conformity in the feelings which dictated both.

The dancing lasted all night; the cries of "long live the people's friend" were to be heard until the next day, when Lafayette, once more in the bosom of his family, enjoyed that happiness and calm which only result from the recollection of a well spent life.

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THE END.



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