

EXCURSIONS
IN
NORTH AMERICA,

DESCRIBED IN LETTERS
FROM A GENTLEMAN

AND HIS
YOUNG COMPANION,
TO THEIR FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

By PRISCILLA WAKEFIELD,
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P R E F A C E.



THE variety of natural productions in North America, both animal and vegetable, and the connexion it formerly had with this country, give it a peculiar claim to the notice of British youth; a consideration that has induced the author to attempt a general description of it, in the form of a tour, adapted to the taste and capacity of young readers.

When the difficulty of selecting from such a fund of materials is considered, she trusts she shall obtain the same indulgence she has been favoured with on former occasions. She considers it a sanction to the work to acknowledge, that the chief sources of her information have been derived from
Jefferson,

Jefferson, Weld, Rochefoucault, Bartram, Michaux, Carver, Mackenzie, and Hearn.

The curious and original information contained in the letter concerning the war with the Indians, was communicated by an Indian chief, and will, doubtless, be esteemed a valuable addition; as it is completely authentic, and is conveyed in the expressive language of the Indian tribes.

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EXCURSIONS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

AFTER Mrs. Middleton had concluded the tour of the British Empire, she laid a plan for the completion of her children's education, adapted to the situations she intended for them.

Arthur had always shown a disposition for an active life, and a desire for novelty, which inclined her to accept the offer of a friend, to procure for him a writer's place in the East Indies; but several circumstances combined at the same time to unsettle his mind, and excite an eagerness to undertake a voyage to America, much earlier than she approved of his abandoning his studies, or being released from the parental care of Mr. Franklin. In the hours of relaxation, both Arthur and Edwin were indulged with a variety of books, calculated at once to instruct and entertain: amongst these, none delighted Arthur so
B much

much as travels, and the description of foreign countries, which he read with the greatest avidity, always placing himself, in idea, in the situation of the hero of the tale, and declaring that, as soon as he should have the direction of himself, he would make a voyage round the world. It happened that Robertson's History of America, amongst others, fell into his hands, which, though he was shocked at the barbarities inflicted on the natives, interested him extremely, and made him earnestly wish to see a country, that had been the scene of such extraordinary exploits; and where the rivers, the mountains, and forests, are upon a grander scale than those in Europe. This work inflamed him with curiosity to visit the Indian nations that inhabit the interior of that extensive continent: he longed to see their warriors, and partake with them the pursuits of the chase.

Whilst these wishes engaged his attention, Mr. Henry Franklin arrived in England, and having been unaccustomed to the confinement of domestic life, and free from all connexions but his brother, had no inclination to sit down inactively at home. Soon after his return, a proposal was made to him by a nobleman of high rank, to explore North America, with a view to procure authentic information concerning the customs of the natives, as well as those of the European settlers; the productions of the soil, the animals, the face of the country, and in short, every thing that could contribute

contribute to a complete description of that vast portion of the terraqueous globe. This was an undertaking for which he was particularly qualified by his natural endowments, habits, and acquired knowledge. His understanding was clear, his constitution strong, his courage undismayed, his pursuit of knowledge insatiable, and he was in the prime of life. He had read a great deal, travelled much, and observed accurately what he had seen. With a mind so enriched, and a disposition congenial to the task, he was the man peculiarly adapted to his patron's design. The offer was no sooner made than accepted; for how could he refuse a scheme so agreeable to his taste. During the short time that was necessary to arrange his private affairs, he was a frequent visitor at Mrs. Middleton's, where the conversation generally turned upon his voyage, or some circumstance relative to it. Arthur always listened attentively to this subject, would often bring the map, and request him to trace his intended route; his eyes sparkling with pleasure whilst he mentioned different objects likely to occur in various parts of the country.

His desire to accompany his friend at length became so ardent, that Mrs. Middleton changed her views for him, and yielded to his inclination; a measure in which she more easily concurred, from the high confidence she placed in the character and conduct of Mr. Franklin. Her consent once

obtained, Arthur's joy was excessive; he could speak on no other topic but his journey: sleeping or waking, his mind was full of the same images, and in his dreams he was continually accompanied by Indians, or people in grotesque habits, pursuing some wild animal through the pathless deserts.

Every preparation being adjusted, and the vessel in which they were to embark ready to sail, an affecting parting took place between Mrs. Middleton and her son, with many injunctions from her, and entreaties from his sisters and brother to write regularly an account of whatever occurred to him, whether he was situated where his letters could be conveyed by mails to England, or not; as an unbroken chain of events might thus be preserved, which might be sent to them in packets, as opportunity offered. Mr. Henry Franklin made a similar promise to his brother, and the moment of separation being arrived, after affectionate embraces on all sides, Mr. Henry Franklin conducted his young charge on board the vessel, destined to convey them across the Atlantic to America.

The confinement of the ship, the want of variety, each succeeding day being nearly like that which went before it, with the delay of expectation, rendered the voyage insufferably tedious to Arthur; and never were his ears more agreeably struck, than with the sailors cry, of "land, land," as the shores of the Delaware were first perceived,
like

like a small blue cloud at the edge of the horizon.

As they drew nearer, the tops of trees became visible, and resembled small islands; till, by degrees, the majestic forest was seen clothing the shores to the brink of the water.

Arthur would gladly have been put on shore, but the captain dared not infringe a law, (enacted on account of the dreadful pestilence, that raged in Philadelphia in 1793, and has so often desolated it since,) that no person shall leave any ship till it has been examined by the officer of health.

Having surmounted all delays, they at length put their feet on that vast continent, which was not known in Europe, till 1497, when it was discovered by Americus Vesputius, and presently entered Philadelphia, the ancient capital of the United States, with emotions of curiosity and interest, scarcely to be described.

The captain conducted them to a tavern, as all inns are called in this country, where they refreshed themselves with repose, change of linen, &c. A day or two's experience convinced Mr. Franklin, that as he intended to pass some time in this city, a more comfortable and settled habitation was necessary. The master of the inn recommended him to a respectable widow, who kept a boarding-house for strangers, where he was agreeably sup-

plied with apartments, and every other convenience.

Before he extended his views to any other part of the country, his first care was to see every thing worth notice in Philadelphia, which he did with the best directed attention, as will appear by the letters transmitted to England.

LETTER I.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Philadelphia.

DEAR BROTHER,

MY sisters must consider my letters as addressed to them as well as to you, for I cannot repeat the same things three times over; and I must make each of you participate with me in every adventure, whether prosperous or unfortunate.

Behold me at last arrived in this great city, hitherto the capital of the United States, though the new city of Washington is to be the metropolis of the empire.

The capacious bay at the mouth of the river Delaware, on which Philadelphia stands, is bounded on the north-west by the province of New Jersey, and that of Delaware on the opposite side. The shores,

shores, both of the bay and the river, are low, and covered with forests, except in a few places, where they are supplanted by extensive marshes. Nearer to Philadelphia the shores became more elevated, and, on the Delaware side especially, are enlivened with numberless neat farm-houses, towns, and villages.

At a distance, the city makes a noble appearance; but the confused heap of wooden store-houses and wharfs, that jut out into the river, gave me a mean opinion of it, on our first approach, which was not improved by the dirt and narrowness of Water-street, through which we passed to our inn. The mention of the inn brings to my recollection my surprise, at being shown into a room already occupied by all the other guests in the house. Mr. Franklin ordered a private apartment, but none was to be had. At night it was far more disagreeable, for we were obliged to sleep in a chamber furnished with five or six beds, and filled with people whose faces we had never seen before. I was so fatigued, that I forgot the whole matter in five minutes; but Mr. Franklin remonstrated with the master of the house, on the impropriety of huddling strangers together in that manner; but without any effect, for he had no idea of such refinement, and said, that it was the custom of the country, to which travellers must submit.

The city is built according to a most beautiful

and regular design, with the streets intersecting each other at right angles, as we are told many other American towns are. At the point where the two principal streets cross each other, is erected a marble rotunda, to receive and distribute the waters of the Schuylkill, which is raised by machinery to a level of thirty or forty feet above the highest ground in the city, by pipes, as it is in London. The principal street is one hundred feet wide, the others vary from eighty to fifty: they are all paved with pebbles, having path-ways of red brick, with pumps on each of them, at a little distance from each other, and lamps fixed on the top of them. Most of the houses are likewise built with brick, some few of wood; and those most remarkable for their elegance are ornamented with a particular species of pale-blue marble, as are many of the public structures, which are also generally brick.

The State-house is handsome: the legislative bodies hold their meetings in it; adjoining to it, are the congress and city halls. The first was used by the congress of the United States, before they held their assemblies at Washington: the senate chamber is handsomely fitted up, but the apartment designed for the representatives of the lower house is entirely plain, and easy of access to every one who chooses to enter it, as the gallery leading to it is open to the street.

The president's house is constructed in a whimsical

sical manner, from the interference of a committee, which was appointed to superintend the building. These wise architects, from the spirit of improvement, reversed the stories; so that the pilasters which should have supported the upper apartments, seem to be suspended in the air.

The places of worship are numerous, and of all kinds; every religion being tolerated in this country. The church belonging to the Presbyterians is one of the handsomest, being decorated with a portico, supported by six Corinthian pillars. But the African church, appropriated to the use of the negroes, an oppressed race, for whom I feel the warmest compassion, pleased me the most. Here they receive instruction from a clergyman of their own colour; a privilege they scarcely enjoy in any other place.

The principal market is very large, neatly arranged, and well supplied with variety of provisions.

We have been once or twice to the theatre, but the company in the pit have such a disgusting custom of drinking wine or porter, and smoking tobacco, between the acts, that I have no inclination to visit it again. I was better amused at the amphitheatre, where they show feats of horsemanship; and we have been introduced to several assemblies, and concerts: for the wealthy merchants live in an elegant style, and imitate the manners of the great cities in Europe; and as there are no

titles of nobility, the ladies love to distinguish themselves by the splendour of their dress and equipages. The young women are generally handsome; but they lose their teeth much sooner than we do, and look old very early.

The men are almost always engaged in business, and show a reserve to strangers; though we have met with some very agreeable, intelligent, kind-hearted people: there being a great variety; for the city has been supplied with inhabitants from most of the nations in Europe, who have left their own country with the hopes of making a fortune, and many succeed in this enterprize very rapidly. Mr. Franklin says, there are few instances in history of a city rising, by such a hasty progress, to so great a height of prosperity, as Philadelphia. We saw an old man who remembers the time when there were but three coaches kept in it, and now the streets are filled with them. He asserts, likewise, that two or three vessels, at most, arrived in a year, with the manufactures of Great Britain; but at present, the commerce is so much increased, that some thousands of ships go out of the port yearly, to different quarters of the globe; forty or fifty of which double the southern promontory of Africa, to exchange the productions of the United States for the richest commodities of the East, and to enrich the busy inhabitants of both countries by commerce. The modes of religion vary as much as the origin of the people; but the Quakers are
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the most numerous, that having been the profession of William Penn, the first proprietor, who was followed to America by many of his brethren.

My taste for natural history has been highly gratified, not only at the curious museum, which contains a complete collection of the animals and minerals of North America, but likewise in a visit to the seat of Mr. William Hamilton, at the Woodlands on the Schuylkill, near the city, where is a superb collection of exotic plants. The late Colonel Hamilton, was, I believe, a relation of this gentleman's. He bore a great character for talent and conduct, was an active supporter of General Washington, and, in the latter part of his life, was eminent as a barrister; but unfortunately fell a sacrifice to the mistaken notions of honour, in a duel with the vice-president, Burr.

The coaches and chariots are much the same as ours in England; but I must give you some account of the light waggons and coachees, which are carriages in common use here. The body of the coachee is rather longer than that of a coach; the front of it is quite open down to the bottom; and the driver sits on a bench, under the roof of the carriage: within are two seats for the passengers, who are placed with their faces towards the horses: the roof is supported by props; it is likewise open above the pannels on each side of the doors, and, as a defence against bad weather, it is

furnished with a leathern curtain, which encloses the open part. The light waggons are very much like the cochees, but they are not so elegantly fitted up, and are large enough to hold a dozen people, which makes them convenient for stage carriages. I was not satisfied, you may be certain, till I had had a ride in each of them.

The Philadelphians are indebted to Benjamin Franklin, for the establishment of the university, the public library, the hospitals, companies of assurance against fire, and the philosophical society. This great man was the son of a soap-boiler at Boston, and was born in 1706. Having taken a dislike to his father's business, he was apprenticed to his brother, who was a printer, and published a newspaper; which gave young Franklin an opportunity of displaying his genius and taste for literature, that excited his brother's jealousy to so great a degree, that he was obliged to leave him, and underwent many vicissitudes in attempting to make his way in the world, by his own abilities and industry, unassisted by a friend, or the fostering hand of a parent. He was at one time so much reduced, as to wander about the streets of Philadelphia, a stranger to all around him, without employment, or knowing where to find any; eating a dry crust, and quenching his thirst in the waters of the Delaware, with only five shillings in his pocket; and yet, he rose to be the legislator of America, and her ambassador at the court of France, where
 he

he was revered as an able negociator, and the father of his country.

He did not shine only in public life, but even his hours of leisure were devoted to the good of mankind. In experimental philosophy he had few equals; the greatest discoveries in electricity, are the result of his observations. His example, in temperance, moderation, and economy, assisted by his gazette, and Poor Richard's Almanack, is supposed to have had great influence in promoting the morals of his countrymen; and his unostentatious, amiable manners, secured him a numerous circle of friends, whilst his politics relative to America, raised him many enemies in England, who still execrate his memory. But you and I have nothing to do with political squabbles: virtue is virtue, whether in a friend or an enemy, and there are noble traits in Dr. Franklin's character, which we must admire, and ought to imitate.

Ever your affectionate

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER II.

Henry Franklin to his Brother.

Philadelphia.

DEAR BROTHER,

A VESSEL being ready to sail for England, I gladly embrace the opportunity of making a few remarks on some subjects that have excited my attention.

Commerce is the universal occupation of the inhabitants of this city, though many of the monied men employ their capitals in buying and selling land, which is here as much an article of traffic as any other commodity. Philadelphia is the grand emporium of the whole province and adjoining states, collecting from them the following articles for exportation: charcoal, pot-ash, beer, cider, salt meat and fish, butter, cheese, corn, flour, tallow candles, linseed, soap, timber, staves, hides, deer and beaver skins, bark, and pigs of iron. The accommodations for commerce are excellent, the quay being large, and so conveniently constructed, that merchantmen of considerable size can unload their cargoes without difficulty. There are also several wet and dry docks for building and repairing ships, besides numerous magazines, and stores; (the American name

name for warehouses;) to which may be added, the advantage, both to utility and beauty, by the introduction of canals, and the situation of the city between two rivers, the Delaware and the Schuylkill; which nearly enclose it. It was founded by the celebrated William Penn, in 1682. He received a grant of lands, on the western side of the Delaware, from the crown, since erected into a province, called Pennsylvania. The wisdom, moderation, justice, and humanity of this great man's character, were eminently displayed in the plan of his city, the code of laws for the government of his province, and his upright and generous treatment of the Indians from whom he made the purchase. Their veneration for his memory is so deeply rooted, and their confidence in his veracity so unshaken, that, to this day, they are never perfectly satisfied with any treaty, unless some Quakers are present at the conference; for, say they, the descendants of William Penn will never suffer us to be deceived. A more noble testimony to his integrity than the sculptured bust, or marble monument.

There are but few poor, as may be expected in a country, where every man who enjoys health and strength, may earn a comfortable subsistence; but great attention is paid to those few who want it. The hospital is built in the form of a Roman II, and is under excellent regulations; supplying the sick and infirm with every necessary comfort, besides

sides affording an asylum for lunatics, lying-in women, and children who are deserted by their parents.

The Bettering House is a kind of workhouse, where employment and support are provided for the aged, the destitute, and the friendless.

Philadelphia has the honour of giving to mankind an example of the advantages to be derived from the wise, humane treatment of criminals. By the new penal laws adopted in this city, solitary confinement (on some few occasions, for twenty-one years, but generally for a much shorter period, proportioned to the nature of the crime, and the behaviour of the offender,) is the severest punishment inflicted on any delinquent except a malicious murderer, who atones for his crime by his death. Nothing can be better contrived for the design than the gaol, which is a spacious building, of common stone. It is fitted up with solitary cells, each apartment being arched, to prevent the communication of fire. Behind the building are extensive yards, which are secured by lofty walls. The awful silence of the place (for not a word is suffered to be spoken; not a laugh, or the voice of mirth is to be heard; but a melancholy solemnity pervades the whole) affected the sensible mind of Arthur deeply; he squeezed my hand in his, which I felt was in a cold damp, as we passed through the long ranges of cells, and shuddered at the sound of our foot-
steps,

steps, which echoed through the passages. What must these poor wretches feel, said he, shut up from all converse, some even deprived of light, with no other object to occupy their thoughts or attention, than the reproaches of their own conscience. The punishment, I replied, is terrible to endure, but the good of society requires that offenders should be made an example, to deter others from injuring their fellow-citizens; and if their sufferings tend to their reformation, it has not been inflicted in vain. Upon this the conductor assured us of the good effects of the regulations observed in this gaol; and told us, that as soon as a prisoner is admitted, he is washed, and furnished with clean clothes: he is then led to one of the solitary cells, where he remains secluded from the sight of every living creature but the gaoler, who is forbidden to speak to him without absolute occasion. If he is refractory, or committed for an atrocious crime, he is confined in a dark cell.

The first improvement in the condition of a prisoner, is the permission to do some kind of work; an indulgence, prized even by the idle, after they have endured the wearisomeness of solitude and privation of employment. On further amendment, they are allowed to labour in company, but still without partaking of the pleasures of conversation. Our countenances assumed a more cheerful appearance, when we saw the variety of
arts

arts carried on by those who have attained the liberty of working with others. One room is set apart for tailors, another for shoemakers, a third for carpenters, &c. and in the yards are stonecutters, smiths, nailers, and other trades that require room. This part of the gaol is more like a manufactory than a prison, and from the decent behaviour of the prisoners, as well as the many instances related of their return to virtue and comfort, I am led to believe, that this mode of punishment is superior in efficacy to any other ever yet adopted. The honour of the establishment, protection, and success of this wise and humane system, is due to the Quakers. A member of their body, named Caleb Lownes, proposed the experiment; and such was his perseverance, that he was neither to be deterred by scoffs nor opposition, till he had effected it. At length his arguments prevailed with William Bradford, one of the judges, to assist him in this great undertaking; and by their joint endeavours and the Divine blessing, it has attained its present state of perfection. What trophies are too great to perpetuate the memory of such citizens!

That sociable hospitality that makes a stranger feel at home, is not very common here, though we have received successive invitations to splendid dinners, where the table was covered with dainties, and the sideboard plentifully supplied with the finest Madeira.

After

After one of these handsome entertainments, where we had been attended by negro slaves, I observed a cloud upon the brow of my young friend, for which I could not account till he confessed that the sight of men, who were the property of their fellow-creatures, and subject to every indignity, excited such painful reflections, that he could not banish them from his mind. I endeavoured to soothe him, by representing that their treatment here is gentle, compared with that exercised in the southern states, and in the West Indies; though the efforts that have been made for the abolition of slavery have improved their condition every where.

It is indeed to be regretted that men, so ardent in the love of liberty for themselves as the Americans are, should continue, in any degree, to tolerate the slave-trade. Many amongst them, however, have used every endeavour to abolish it, particularly Anthony Benezet. He was born at St. Quintin, in Picardy, in 1712. France, at this time, suffered from religious persecution; which drove the parents of Benezet to England, where he embraced the doctrines of the Quakers. He went to America in 1736, and settled at Philadelphia, in a commercial line of business; but that employment being unsuitable to his turn of mind, he quitted it for the instruction of youth, and undertook the management of a school, belonging to the society whose principles he had adopted. From
that

that period, he devoted the chief part of his life to public instruction, to the relief of the poor, and the defence of the unhappy negroes.

The amiable Benezet was warmed with universal philanthropy: he felt a brotherly affection for all men, of all countries, and of all colours. Not contented with persuasion, he composed many books, in which he collected authorities from Scripture and other writings, to discourage and condemn the slave-trade and slavery. The first influence of his works was perceived amongst the Quakers. Many of them determined to emancipate their slaves; and the society since has been very active in promoting the abolition. Benezet knew that instruction was necessary for those blacks whose liberty he had procured; and finding few willing to undertake a task that prejudice had rendered contemptible, he determined to devote his own time to the glorious occupation of enlightening the ignorant and neglected, and his little fortune to the establishment of a school for the negroes. The influence of a good example is powerful. Those who had not courage to begin, cheerfully assisted the work; and the school now enjoys a revenue of two hundred pounds per annum. This good man died in 1784; honoured by the tears of the blacks, and the regret of every friend to humanity. John Woolman, also a member of the same society, remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and his opposition to the slave-trade,

united

united with Benezet and others, in application to the British government for the abolition. Their efforts were ineffectual. America, after gaining her independence, has listened, more favourably, to the cause of humanity. Most of the northern and middle states have proscribed, for ever, the importation of slaves; in some others, this prohibition is limited to a certain time. Georgia is the only state that continues to receive transported slaves. Rhode Island had a great traffic in slaves, but has totally prohibited it. The abolition, and amendment in the condition of the negroes, certainly advance, though by slow degrees; and it is to be devoutly wished, that in time these improvements will extend to all parts of the world, where slavery prevails. It will be interesting to you, my dear brother, to know the steps that have procured these advantages. In 1780, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania abolished slavery for ever; compelled the owners of slaves to have them registered; declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight; placed them, while under that age, on the footing of hired servants; and assured to them the privilege of trial by jury. But this was not sufficient to secure to them all the intended advantages: by a second act it was ordained, that no negro should be sent into a neighbouring state without his consent; that all vessels and cargoes employed in the slave trade should be confiscated; and that all stealers of negroes should be condemned

denmed to the public works. The little state of Delaware followed this noble example. New York has sanctioned nearly the same regulations in their favour as Pennsylvania. A society, connected with one in London, and others in the American states, formed for the express purpose of promoting the abolition, has greatly ameliorated their condition, in all respects; especially by affording numbers of them a degree of instruction in religion, and the useful arts of reading and writing, which they acquire with as much facility as white men brought up in the same manner. From this information we may encourage the hope that the time approaches when their shackles shall be removed, and they shall participate with the other races of mankind, in the common benefits of liberty and independence: that instead of the treatment of beasts of burthen, they shall be considered as rational beings, and co-heirs with us of immortality: that a conscientious care of educating their children in the great duties of Christianity, will produce a happy change from the vices in which, from ignorance and a combination of unfavourable circumstances, they now live, to the practice of religion and morality, and entitle them to rank on an equality with their fellow-creatures. Besides these public acts in favour of the negroes, many individuals have generously given liberty to their slaves; amongst others that have fallen under my notice, I shall mention the instance of Messrs. David and

John

John Barelay, respectable merchants in London, who received, as an equivalent for a debt, a plantation in Jamaica, stocked with thirty-two slaves. They immediately resolved to set these negroes free; and that they might effectually enable them afterwards to provide for themselves, the surviving brother, David, sent an agent from England to manage the business, and convey them to Philadelphia, having first supplied them with all necessaries; where, under the fostering hand of his friends in that city, with the assistance of the Abolition Society, they were apprenticed to mechanic trades, and the children sent to school to be properly instructed. This benevolent act was rewarded with extraordinary success. Except two, these liberated slaves prospered, and became useful members of the community.

Many of those who are free, gain a great deal of money; as I conclude, from a ball given among themselves, at which we were present, where, though all of a sooty black, the company was well dressed, came in coaches, and were regaled with a good supper and variety of refreshments. There is another species of bondage practised here, that rouses the indignation of an Englishman. Numbers of European labourers and mechanics, in hopes of making a fortune, emigrate to America; and having no money to pay for their passage, or settle themselves, on their arrival, in any profitable employment, consent to be sold, by the captain or
owner

owner of the vessel in which they came, to the highest bidder, for a certain number of years, the term being regulated by the value of their labour. If they understand a trade, they are sold for a shorter time; but if they can only dig, they must endure the hardships of their condition for a longer period, during which they are so much at the disposal of their masters, that they may sell and resell them at their pleasure. We saw a whole cargo from England sold a few days ago; and Arthur was so provoked at the sight of a high-spirited lad of his own age, driven before his purchaser, that he endeavoured to rescue him; and if I had not had powerful friends, both he and the youth must have gone to prison for the offence.

You well know that the United States of America were formerly colonies of Great Britain; but a dispute arising between them and the mother country, a civil war ensued, which terminated in the Americans becoming an independent people, in 1783. Since that period, the states have been united into what is called a federal government, forming one great nation by the union of the provinces, which each enjoy a separate jurisdiction, subject at the same time to the decrees of a general congress, composed of representatives from the different states, and headed by a president chosen every four years.

At the commencement of the independence of America, the union consisted of thirteen states only,

only, but three have since been added ; and as the interior parts become more cultivated, it is likely the number of states will increase. Believe me, with compliments to the Middleton family, your affectionate brother,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER III.

Arthur Middleton to his Mother.

Washington.

DEAR MOTHER,

WE made our first excursion from Philadelphia, through the states of New Jersey and Delaware.

The South Mountain, which is one ridge of the great Allegany range, crosses New Jersey, and contains amazing quantities of iron ore. The interior part of the country is agreeably varied with small hills ; but towards the south, near the sea, it is flat and sandy, with few trees, except shrub oaks, and the white and yellow pines. Apple orchards are very frequent ; and produce fine fruit, as I suppose, from the excellent cider which we found in almost every house where we stopped in the province.

Trenton is the capital of the state, from being the place where the legislature and the courts of justice hold their sittings. It has a flourishing college; and in its neighbourhood are several gentlemen's seats, finely situated on the banks of the Delaware. Burlington is another principal town, extending along the Delaware, which, opposite to it, is a mile wide. The chief streets make a pleasing appearance, from rows of trees being planted in the fronts of the houses. There are several other towns, but we saw nothing very remarkable in them.

The state of Delaware is a peninsula, bounded on the east by the river that bears its name, and the ocean; the bay of Chesapeak encloses it on the western side. To the south, it is a low, flat country, abounding in forests of pine, which, when sawed into planks, form a profitable article of commerce. The northern side is more fertile, and produces rich harvests of wheat. Dover is the seat of government; but Wilmington is the largest and most agreeable town in the state. We rested there one day, for the purpose of examining some of the mills in the neighbourhood, which stand upon Brandywine River, there being no less than thirteen, almost close to each other; some of them grind flour, others saw wood or stone. The construction of these mills is extremely ingenious, and so contrived, that a great many operations are performed with a very little labour. There is also
 machinery

machinery for loading and unloading the vessels that bring goods or convey them from this place.

Mr. Franklin having settled the route, we took a final leave of Philadelphia, in a stage waggon, intending first to make the tour of the southern states. The country about Philadelphia is well cultivated, and abounds with neat country houses; but has a bare appearance, from the taste of the inhabitants for cutting down all trees near their dwellings, either for the sake of the wood, or to make way for the plough. The want of hedges adds to the nakedness of the prospect; for the fields are divided by a double railing, placed in a zig-zag, so that the ends of one tier rest upon those of the next. We crossed the Schuylkill by the lowest of three floating bridges, which are made of large trees chained together, and placed crosswise in the water; upon this raft, beams are put the contrary way, and it is afterwards boarded and railed on each side. I felt a little alarmed when I saw the bridge sink under water by the weight of our waggon; but one of the passengers smiling at my fear, I presently recovered myself. Our ride to Chester lay through a pleasant country, diversified with woods and rising grounds; and as we approached the town we were gratified by a majestic view of the river Delaware. The first colonial assembly having met at this place, is the only distinction it can boast. We passed through Wilmington for the second time, and halted at a small town called

Havre de Grace, on the banks of the Susquehannah river, which takes its source at a great distance from the north, and empties itself into the Chesapeak. It is here a mile broad: its high banks, covered with woods, form a grand and picturesque scenery, which is greatly enlivened by the multitudes of wild-fowl sporting on the water; particularly the canvass-back duck, so named from the colour of the feathers between the wings: this bird is considered by the Americans as an exquisite dainty. Being ferried over the river, we travelled along a poor country to Baltimore, rendered still more disagreeable by the execrable roads. For miles, the driver was obliged to call to us withinside, to balance the carriage, and prevent it from over-setting, by stretching our necks out of the window, on whichever side it rose uppermost. "Now, gentlemen, to the right; now to the left;" was continually bawled in our ears. As we were passing a valley of rich black earth, we sunk to the very boxes of the wheels. The poor horses plunged, and used every effort to set us free from the quagmire, but all in vain; there we sat, fixed, and I expected that we should have been swallowed up, but our coachman found a kind farmer, at a little distance, who came with his servants to our assistance, provided with poles and ropes, and delivered us from the danger. Though Annapolis is the capital of Maryland, Baltimore is the largest town in the province, and the most considerable place of trade
in

in North America, after Philadelphia and New York. The streets cross each other at right angles: the principal one is wide and handsome. Most of the houses are built of brick, and, being modern, are well constructed. On the south side of the town is a harbour, called the bason, which is capable of containing two thousand sail of merchantmen; the shore is lined with wharfs and storehouses. English, Scotch, French, and a great many Irish, are to be found amongst the inhabitants, who are very sociable among themselves, and hospitable to strangers. Dancing is a favourite amusement; the young people frequently make parties at each other's houses, where they merrily dance away the evening.

Roads that would have been deemed impassable in England, and a country distinguished neither for fertility nor beauty, brought us to Washington, the new federal city, where we are now staying, at the house of a member of congress, who entertains us kindly. My hand grows tired; so you must forgive me for adding only that I am your dutiful son,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER IV.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Washington.

DEAR EDWIN,

THE affection I feel for you is not diminished by having crossed the Atlantic; and as I have an inclination to assure you of my regard, I begin a correspondence, without fear of intruding on the province of your brother; since the country we are in abounds sufficiently in novelty and variety, to supply us both with materials for our letters.

I date this from Washington, a city formed upon a vast plan, though yet very far from being completed, and designed to be the capital of the whole empire. Before the separation of the American States from Great Britain, Philadelphia was the seat of government; but the other provinces growing jealous that Pennsylvania should enjoy this privilege, it was agreed that a federal city, subject to the laws and regulations of congress alone, should be built in an independent district, where the congress should assemble for the purpose of making laws, and managing the concerns of government.

The choice of situation was left to General Washington, at that time president; and the new city bears his name, as a testimony of the gratitude
of

of his fellow-citizens, for his patriotism and wise administration. It was desirable to fix upon a spot that should be central, removed from all danger of disturbance from a foreign enemy, in a situation favourable to commerce and health, and having the means of an ample supply of provisions. These advantages are combined in the place where Washington stands, besides that of an extensive communication, by water, to the most distant parts of the empire. Take your map, and trace with me the course of the rivers, that you may be able to form a clear idea of the amazing extent of navigation from this city. The Patowmac river, on which it is built, takes its rise on the north-west side of the Allegany Mountains, and, after many windings, for four hundred miles, falls into the Chesapeak Bay. The navigation of this river, from the city to the Chesapeak, is safe and easy. In its course it receives several large streams, one of which falls into it at Washington, and is called the Eastern Branch of the Patowmac. From the Great Fall of the Patowmac there is a free navigation, one hundred and ninety miles above the city, to Fort Cumberland. In an opposite direction, the prodigious extent of communication is more astonishing. By ascending the Allegany river, from Pittsburgh, as far as French Creek, you reach Fort le Bœuf, distant from Presqu'isle, a town situated upon Lake Erie, only fifteen miles; whence goods may be conveyed by

land carriage. Lake Erie is three hundred miles long, and ninety broad, and communicates with Lake Huron and Lake Michigan; the former one thousand miles in circumference, the latter not quite so large. Many noble rivers fall into these lakes, after having watered immense tracts of country in various directions, and supplied the means of communication to a vast distance. From Presqu'isle, across Lake Erie to the Falls of Niagara, where nine miles must be passed over land, the navigation of Lake Ontario, and the great river St. Lawrence, is opened on one side; and on the other, that of Lake Superior, by a still shorter land passage, at the Falls of St. Mary. This last lake is fifteen hundred miles in circumference, and is supplied by forty rivers. Beyond this, the water communication extends to a prodigious distance, through the Lake of the Woods to Lake Winnipeg, which is still larger than that of Lake Superior. Compared with these, what are the lakes and rivers of the old world?—But how I have wandered from Washington. It is time to return to it.

The city is laid out on a neck of land, enclosed between the Eastern Branch and the main stream of the Patowmac; a territory called Columbia, subject to congress only. A magnificent plan was drawn by Monsieur L'Enfant, a Frenchman, and approved; but so few parts of it are yet finished, and so many trees remain growing within the boundaries,

boundaries, that it has more the appearance of a number of villages, scattered in a wood, than one great city.

According to Monsieur L'Enfant's plan, it is intended to be divided into squares, or grand divisions, by streets running from north to south, intersected by others from east to west. Besides these, are very broad streets or avenues, running from some of the most important squares and public buildings, in an oblique direction, which produce a variety of fine prospects. These avenues are bordered with broad gravel walks, planted with trees, and are named after the states of the union. The squares are very numerous, and are designed for the reception of statues, columns, or other memorials of heroes and memorable transactions.

The houses are all to be of brick or stone, though some wooden ones have been erected for present use. Near the centre, on an eminence, stands the Capitol, commanding a complete view of the city and adjacent country. It contains spacious apartments for the accommodation of the congress, and public offices for the executive department of the government, with the courts of justice, &c. Near it is a fine statue of that great man, General Washington, on horseback.

The house designed for the president is a handsome stone edifice, in which the principal apartment is of an oval form. Between this building and the Capitol is erected a large hotel, which is

brick, ornamented with stone. Two fine malls, intended to be embellished by a variety of elegant buildings, run from the Capitol to the president's house, till they meet on the banks of the river, where they terminate. Places are marked out for many more noble, useful public buildings, but few of them are begun. There is to be a marine hospital, a general exchange, a city hall, churches, colleges, market-houses, theatres, public walks and gardens. Two streams, Reedy Branch and the Tiber, run through the city, and will supply the inhabitants amply with water.

It is impossible to survey the incomplete beginnings of this great city, possessing so many advantages, without a warm wish, that at some future period it may arise to that eminence that is adapted to the head of an extensive empire; and that it may become the seat of arts, learning, and virtue. About a mile from Washington stands George Town, a place of considerable trade, having a small college for catholics.

We went by water to Alexandria, another town, seven miles lower down the river, and had a charming row through a pleasing succession of small hills and beautiful valleys, intersected with streams, the banks of which are adorned with clumps of trees and pleasure-grounds.

Alexandria is one of the most elegant towns in the United States. It stands on a small plain; the streets cross each other; and spacious squares add
to

to its beauty, convenience, and healthiness. The houses are chiefly built of brick, and the large, commodious quays are lined with houses and stores: for this town rivals Washington in trade; exporting the produce of the back settlements to the West Indies, and even to Europe.

Having written a longer letter than I intended, I hasten to conclude, and assure you that I am sincerely your's,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER V.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Washington.

DEAR BROTHER,

THE Falls of the Patowmac, a few miles from this city, were too attractive to be neglected. The smaller falls do not deserve the name of a cataract; but they cause such an obstruction to navigation, that a canal, a mile and a half long, has been cut to remedy the inconvenience. Above these falls, at a place where the river is confined between mountains, a passage over it is formed by a grand bridge of one arch, an hundred and twenty feet wide. The navigation at the Great Falls is made easy by a canal with ten locks, where the

water rushes down with tremendous impetuosity, over a ledge of rocks, in several different cataracts, winding afterwards, with great velocity, along the bottom of the precipices, whose rocky crags are so intermixed with trees as to produce a beautiful effect. From want of other materials, or because they are at hand, the people in the neighbourhood build their cottages with fragments of these rocks.

A gentleman at Alexandria furnished us with horses, and accompanied us to Mount Vernon, the seat of the late General Washington; an object of curiosity to those who revere his memory. It stands nine miles from Alexandria, on the banks of the river; but we were obliged to make a larger circuit by land, on account of the numerous creeks that fall into the Patowmac. We got into the midst of a thick wood, where several roads cross each other: unfortunately, we took a wrong one; it began to grow dark; and the weather, which had been sultry hot in the day, became very cold, a sudden alteration that is frequent in this climate. Thus uncomfortably situated, we knew not what to do, as we dreaded passing the night in this solitary forest. After wandering about two or three hours, I espied a glimmering light through the trees. This raised our hopes. We made up to it, and found it proceeded from a small farm-house, where one of the family was sick: we gained an entrance, and related our forlorn circumstances.

The

The good woman took pity on us, and regaled us with some salted pork out of her pantry; she then crowded her family two or three in a bed, in order to leave one empty for us, and in the morning sent a negro with us to conduct us to Mount Vernon, which is an eminence, commanding delightful views both of land and water.

The house is only of wood, painted to resemble hewn stone; it has a long portico, supported by eight pillars. The dwelling-house is in the centre, and the offices are contained in the wings, which communicate by a covered way with the main building. In one of the parlours hung a portrait of the general, said to be a striking likeness. A certain austerity of countenance struck me with awe as I looked at it: he was rather tall, had a commanding aspect, a full, broad chest, and strong limbs: his eyes were large and grey, and his nose long in proportion to his face. "You do well," said Mr. Franklin, observing my attention fixed on the picture, "to contemplate the features of that true hero, as every thing is interesting that tends to elucidate the character of such a distinguished person; but above all," continued he, "study and imitate his virtues: he was eminent for disinterestedness, moderation, love of liberty, and real patriotism, in not only rescuing his country from a yoke that he considered oppressive, but when he had attained the height of power, disdaining to assume a rank, that a man of less principle and more ambition might

might have claimed, as the reward of his services; and contenting himself, like Cincinnatus of old, with a private station, till called again by his fellow-citizens to take the helm of government. His death was honoured with the lamentations of his countrymen, who regarded him as the father of their common-wealth.

The farmers and common people live in what are called log-houses, because they are made of the bodies of trees, which are roughly squared, and placed crosswise one above another; the crevices between them are stopped with clay, and the roofs are covered with small pieces of wood, called shingles, cut in the shape of tiles. Two doors, which frequently supply the place of windows, are made by sawing away a part of the trunks that form the body of the house: the chimney, which is always placed at one end of the roof, is also made of the trunks of trees; but the back is made of clay, to prevent fire from communicating to the wooden wall. The doors are hung on wooden hinges, and most of them have no locks, a log of wood being the usual fastening.

These simple habitations make an odd appearance, and require neither carpenter, bricklayer, nor smith; for there is no iron or nails about them. Two men are sufficient to complete one of them in four or five days, so that a new settler need not be long without a house. The floor is raised a little above the ground, and covered with planks:

two large beds lodge all the family. In summer, the children think it no hardship to sleep on the ground, wrapped in a blanket; though they have been accustomed in winter to sleep on a feather-bed. Drawers are conveniencies not often seen in these log-houses: the clothing of the family is hung round the room on pegs, or over a long pole. Though these buildings are not very elegant, I can assure you the inside of a log-house, blazing with a large wood fire, is a comfortable sight to a weary traveller on a cold evening.

We scarcely pass ten or twelve miles without seeing a tavern, as they call inns in this country. They are all built with wood, and resemble one another, having a porch in front, the length of the house, almost covered with handbills; they have no sign, but take their name from the person that keeps the house, who is often a man of consequence; for the profession of an innkeeper is far more respected in America than in England. Instead of supplying their guests as soon as they arrive, they make every body conform to one hour, for the different meals; so that you must often go without your dinner, or delay your journey till the innkeeper pleases to lay the cloth. The accommodations are very indifferent in many places; at breakfast, you must be contented with bad tea or coffee, and small slices of ham fried, to which are sometimes added eggs and a broiled fowl. At dinner, salt beef and roast fowls is the common fare, with

with rum and water to drink ; and at night you are regaled with coffee, tea, and ham. There are always several beds in one room, and strangers are sometimes obliged to sleep together ; the sheets are mostly brown, and seldom changed till they are dirty, whether few or many people have slept in them.

In some places we have travelled through woods for miles together : these woods are composed of oaks, of every species ; black walnut trees, used much by the cabinet-makers ; tulip trees ; the Kalmia, with red blossoms ; and, in marshy land, cypresses and cedars abound. The appearance of vines creeping up some of the trees, induced me to look for grapes ; but I found it was only a poisonous weed, that caused my hands to blister and swell very much. Indian corn is frequently cultivated by the farmers : its tall yellow heads, when nearly ripe, look beautiful ; but I feel more pleasure in the sight of wheat fields, because they remind me of Old England.

In whatever quarter of the world I am, believe me always,

Your affectionate brother,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER VI.

Arthur Middleton to his Sister Catherine.

Washington.

MY DEAR GIRL,

THOUGH I generally address my letters to Edwin, yet I think the objects we have seen, in an excursion to Monticello, so particularly adapted to your taste, that you have a claim to this letter.

The respect Mr. Franklin had for Mr. Jefferson, as a gentleman, a man of worth, and a scholar, induced him to accept his invitation to spend a week or two at his house, and see some of the natural curiosities of the mountains which surround it. Mr. Jefferson is thought an able statesman; he took an active part in the revolution, and was the man who proposed the declaration of the American independence. He was the first ambassador sent by the United States to the court of France, and has avowed himself a staunch republican. But politics are a subject that Mr. Franklin never discusses in this country, as his sentiments differ from the Americans, and he is neither willing to give offence, nor relinquish his own principles. He esteems Mr. Jefferson as a philosopher, and admires his Notes upon Virginia, which have established

his

his character as a man of sense and a good writer. He farms his own estate, which lies amongst the south-west mountains, a few miles from Charlottesville, near the head waters of Rivanna river. The house is built on a small plain, upon the top of a mountain that is not very high, and is thought one of the most elegant private habitations in the United States. A fine library and museum extend the entire breadth of the building, and open into a large green-house and aviary. In the centre is a spacious octagon apartment, the depth of the house, with folding glass doors at each end, that lead to a portico. On one side of the mountain on which it stands are fine roads, with walks cut through them in different directions; on the other is the garden, and a luxuriant vineyard that produces plenty of fine fruit. To complete this charming residence, it commands at one view a magnificent prospect over the Blue Ridge, for nearly forty miles; and from another, the low country covered with trees. The high situation of Monticello affords an opportunity of seeing a phenomenon that is very rare on land, though often seen at sea: the sailors call it looming. It is not accounted for on any principles of philosophy; but it makes distant objects appear larger than they are, and changes their form into many whimsical shapes, which gives great variety to the views.

On going abroad towards sun-set, whilst here, and in other parts of Virginia, I was sometimes enveloped

enveloped for an instant in a column of warm air, that seemed driven towards me by the wind. I enquired the cause of it, but could get no information.

Our visit at this place was rendered extremely agreeable, not only by the elegance and hospitality of our entertainment, but by several rides in the neighbouring mountains, which abound with natural wonders.

The principal of these, is the Rock Bridge. Oh ! how I wished for you and Louisa, to have shared the pleasure and astonishment I felt at beholding it. Some violent convulsion of nature is supposed to have suddenly cleft a mighty mountain asunder, from top to bottom ; and, by some extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance, to have formed this magnificent arch of solid stone across it. Our friendly guide, wishing to give us the first impression of the Rock Bridge, in all its glory, conducted us to the foot of the mountain, where we had a full view of this stupendous arch, which seems to touch the very skies. The height of the bridge to the top of the parapet is two hundred and thirteen feet, measured with a line. At the bottom it is forty-five feet wide, and at top ninety. It is about forty feet thick : part of this thickness is formed by a coat of earth, which affords growth to many large trees, principally cedars and pines. After gratifying ourselves some time with this sublime spectacle, we ascended the steep crags
by

by a winding footpath to the top: one side is protected by a parapet wall, but the other is open; and to look down from it into the vast abyss would shake the courage of the stoutest heart. The road runs in the middle, and waggons daily pass it in safety, the breadth being no less than eighty feet.

The bridge is supported by an abutment of a solid mass of limestone, which, with the arch, seems to have been chiseled by the art of man. A small stream, called Cedar Creek, runs over a bed of rocks at the bottom, and adds much to the beauty of the scene. Having taken leave of our kind friends at Monticello, we proceeded fifty miles to the northward, behind the Blue Mountains, to see a large cavern called Maddison's Cave. It is in the middle of a mountain, which is so steep on one side, that a pebble might be thrown from its summit, into the river which washes its base. The path leading to the cavern is on the opposite side, and very easy to ascend, till it turns suddenly to the steep part of the mountain, which is extremely rugged, and covered with immense rocks and trees from top to bottom. The mouth of the cavern is guarded by a huge pendant stone, that made me tremble lest it should fall, and either confine me for ever within the cave, or crush me to atoms with its weight. Seeing Mr. Franklin enter, I overcame my fear, and followed him and the guide, who lighted us into the dreary mansions with splinters of pitch pine, which give a brilliant light,

but

but burn out very fast; however, we were provided with a large bundle of them. The first apartment is very high, and its floor is moist, from the quantity of water that trickles down from the roof. The guide led us through a passage on the left, into an apartment that I shall call the anti-chamber; whence we advanced into the sound room, a cavern that reverberates any sound in a wonderful manner. I blew a French horn, that the guide had provided, and we were almost stunned by the echo. This chamber is arched at top, and beautifully decorated with petrifications. Returning to the anti-chamber, we followed the guide, through a long, broad passage, to a pool of clear water, which stopped our progress on that side. The floor is of a deep sandy earth, full of saltpetre; and the walls are of limestone. Not satisfied with what we had seen, we scrambled down a steep, slippery place, in the side of the long passage, into another cavern, more spacious than the rest. The petrifications formed by the water trickling from above, hang down from the roof in the form of elegant drapery; in some places the petrifications have begun at bottom, and are shaped like pillars of different heights. The floor of this apartment gradually sloped to a pool of water, which put an end to our researches. We returned by the same path we came, mounted our horses, and pursued our way amongst the Blue Mountains, which are covered with large trees to the very summit; some of them are cragged and
extremely

extremely stony, others rich and fertile. Travellers on horseback, armed with pistols or swords, with a large blanket folded up under their saddle, that they may not want a bed at night, who were going to explore, as they term it, (that is, to search for lands conveniently situated for a new settlement, in the western country,) were the principal company we met upon the road; except heavy waggons, covered with strong linen or bear skins, carrying the produce of Jenesse, Kentucky, and the back parts of Virginia, to Alexandria, Baltimore, or Philadelphia.

Mr. Franklin contrived to meet the Patowmac at the place where that river passes through the Blue Ridge. The approach towards the spot is wild and romantic. From a very high point of land we beheld the Shenandoah, another river, to the right, which, after having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles, to seek a vent, meets the Patowmac, which is endeavouring, from the left, to force a passage also. The moment they unite, their waters rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The piles of rock above, and the steep precipice beneath, with the roaring of the torrent, form a sublime contrast with the tranquil view beyond it.

From this place we returned directly to Washington, delighted with the romantic objects we had seen, which amply repaid the trouble of the journey.

I have

I have taken sketches of different views; amongst others, that of the Rock Bridge, which I hope we shall one day examine together. With a kiss to little Louisa, be assured that I am, most affectionately, your's,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER VII.

Mr. H. Franklin to his Brother.

Norfolk.

DEAR BROTHER,

WE are continually changing the scene from place to place. From Washington we bent our course southward, into the state of Virginia, after coasting along the Maryland shore of the Patowmac, as far as Hoe's Ferry. This tract is flat, sandy, and dreary. Nothing is to be seen for miles together but extensive plains, that have been exhausted by the culture of tobacco, now overgrown with yellow sedge, and occasionally shaded with groves of pine and cedar trees. Many of the houses are in ruins, and seem to be deserted by the inhabitants. The Ferry House looked like the mansion of misery, and is so badly supplied with provisions, that we could hardly get any thing to eat,

eat, except a few oysters taken out of the river, but they were very tasteless and indifferent. Adjoining to this tavern I saw several huts, occupied by the slaves belonging to the master. What a picture of wretchedness they presented! The poor creatures looked half starved, were covered with rags, and the children ran about stark naked. Having crossed the ferry, we entered Virginia, but found no great improvement in the appearance of the country. We were put ashore on a small peninsula, called the Northern Neck, situate between the Patowmac and the Rappahannock, remarkable for having given birth to several distinguished characters in the American war, particularly General Washington. There is a great inequality in the condition of the inhabitants in many parts of this province. Some possess immense estates, worked by a great number of slaves; whilst others live in a state approaching to indigence. The former are generally well educated, and have a taste for reading; but the instruction of the middling classes has been greatly neglected. The Virginians are remarked for their hospitality and love of pleasure. In the houses of the rich I have frequently been entertained with a dinner of delicacies, served on plate, in a room where the windows have stood in great need of the glazier; so inattentive are they to the state of their houses, which are often very much out of repair.

Dancing, gaming, hunting, and racing, are their favourite

favourite amusements; but though they are so fond of horses, they do not ride well.

Tobacco is one of the staple commodities raised in this part of the country. As soon as all danger of frost is past, the cultivator chooses a small spot of ground, upon which prodigious piles of wood are burnt, in order to destroy the weeds and insects. The warm ashes are then dug in with the earth, and the seed sown. Bushes are next strewed over the ground, to preserve the young plant from the attacks of birds and flies; but it often happens that a large black fly, of the beetle kind, devours the shoots as soon as they appear, when they are obliged to be picked off by hand. When the plants are of a proper size, they are transplanted into the fields, and set out on hillocks at a small distance from each other. In this stage the roots are frequently devoured by worms, and flies deposit their eggs between the leaves and the stem; and were it not for the continual care of the slaves, who are employed in clearing them of their enemies, most of the plants would be destroyed. When they have attained perfection, they are cut down, and pegs are driven into the stems, by which they are hung up to dry, in large houses built for that purpose.

When properly cured, the leaves are tied up in bundles, packed in hogsheads, and sent to the next shipping town for exportation. Where the roads are good and dry, it is usual to drive two large

pins of wood into the ends of the hogshead, which serve for axles ; to these they fasten a pair of shafts, forming the hogshead into a kind of carriage, drawn by one or two horses.

By the process I have described, you may see that a great number of hands must be employed, and much labour performed, before a poor Englishman can enjoy a pipe of tobacco. Thus are we indebted to each other for the smallest gratifications ; nor can the richest or most powerful individual boast that he is independent of his fellow creatures : for our Heavenly Father has bound us all in one chain of mutual fellowship and good offices.

The culture of tobacco has of late gradually yielded to that of wheat. The rank of the cultivator is, in some degree, regulated by the produce he raises. Those who grow tobacco and Indian corn are called planters ; and those whose crops are small grain, farmers. We have visited the chief towns in this province : none of them are very large. Richmond, the capital, is situated on the northern side of James River, immediately below the Falls. The lower town extends along the bank of the river ; but the houses of those not engaged in trade form the upper town, and stand upon a hill, which commands a prospect of the river and its islands, with the extensive valley through which it flows, and the numerous falls that break its stream. On the opposite side of the
river

river the country rises into a gentle eminence; and the little, but well-built town of Manchester, environed by cultivated fields, which are ornamented by countless numbers of trees, and dotted with scattered houses, embellishes the sweet, variegated, romantic perspective. The Capitol, or State-house, is a vast pile of red brick: even the pillars and ornaments are of that material. It is esteemed one of the grandest edifices in America; but it is more to be admired for its magnitude than its elegance. In the centre is a circular vestibule, lighted by a dome, and embellished by a statue of General Washington, and a bust of La Fayette.

From the southern shore the river is crossed by a curious bridge, built upon fifteen large flat-bottomed boats, secured by strong chains and anchors; a simple contrivance, that can be easily replaced, if carried away by the shoals of ice in the winter, which frequently come down with such force as would overthrow almost any stone bridge they could erect. Richmond contains about five thousand inhabitants, more than one third of whom are slaves.

The falls in the river extend six miles above the city, and from the rocks that obstruct the passage, as well as the descent, navigation would be impracticable, but for a canal which opens an uninterrupted communication to the Blue Mountains; and in some seasons, beasts, with light burthens, can proceed still further.

Before the revolution, Williamsburgh was the capital of Virginia; the removal of the legislative body to Richmond has reduced this town to a deserted, forlorn condition.

The Capitol, which is falling to ruins, and the College of William and Mary, are relics of its former consequence. Law, medicine, natural and moral philosophy, mathematics, and modern languages, are taught to the students, who are not numerous. But little trade is carried on at this place; and the society is thought very genteel. I paid a visit, myself, to the hospital for lunatics, but cannot praise it for good management.

York is a small town, not very flattering to the feelings of an Englishman; as it was here that Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army to the united forces of the Americans, and their allies the French.

A flat, uninteresting country, lies between these towns and Hampton, a small place situated at the mouth of James River; across which we were ferried to Norfolk, the only sea-port of consequence in Virginia. Having no rival, its trade to Europe, the northern states, and the West Indies, is flourishing. The exports chiefly consist of tobacco, flour, and various kinds of lumber. The town is an irregular, dirty, ill-built group of wooden houses, chiefly surrounded by unwholesome swamps, from which arises an intolerable stench, that causes grievous maladies to the inhabitants. The yellow fever frequently carries off great numbers; and I believe

believe they increase the evil, by the immoderate use of wine and strong liquors by way of prevention.

The day after our arrival being Sunday, we went to church, and were hurt at observing that the negroes are not suffered to mingle with the whites, but are confined to a particular place; as if the universal Father of all distributed his blessings in proportion to the complexion of his creatures, when we are expressly told, that "every man shall be rewarded according to his works." I have since heard that this custom prevails throughout Georgia, Carolina, and Virginia. From the ruinous state of the churches in general in this part of Virginia, and the negligence of the duties of the sabbath, I am led to suspect that religion has not its due influence on the people. Many of the churches stand in the midst of solitary woods, and it does not appear that any persons are appointed to attend to them. Grave-yards are often private property, and very profitable to their owners, in Norfolk. In different parts of the country I have observed, near large plantations, burying grounds for the family, walled in; an accommodation, when church-yards are scattered at a great distance from each other.

The tobacco of Virginia is in high repute, which, in some degree, may be attributed to the houses of inspection that are established in every district where it is cultivated. The inspectors examine the quality of each hogshead of tobacco,

and if they approve it, mark it with a hot iron, before it can be shipped; which is an effectual restraint on any imposition that might otherwise be practised, by mixing good and bad together. My letter is drawn out to so great a length, that I fear you will be as tired with reading as I am with writing; so, without any further addition, I will say, farewell.

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER VIII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Norfolk.

DEAR EDWIN,

AS Mr. Franklin is preparing a packet for England, I must add my remarks on that part of Virginia we have already seen.

The houses, in many places, have an antique appearance, like the old manor houses in England, and are built with brick and stone; but most of the modern ones are only of wood, and always have a porch, or pent-house, in the front, which is often carried all round the dwelling, and affords a shady retreat, in the heat of the day, from the scorching rays of the sun, which, in bright weather, are
intense

intense at noon; though the atmosphere is as variable here as in other parts of America, often changing from hot to cold several times in the same day. In the centre of genteel houses there is mostly a hall or saloon, furnished like a parlour, with sofas, &c. where the family pass much of their time, for the sake of enjoying a thorough draught of air.

The heat and unwholesomeness of the climate give the common people, especially, most sallow complexions; but few of the women are handsome, and the bonnets they wear to shade themselves from the sun, make them appear still plainer than nature has formed them: the caul sits close to the back of the head, and the front projects, like an umbrella, over the face; so that they cannot look at any thing behind them without turning the whole body round. The rich are extremely fond of pleasure, or what my mother would call dissipation, such as gaming and horse-racing. Cards and dice would be a punishment to me; but the delights of the chase and the course I like very well: and were it not for my Mentor, Mr. Franklin, I could never resist an invitation to either. He tells me that I look only at momentary gratifications, without considering the consequences; that racing leads to gambling and bad company, and that hunting mostly ends in a carousal.

The common people are extremely fond of an entertainment called a barbacue, which is the

meeting of a jovial party, often in the woods, to partake of a sturgeon, or a pig roasted whole in the open air, on a sort of hurdle, over a slow fire. The feast is too generally succeeded by plenty of liquor, and the guests separate, unable to walk home in a straight line. Drinking is one of their vices, and runs away with great part of their gains. As a counterbalance to these defects, they are lively and hospitable, and have humanely adopted a code of laws, in some respects similar to that of Pennsylvania, by which no crime but premeditated murder is punished with death. Virginia is intersected by numerous rivers and creeks, and in many parts covered with forests of maples, pines, cedars, the climbing trumpet-flower tree, the Carolinian allspice, cornel trees, walnuts, laurels, bay-trees, tulip trees, poplars, oaks, sumachs, acacias, and many others: it produces also a great variety of fragrant plants and flowering shrubs; and the groves are inhabited by multitudes of birds, which sing charmingly, and some of them delight the eye with their beautiful plumage. The notes of the mocking bird are the most melodious of any. It is about the size of a lark, has a long tail, and the colour of the body is a deep blue. This bird imitates the song of every bird he hears, but excels them all; and so conscious are they of his superiority, that when he begins to follow any particular bird, he flies away, as if ashamed of his own performance. There are none, however, but the
mocking

mocking bird, to be compared to our English songsters. The blue bird and the red bird are both very handsome; the first is not bigger than a linnet, but its dark bright-blue head, wings, and back, when it flies, make a brilliant appearance. The red bird is of a fine vermilion colour, with a small tuft of feathers on his head. I have seen a few humming birds, fluttering about like butterflies, but their colours are not so bright as those more to the southward. The whip-poor-will is a bird whose note resembles those words, which he utters in the dusk of the evening, in the most plaintive manner, and often continues his complaint till almost morning. From birds, which you know are my favourites, I must descend to frogs, which, in the low grounds, make such an extraordinary noise, that it resembles a whistle; whilst some of their companions, called bull-frogs, from their great size, croak so harsh and loud, you would hardly believe the sound came from a frog. We were one day spectators of a scene terrific and extraordinary to us, though not very unusual in this country. Some negroes had been ordered to set fire to large quantities of brushwood, in different places, which is a common practice. That day was chosen, because it was perfectly calm, and the sky serene; but in the afternoon it became sultry, and streams of hot air gave tokens of an approaching storm: the horizon grew dark, and a dreadful whirlwind arose. We dismounted,

and got upon an eminence to observe its progress. It advanced towards us with great swiftness, carrying with it clouds of dust, dry leaves, and pieces of rotten wood; and in many places it levelled the fence-rails, and unroofed the sheds for cattle. Alarmed for our safety, we made every endeavour to reach a place of shelter, but in vain; in two minutes the whirlwind overtook us. The shock was violent. It was hardly possible to keep our feet; and we nearly lost our breath. In a very short space, however, it was past; but a storm of thunder and lightning succeeded, accompanied by heavy rain, which drenched us to the skin. As soon as we could recover ourselves, we looked round to observe the course of the whirlwind, and were astonished to see a prodigious column of fire in a part of the wood, where we afterwards found that the brushwood had been lighted. The flames rose, in some spots, above the trees. We had now a new enemy to avoid, as the fire gained upon us so rapidly, that we were afraid of being overtaken, in spite of our utmost speed. A general alarm took place. The negroes from several neighbouring plantations assembled; and in order to check its progress, and prevent one surrounding conflagration, set fire to the underwood on all sides a-head of that already kindled, so as to meet it, and by destroying every thing that could serve it for food, to extinguish it. These new fires were carefully watched by a number of men, with hoes and
rakes,

rakes, to guard them from spreading, except towards the great fire, which in time they effectually put out. The sight was tremendous and sublime. Rolling clouds of black smoke, between which appeared volleys of flame; the crackling of the trees; the terror of the birds, disturbed from their native haunts, by a danger as terrible as it was unknown: all announced a convulsion of nature, and made me fancy myself at the mouth of a volcano, disgorging its inward fires. Leaving you to heighten the picture from your own imagination, (for it falls far short of the reality,) I conclude, with the most tender affection, your's,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER IX.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Charlestown.

DEAR EDWIN,

WE have not passed through many great towns in our journey hither; yet we have found objects that, from their novelty or curiosity, have amused us.

The country about Norfolk is extremely flat, and would be uninteresting, were it not for the width and beautiful windings of Elizabeth Tower; the

little town of Portsmouth, on the opposite shore ; the great number of ships, some at anchor, some at the wharfs, some repairing, and others building ; which enliven the scene, and render it agreeable.

Dismal Swamp is a vast bog, containing one hundred and fifty thousand acres. In some parts the surface is dry, and firm enough to bear a horse ; but in others, a man would sink over head if he attempted to walk on it. If a trench, only a few feet deep, is cut in the driest part, the water gushes in, and fills it up immediately. The water flows from the sides in large streams, into the canal that connects Albemarle Sound with Norfolk ; its colour is exactly like brandy, which is attributed to the roots of the juniper trees that grow in the swamp. The whole bog is covered with trees, which grow to an enormous size ; between them is a thick wood of cane reeds, long grass, and brushwood. The moist parts nourish juniper and cypress trees ; and the dry ones, white and red oaks, and a variety of pines. The trees supply a vast quantity of shingles and staves, which are sent by the canal to Norfolk, where there is a constant demand for these articles. The pines yield plenty of turpentine, which is obtained by cutting a large gash in the tree, and setting a trough beneath it, to catch the liquor that runs from the wound. The people who live on the borders of the swamp drive all their cattle into it to feed ; but they would lose them if they were not careful to train them to come home

home every evening. When a fresh herd is turned out, the farmer sends with them two or three old milch cows, accustomed to the place, with little bells fastened round their necks. The cows come back regularly to be milked, and their new acquaintance follow the sound of the bells; and at their return are feasted with a handful of salt, which attaches them to their home. It is said, that in the recesses of this swampy forest, there are large herds of cattle, that have strayed and are become wild; besides bears, wolves, deer, and other creatures, that are its native inhabitants; but we did not penetrate far enough to see them.

The taverns along the coast between Norfolk and Charlestown are wretched, and the fare accords with them. We could often get no bread but that made of Indian corn, which is very coarse, strong, and unpleasant to people who are not accustomed to it. It eats best in cakes, because the large loaves are seldom well baked in the middle. So badly were we entertained in some places, that we were glad to satisfy our hunger with a dish of hominy, a mixture of Indian corn and beans, boiled to a solid sort of pudding, with milk. This is often eaten, either hot or cold, with bacon or fresh meat; and some of the negroes almost live upon it.

As we advanced towards the southern part of Virginia, we saw great numbers of large birds, in form and plumage resembling a turkey, called turkey buzzards. They feed on putrid carcasses, which

which has induced the inhabitants of Carolina to prohibit the destroying them, as they think they are useful in removing bodies in a state of decay, that would increase the unhealthiness of the climate.

After passing the Dismal Swamp, we entered North Carolina. On the side next the sea it is a vast plain, almost covered with forests. It happened, one night, that we were belated, and lost our way in one of these trackless wilds. It was not long before a light, glimmering through the trees, revived our drooping spirits with the expectation that a house was not far off; but what was our surprise and disappointment, on riding up to the spot, to find that it moved from us, then drew nigh, and then swiftly took flight into the woods. Whilst we were considering the cause of this extraordinary appearance, I perceived the same sort of light in a bush close to our side, and in a few minutes all the trees in the forest sparkled with them. Mr. Franklin presently recollected that this illumination proceeded from the fire fly, a small insect that swarms in summer in the American woods, dispersing their light in all parts in the night; though they are seldom seen in the day, because they hide themselves in rotten wood. I pocketed a few for examination, and found them of a reddish brown colour. The light comes from under the wings; and when they rise in the air, looks like sparks, appearing and
disappearing

disappearing every moment. It is a great relief, in travelling through those woods, to allay our thirst with wild strawberries, which grow here plentifully. The green fruit on the trees promise also an abundance of wild plums, grapes, and blackberries. Various kinds of medicinal plants and roots are found here, particularly ginseng; snake-root; and lion's heart, which is thought a sovereign remedy for the bite of a serpent. We sometimes exchange the gloomy forest for the open savannah, or pasture ground, mostly covered with cane grass, resembling the stalks of green corn, and affording excellent food for cattle. I am no coward; but the pale, sallow, sickly countenances of the inhabitants, and the numbers we have found indisposed with bilious fevers and agues, make me dread a fit of illness. Nature generally provides a remedy for every evil. This country would probably be more unhealthy than it is, were it not that the trees in the low country are loaded with vast quantities of a long, spongy kind of moss, which inhales the unwholesome vapours from the stagnant waters.

We have been at Charlestown but a few days, and have taken up our abode at a boarding-house, where we are supplied with lodging and food: but we are seldom at home, as we accept all invitations; our design being to see as much as possible of the people, as well as the country. Having an engagement to dinner, and scarcely time to prepare for

for it, I must close my letter, with most affectionate remembrance to all my friends in Old England. Adieu.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER X.

Mr. H. Franklin to Edwin Middleton:

Charlestown.

DEAR EDWIN,

I CANNOT seal up a packet that I am going to send to my brother, without enclosing a letter for you. Carolina is divided into North and South. The eastern side, towards the ocean, through which we have lately travelled, is a low, swampy country, intersected with creeks and rivers; and from its moisture, the heat of the climate, and profusion of vegetables, extremely unhealthy.

Newbern, though a poor place, is the largest town in North Carolina. The houses are built with wood; and a few public edifices only are of brick. We have passed through several other small towns, but they have no particular claims to description.

Charlestown is the capital of South Carolina. It is situated on a tongue of land, formed by the confluence

fluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. The most populous and commercial quarter of the city stands on the Ashley. Some parts of the quay project a great way into the river, that merchant vessels may more easily receive their cargoes.

These quays are made of the trunks of the cabbage-palm, fixed together, and placed in squares one above another. The spongy nature of this tree would not lead one to expect that it would remain many years under water without injury; but experience proves that it is more durable for this purpose than any other tree in the country. The streets, from east to west, extend from river to river, and running in straight lines, open agreeable prospects each way, and afford good opportunities, by means of subterranean drains, for removing nuisances, and promoting the health and cleanliness of the city. The most modern houses are generally of brick, though many of the inhabitants prefer houses of wood, because they think them cooler than those of brick; and they adopt every contrivance to mitigate the excessive heats of summer, by admitting the fresh air into the apartments. Open windows, doors opposite to each other, and long galleries formed to shelter the upper part of the house from the sultry rays of the sun, are the luxuries preferred by the rich to the ornaments of painting and gilding.

The outward appearance is often neglected,
when

when the inside is commodious and well furnished; though they are seldom remarkably neat, notwithstanding the numerous train of negro servants that are kept in opulent families.

The streets, instead of being paved, are covered with a loose sand, ground to a fine powder by the multitude of carriages that pass through them. In windy weather, the dust is intolerable; and, after a shower, the passengers would sink into the mud, were it not for narrow brick foot-paths, which run before the houses. Pumps are placed at short distances; but the water has a brackish taste, that is very disagreeable. The mode of living is extremely luxurious. Most families keep a coach or a chaise. The ladies are never seen to walk on foot; and the men often ride. Twenty negro and mulatto slaves are commonly employed by people of the middle rank, in domestic offices; and even the children are attended by a number of little negroes of their own age, who are obliged to comply with their humours, and form them to habits of tyranny from their infancy. Arthur cannot bear this, and is continually giving lessons of humanity and moderation to his companions.

The hospitality of the inhabitants of Carolina towards strangers, their generosity to persons in distress, and their unfeeling treatment of their slaves, show that the human breast is capable of cherishing qualities directly opposite to each other.

They are expensive in their funerals, thinking it a
mark

mark of respect to the deceased, to convey their remains to their last abode with splendid decorations and melancholy pomp, which may truly be termed the most absurd of vanities.

South Carolina has not yet adopted the humane punishments of Pennsylvania. Death and whipping are inflicted more often than in Europe. No defender is allowed to an accused negro; and his judges have power to condemn him to whatever mode of death they please.

The importation of negroes from Africa has been prohibited, at different times, for a limited period. There is a party for both sides of the question. Unfortunately, interest prevails over humanity and justice; but it is generally allowed that the slaves in this country are much better treated, in all respects, than formerly.

False opinions lead to erroneous practice. Whilst it is considered a degradation for a white man to labour, slaves must be had to cultivate the earth; particularly the rice swamps, which are here very numerous and extensive: and as the culture of that grain differs from any thing in Europe, I will relate the process usually adopted. After the ground is turned up in furrows, in April or May, a woman throws in the seed, and the negroes fill them up. The plant shoots up in ten or twelve days; and when it has attained the height of six or seven inches, the field is overflowed, so that no more than the tops of the blade can be seen.

In a few weeks the water is turned off, to give the negroes an opportunity of weeding the rice; when that is done, the field is again covered with water, till the crop is ripe, which is known by the yellow colour of the ear, and the hardness of the stem. When reaped, it is kept in stacks till winter: but more is to be done before it is exported. It is threshed and put into a small wooden house, fixed upon four pillars, with a large sieve placed in the ceiling: into this sieve the rice is thrown, and cleaned by the wind before it reaches the ground. The outer husk is then taken off by a hand-mill, after which it is winnowed, and beaten with clubs to take off the inner husks. The large grains are sifted from the small ones, and packed in casks to be conveyed on shipboard. Before the rice comes to perfection, it is assailed by many enemies. Worms and small fishes, that live in the water that covers the swamps, would destroy the roots, were it not for the herons, who devour them in multitudes, and are, on that account, as much regarded by the planters, as the turkey buzzards are by the inhabitants of the towns.

Innumerable flocks of rice-birds hover over the swamps when the crop is ripe; but they are not uninterrupted in their feast, for young negroes are constantly kept on the watch to drive them away.

South Carolina is divided by nature into two parts, Upper and Lower. Along the coast, and more than one hundred miles westward, the country is

is flat, level, and intersected with swamps, cultivated with rice: beyond this, it rises into hills progressively, and terminates in the Allegany Mountains, which separate the waters that fall into the Atlantic from those that discharge themselves into the Mississippi. An examination of your map will make this clear to you.

There are no stones to be found in Lower Carolina; and upon digging up the ground are layers of sea-shells and petrified fish, in the middle of the sand. At sixty miles from the sea are entire oyster-beds, in a fossilstate; one extending fifty miles, formed of a species of that fish no longer to be found on the coast. Huge trunks of trees are also frequently discovered beneath the surface of the earth, which seem to have lain there for ages. Do not these circumstances seem to confirm the truth of the deluge, and prove, incontestibly, that this whole tract was once covered with water.

Except at Charlestown, there are very few schools, of any description, in this state: the cultivation of the human mind is, consequently, at a low ebb: and many persons of fortune submit to send their children to Europe for education. The produce of the earth is the chief source of wealth to the inhabitants of Carolina, as they want either the skill or the taste to establish manufactures. Indigo is a plant much cultivated, for the fine dark blue colour it yields to painters and dyers.

Cotton is likewise raised here to advantage, and
forms

forms a profitable article of commerce. Several of our friends having formed a party to take a ride into the country, I must lay aside my pen, and bid you adieu.

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XI.

From Mr. Henry Franklin to Mrs. Middleton.

Charlestown.

DEAR MADAM,

THE intelligence I have to convey so nearly concerns your happiness, that I make no apology for the liberty of addressing myself to you.

In order to save you from the pain of apprehension, I begin by an assurance that your son is now in perfect health; though, from imprudently putting himself in the way of danger, he has been very near losing his life.

As we were enjoying a walk in the woods, after the heat of the day, we saw a rattle-snake coiled up before us. I called hastily to Arthur to avoid him. Had he attended to my warning, he would have been unhurt; for they seldom attack any one who does not molest them: but curiosity, and a spirit of adventure, tempted him to advance and touch

touch the animal with a switch. Enraged by this assault, the creature, which was six feet long, and as thick as my leg, curled up his body in a circle around his head, which he raised upright, and with a sudden dart inflicted a wound on the ankle of my young friend. My terror was extreme; but not losing my presence of mind, I gathered the leaves of a plant, which grew in the wood, that I had been told were an antidote, and by the immediate application, diminished the ill consequences of the venom, though he suffered extremely for several days. He is perfectly recovered, and I hope will learn prudence from this accident, which might have been fatal.

The moment the rattle-snake is apprehensive of danger, he sounds his rattle, and puts himself in a posture of defence. The rattle grows at the end of the tail, and is formed of several loose, hollow cells, of a horny kind of substance, that jingle one against another, and warn those who are near to be upon their guard. He inflicts his dangerous bite with two fangs, or teeth, that are quite distinct from those with which he eats his food. These fangs are small, sharp pointed, and furnished at the roots with small bladders of a subtle poison. There are two species of the rattle-snake, distinguished by their colour; the one black, the other yellowish brown: it is elegantly striped, and its eyes are of a brilliant red.

The bite of the water rattle-snake is also poisonous,

ous, but less so than that of the land. This creature differs much from the common rattle-snake, as it has neither fangs nor rattle; I cannot guess, therefore, why it has obtained this name.

The black snake is another common reptile in Carolina; it is very long, and pursues those who attack it, but its bite is of no consequence. The country people seldom kill it, because it is useful in destroying rats and mice. It is wonderfully fond of milk; and frequently steals into dairies; which in these southern parts are mostly under ground, in order to preserve the milk, which could not, in another situation, be kept sweet for three hours, in summer.

There are many other kinds of harmless snakes, some of them beautifully variegated, particularly the garter, the ribbon, and the bluish green snake. The Macassin snake is almost as poisonous as the rattle-snake; and it is a more insidious enemy, because it gives no warning of its approach.

Reptiles are numerous here, and of great variety. There are many species of frogs and lizards, besides the chameleon, which is by no means uncommon.

The waters and swampy places abound with that kind of crocodile called a coeinan. We have seen several upwards of twelve feet long, from the head to the extremity of the tail. If on land, they will sooner take to flight at the sight of man, than venture to attack him; but in the water they are more courageous,

courageous, and have been known, when hounds have pursued a stag into a river, to seize both the dogs and the deer, and pull them to the bottom, whence they never rise again. This creature's invulnerable coat of mail renders him formidable, as it is almost impossible to wound him, except his antagonist has sufficient address to hit exactly between his scales.

If your son is prone to that want of consideration which is natural to his age, I have the satisfaction of assuring you, that he is endued with a noble generosity of disposition, that manifests itself in tender sympathy with every human being that he sees pining with affliction. He one day pressed me to take him to the slave-market in this town, where the negroes are put up to auction several times in a week. I observed his countenance change on seeing them exposed to sale, on a sort of stage, whilst the buyers turned them about and examined them, as we do horses at a fair. The dejected countenance of one young man, as he was on the point of being adjudged to the highest bidder, by the common cryer, affected him particularly. He enquired into his story, and found that his distress arose from the heart-breaking consideration of being for ever separated from a young woman, whom he had lately married and tenderly loved. Arthur's pity is not of that useless kind that only laments at the misfortunes of others; he is always full of contrivances to relieve them, and

will forego any self-gratification for that purpose. He earnestly conjured me to purchase Sancho, and give him his freedom. Many calculations were immediately made for saving his allowance till he could reimburse the expence. I represented the insufficiency of redeeming an individual, when so many thousands languish in slavery around us, whose chains we cannot break. After many arguments on both sides, he recollected that we wanted a servant to attend us to Florida, and that Sancho would be well adapted to that purpose. But, said I, what will become of his wife? your scheme will equally effect their separation. Happily, replied he, she belongs to an English lady in Charlestown, who is going to set the noble example of giving freedom to her negroes; she may remain in her service whilst we want Sancho, and some plan may be afterwards contrived to enable them to procure a livelihood by their own industry.

My heart could no longer resist the entreaties of a benevolent mind. I consented. The change of countenance in Sancho, who understood the subject of our contest, I will not attempt to delineate; nor can I describe his gratitude and attachment to his young master, for whose preservation, I believe, he would lay down his life. If by this compliance I have ensured him a faithful servant, I hope you will not think I have acted improperly.

The life of a planter, whilst they reside upon their estates, is miserably dull; as they generally live in a solitary house, surrounded on all sides by mud and water, deprived of the cheering influence of pleasant prospects or agreeable neighbourhood. The negroes, and their overseers, are the only persons with whom they converse: the comfort of the former depends much upon the disposition of the latter, who can either lighten or increase their labour in the field. In the month of June, when the swamps are watered for the first time, the fear of pestilential disorders compels the planters to exchange this mopish life for the gaieties of Charlestown, and leave the management of the plantation to a white overseer, who, for gain, risks his life by the certainty of a dreadful fit of illness: should he survive the first, he is sure of a second attack, though probably slighter, at the same season next year. All the planters keep great numbers of oxen, cows, and pigs, almost free of expence, as they turn them out to get their own living in the large forests belonging to the plantations.

Few people here will allow that the capacity of the negroes is equal to that of the white people. As far as I can judge, making an allowance for the disadvantages of slavery, they are much upon a par with those of their own condition of life. We met with one, in Norfolk, who had taught himself to read and write whilst a slave; and by dint of industry

industry, at over hours, had acquired a considerable fund of knowledge.

A negro, named Cæsar, obtained a pension from the state of South Carolina, for discovering the method of assuaging the pain and swelling of the bite of a rattle-snake, by the application of a tobacco leaf steeped in rum.

In order to prove the efficacy of his remedy, Cæsar, with Roman fortitude, provoked one of those dangerous animals to bite him, and then prevented the baneful effects, by dressing the wound after the manner he had recommended.

Our time has passed away cheerfully at Charlestown, one agreeable entertainment succeeding another; which is according to the gay disposition of the inhabitants, and their extreme attention to strangers.

The ladies mix a great deal in company, though they are modest, and observe the strictest decorum in their behaviour. Both men and women lose the bloom of youth very early. At thirty, a woman looks old; and it is not uncommon to see the mother of a young child with the wrinkles of sixty. The climate is very mild. In the depth of winter there are seldom frosts that last longer than a few days; but the people are so enervated by the excessive heats of summer, that they require large fires; and more fire-wood, in proportion, is consumed in Charlestown than in Philadelphia.

The town begins to wear a melancholy appearance, from the breaking out of the yellow fever. Numbers are ill, and all intercourse with the country prohibited, except by the negroes, who are not subject to the disease.

This circumstance has determined me to take my departure without delay. The necessary preparations requiring my attendance, I must conclude, with the greatest respect, your's, &c.

H. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Sunbury.

DEAR BROTHER,

THE yellow fever drove us from Charlestown in great haste; but the desire of visiting East Florida overcame every apprehension of meeting again with this terrible disorder, further south, therefore we proceeded to Savannah, along the coast, which is much intersected with rivers, and broken by many small bays and inlets. The town, which was formerly the capital of Georgia, stands on a high hill of burning sand, on the south side of the river of the same name, and seventeen

miles from its mouth. It is one of the largest places in this country, though of no very great magnitude. It has several churches, belonging to different sects; and a synagogue for the Jews, of which people there are many families settled there.

The name of Savannah will be recorded in history, from the defeat of the French and Americans, under M. d'Estaing, who endeavoured to take it from the English; but General Prevost preserved it by his superior address, in obtaining a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, whilst he procured reinforcements that enabled him to defend the place.

We were not sorry to take our departure from Savannah, which, from its situation and unhealthiness, is a disagreeable residence.

The country we are going to explore being thinly inhabited, and not likely to afford regular accommodations so often as we might want them, Mr. Franklin purchased three horses; one for himself, one for me, and one for a negro whom I have rescued from slavery: he is qualified to be very useful to us in case of accidents. Before I proceed any further in my journey, I must explain to you that America is inhabited by three distinct kinds of people; Indians, European settlers, and Negro slaves: entirely different in their origin, that is, as far as we can trace it; for I do not mean to say that they did not all spring from Adam. The native inhabitants, whom I have never yet introduced

duced to your acquaintance, are the Indians, who once uninterruptedly possessed the whole country, and ranged, as free as air, through the vast forests planted by the hand of Nature, where they pursued the wild animals for their support; and each tribe possessed extensive tracts, in which they would suffer no interference from their neighbours. They were ignorant of the art of cultivating the ground, and trusted to the success of the chase, and the wild fruits of the forest alone, for the supply of food. This mode of life required a prodigious extent of country to maintain a small number of inhabitants; and the Indians would have received inestimable blessings from the instructions and example of the Europeans, who discovered their country, and formed settlements in it, if the white people had been guided by disinterested motives of fellowship and good will; but instead of this, avarice influenced them to seize upon the lands, and to drive the poor Indians into the interior parts of the country. A few purchased their estates: others obtained them by stratagem and faithless treaties; and many more by force. This has caused almost continual wars between the white people and the Indians; but these simple people are not a match for an European army, governed with regular military discipline.

When we read of the discovery of South America by Columbus, you may remember that his success encouraged other adventurers to go in quest of

unknown lands; and voyages of discovery became a kind of fashion, sanctioned by the most powerful nations of Europe, who were, most of them, eager to found colonies in the new world. These settlements have gradually risen to considerable states; and emigrants from all parts of Europe continue to add to the number of the white inhabitants. In the multitude of these emigrants, there are many unprincipled adventurers, who have no means of subsisting at home, and are therefore willing to seek a maintenance in a foreign country, where their character is not known. It is common for these people to retire to the uncultivated parts of the country, and obtain a grant of a certain portion of land. Their first care is to build a hut, or a log-house, for their family; when this is effected, they begin to cut down trees, and loosen the soil, for the reception of as much Indian corn and potatoes as their own wants require; and for the rest, game and pork supply the deficiency. A restless spirit, and the desire of independence, as the country around them becomes more peopled, often induce these borderers, as they are called, to quit the spot on which they have bestowed some labour, before it is completely clean, and remove further into the forest, where they can live unrestrained by law or good manners: in short, they are a kind of savages, hostile to the Indians, and to their more civilized countrymen, who succeed them, and improve their rude beginnings. Thus a farm will sometimes

sometimes own two or three masters before it comes into thorough cultivation. The number of the Indians is said to diminish rapidly; and it is thought that, in time, the white nations will become the sole possessors of the vast continent of America. I need not tell you that the negroes are brought from Africa, against their inclination, and sold for slaves.

I hasten to recal your attention to our journey. From Savannah we proceeded to Sunbury, a seaport town, beautifully situated between Medway and Newport rivers, and about fifteen miles south of Great Ogeechee river. The town and harbour are defended from the fury of the sea by the north and south points of St. Helena and South Catherine's islands, which we visited the next morning, and, in order to reach them, forded a narrow shoal. The soil of these islands is sandy, and not very fertile, except on particular ridges near the seashore, formed of heaps of sea-shells, perhaps thrown up by the surf from the most distant ages. Time, and the effects of the air, have converted the greater part of these shells into earth, which is of such a productive nature, that it yields almost all kinds of vegetables; and amongst others, some of the most beautiful flowering shrubs you can imagine. I wished Catherine had been with me, to have admired the variety of magnolias, kalmias, &c. that flourish here, almost unobserved by the inhabitants, to whom they are no novelty. As I was groping

about amongst the shells of one of these mounds, I observed pieces of broken earthen-ware, which excited my curiosity to search further, till I found an earthen pot, ingeniously embossed with basket-work, and of very antique appearance; but how it came there, or to what people it belonged, is one of those secrets that will probably never be discovered, though it puzzled Mr. Franklin to form conjectures about it for some hours. These islands are the abode of numerous herds of the roe-buck or deer, which are often attacked by the tigers, wolves, and bears, who still dispute the sovereignty of the woods. Here are also raccoons, foxes, squirrels, rats, and mice, but no moles. One species of the rats is twice as large as the common Norway rat. In the night time this creature throws out the earth to make its burrow, and raises little hillocks which have a singular appearance. In one of my walks I was struck with something hanging from the boughs of a tree like a dead animal: I touched it with a switch I had in my hand, when, to my surprise, it leaped to the ground, slunk into the thickets, and almost poisoned me with its stench. I soon found it was an opossum, an animal very common in many parts of America, and numerous in these islands. It is about the size of a cat, and its head is shaped like that of a fox: it has small, round, black, piercing eyes, and upright black ears, edged with white; its tail is partly covered with scales, and is of great use

to

to the creature, as it is long enough to twist round the branches of trees, whilst the body hangs suspended. The greatest peculiarity of the opossum is a sort of pouch under the belly, in both the male and the female, where they hide their young. They feed on canes and other vegetables, and enjoy a feast when they are nimble enough to catch a bird.

As I know your fondness for natural history, I shall make no apology for describing the raccoon. It is less than the beaver, though resembling it in shape, except the head, which is more like that of a fox. It has a white face, with broad, black circles round the eyes, that give a firmness to its countenance, though it is harmless: it is very active, and climbs trees with great expertness. Birds' eggs and vegetables are its food; and so delicate is it in its taste, that it is extremely fond of oysters, and frequents the shores at low water, not only for the sake of seizing the first unfortunate oyster that gapes open its shell, but also in order to wash its food before it is eaten. The hair of the raccoon is useful to hatters, who mix it with that of beavers and rabbits; and its flesh is good eating, as I experienced yesterday, when we could get nothing else for dinner. Pole-cats and wild cats also inhabit these woods; and such a variety of snakes and serpents, that I cannot particularize them: the hogs eat them voraciously, and seem to have no fear of their bite. The rattle-snake is often dressed

and sent to table as a dainty dish; but I could never overcome my prejudice sufficiently to taste them.

The animals of these islands may serve for a description of those that inhabit the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia, as they are nearly alike. Though my letter is already so long, I cannot leave out my feathered favourites. Here are several kinds of eagles, who are the tyrants, not only of the air, but of the earth also, for they prey upon fawns and other young quadrupeds.

The fishing hawk flies high and swiftly; his long pointed wings cleaving the air with vast force: he lives entirely on fish, which he catches with great dexterity. Water-fowl, of numerous kinds, haunt these shores; and amongst the songsters there is none more melodious or beautiful than the painted finch, which is mournfully contrasted with the cooing of the ground dove, an elegant little creature, not larger than a sparrow.

The wild turkeys grow to a prodigious size. I saw one that had been hatched from an egg found in the forest; he was a noble, majestic bird, at least a yard high, when he stood upright: his colour was dark dusky brown; but the feathers of the neck, breast, back, and shoulders, were tipped with copper colour, which in the sun looked like burnished gold.

The American turkeys are twice as large as those we have in England, particularly as to height, as
their

their necks and legs are longer in proportion. Both the cock and hen are brown, not having a black feather on them; but the cock is beautifully adorned with variable shades, as I have already mentioned.

Though the novelty of a foreign country delights me, my heart glows at the remembrance of home, and the dear friends I left there, to whom I send my best love.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XIII.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

St. Augustine.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

IN order to trace the course of our journey, you must study your map, and you will perceive that the river Apalachicola, which discharges its waters into the Gulph of Mexico, runs between East and West Florida. The great Mississippi divides West Florida from Louisiana.

East Florida is the present scene of our researches. Arthur and I having left Sunbury, rode on to the banks of the Alatomaha river, through a level country, well watered by large streams, which take their course from extensive swamps and marshes.

These

These swamps are daily improving into large, fruitful rice plantations. The road we have lately traversed is straight, wide, and kept in excellent repair; and in most parts is bordered with a light grove of various beautiful flower-bearing trees, entwined with garlands of creeping shrubs, and over-shadowed by tall spreading cypresses, oaks, and cedars. The rice and corn plantations are decorated in a similar manner; and through the branches of the trees appear the neat, humble dwellings of the inhabitants, who are cheered, not only all day, but during moonlight nights, with the melody of the cheerful mock-bird, the warbling nonpareil, and the plaintive turtle-dove.

Inns not being very frequent, we are accustomed to ride up, without ceremony, to private houses, where we are generally entertained with great hospitality, and are entreated to pass a day or two with the family, who seem gratified with the company of strangers. During one of these visits, when the heat of the day was past, we made a little party at fishing, a diversion in which I take no pleasure; but I was willing to comply with whatever was kindly proposed for our amusement. Our friends led us to a shady retreat, in a beautiful grove of magnolias, myrtles, and sweet bay trees, standing on the bank of a clear stream, that flowed with a serpentine course through the plantations. We presently caught some fish; one kind of them, called the red belly, has brilliant colours. It is a small
flat-

flat-fish, of an oval form. The top of the head and back are of an olive green, sprinkled with russet spots; the sides are of a sea-green, inclining to azure, which gradually grows lighter till it changes to a silvery white, studded with specks of the finest green, russet, and gold colour; and the belly is of a bright scarlet. Near the gills is an oval parti-coloured spot, to which I can compare nothing but the eye in a peacock's feather. Our diversion, if the destruction of the finny tribe deserves that name, did not last long; for heavy rolling clouds announced an approaching storm, that obliged us to return as fast as possible to the house. Before we could get shelter, the lightning flashed from cloud to cloud, and the peals of thunder resounded awfully through the air. We quickened our pace, but were overtaken by a vivid flash of the forked lightning, that fell with irresistible fury on the trunk of a large pine-tree, not far from our path, and set it in a blaze. The flames instantly enveloped the tree, and would have consumed it, if it had not been extinguished by torrents of rain, that fell in a few minutes afterwards. Happily for us, the house was in view, and fear adding wings to our feet, we got in without any other great inconvenience than the apprehension of danger, which was more on account of two young ladies of our party than for ourselves.

The simple, unaffected kindness of this family, which consisted of a father, mother, and two daughters,

daughters, might have detained us agreeably for weeks: but the enjoyment of a fixed habitation was inconsistent with my plan, therefore I prepared for our departure in the morning.

We followed the course of the Alatomaha river to Fort Barrington, through a well-inhabited district, abounding in rice plantations. The vegetable productions were, many of them, striking and beautiful; particularly a flowering shrub, from twelve to fifteen feet high, bearing large clusters of pale blue tubular-shaped flowers, speckled with crimson on the inside. At the bottom of each cluster grows a sort of fence, formed of leaves of a delicate white, edged with rose-colour, which at a distance look like roses, and give the shrub an uncommon appearance.

We reached the southern shore of the river by means of a ferry. Our negro, Sancho, pointed out to us, near this place, the traces of an ancient Indian town, which he knew by conical mounds of earth, artfully heaped up, perhaps in remembrance of some famous warrior, or victory, like some of those left by the Danes, in England; an instance of similarity in the customs of savages with nations more advanced in civilization. The edge of the stream is adorned with large tall trees, which grow in the water, called the *nyssa coccinea*, that bear a scarlet fruit, larger than an olive, used sometimes, from its pleasant acid, instead of limes: the leaves
drop

drop off as the fruit ripens, and the whole tree assumes a scarlet hue.

This tree is not seen further north than the Great Ogeeche, where they receive the name of Ogeeche limes. We soon left the cultivated country, and relying upon Sancho to direct our course, passed through an uninhabited wilderness, which presented us, in succession, with dark, grassy savannahs, and high pine forests; often varied with red and white oaks, cypress, hickory, cedars, and the cucumber tree, all of a great size.

The transition from rich flourishing settlements, to these majestic wilds, was not unpleasant to me; and my companion was charmed with the novelty of the contrivances we were obliged to adopt for our accommodation. We chose the pleasantest spots for our resting places, where we opened our bags, and refreshed ourselves with provisions; wild fruits served us for a desert, and at night, Sancho, with our assistance, erected a few poles, and formed a shelter from the night dews with pieces of bark, that he found scattered on the ground. In order to furnish our chamber completely, he spread the skin of a buffalo, which we had brought with us, over a heap of dried leaves that he had collected from under the trees, and, I assure you, formed a couch by no means uncomfortable.

At the end of our second day's journey we were so fortunate as to meet with a cow-pen, near which

was

was a rude habitation, where we were civilly entertained with milk, butter, cheese, and venison.

In these uninhabited districts many curious natural objects called forth our attention. High, open forests of stately pines, flowery plains, and extensive green savannahs, having each their appropriate inhabitants and productions, afforded an almost endless variety. Annanas, with clusters of large, white, fragrant flowers, were seen in dry sandy situations; and in moist swamps, a diminutive species of kalmia, with spikes of flowers of a deep rose colour: groups of blue, yellow, and white lupins adorn the open parts of the forests, and generally grow on sandy heights, where we frequently saw the dens or caverns, dug by the great land-tortoise, called here *gopher*: the animal retreats within them by day, and sallies forth at night in quest of prey.

The same scene continued till we reached St. Mary's river, where, though the soil is sandy, peach-trees, Indian corn, rice, cotton, and indigo, thrive exceedingly.

The savannahs in the neighbourhood of this river are enamelled with flowers of all colours: violets, lupins, amaryllis, and a beautiful species of the sensitive plant, with flowers of a bright rose colour, are scattered in wild profusion, amidst groves of the most luxuriant forest trees. Still further south is another river, or rather chain of lakes,

lakes, running parallel with the sea, called St. John's, which is navigable from one end to the other.

St. Augustine, though dignified by the title of capital of East Florida, is a very small town, standing on the sea coast, which enables it to receive the products of the Havannah, and convey them to Savannah and Charlestown.

I did not intend to have gone further towards the south than St. Augustine; but an agent is to set off to-morrow, for one of the trading houses on the borders of George's Lake, in the interior part of the country, and Arthur's desire to take the advantage of his company is so great, that I have complied with his wishes; an excursion that I expect will supply us with matter for your future amusement.—Adieu.

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XIV.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

St. Augustine.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

YOU must partake of the pleasures and difficulties of our journey, through the almost uncultivated parts of the country on the shores of

St.

St. John's river. We have penetrated as far as St. Juan's, and wandered into the interior parts, whenever curiosity or inclination pointed the way. If we have seen neither stately palaces, nor populous cities, nor other works of men; we have beheld with admiration the works of God, displayed in the wild majestic scenery of the sublime forests, that have stood uninterrupted for ages, and have afforded shelter to innumerable tribes of animals of all kinds; quadrupeds, birds, insects, and reptiles, whose different forms, habits, and peculiarities in seeking their prey, avoiding their enemies, and rearing their young, afford a continual fund of amusement, that raises new wonder by their variety, and the ingenuity of their contrivances to obtain their ends, which has been implanted in them by their wise Creator.

Never have my thoughts been more devoutly raised to Heaven, than in some of our rambles through these magnificent forests; especially of an evening, when we have prepared our bed of dried leaves, under the canopy of a branching oak, or a lofty pine; the moon's silver rays casting a modest light through the trees, and the whip-poor-will lulling us, with his melancholy note, to sleep; assisted by the lowing of distant herds of cattle, or the shrill whooping of the crane. Of a morning we have been awakened by the beams of the new-risen sun, and the cheerful crowing of the wild turkey-cocks, calling to each other from the tops
of

of the highest trees. In spring they begin at break of day, and crow till sun-rise, saluting their fellows on the return of light. I cannot give you an idea of what I felt at the first view of these forests, composed of such a variety of trees, superior in beauty and grandeur to any I had ever beheld before; but I will try to give a faint description of a few of the most striking.

The laurel magnolia reaches to the height of an hundred feet: the trunk is perfectly upright, rising in the form of a stately column; the milk-white flowers, resembling full-blown roses, are surrounded by a circle of dark-green shining leaves, that set them off to great advantage; in the centre stands the young cone, which is of a flesh colour, and towards autumn grows very large, and changes to a crimson, and as it opens, shows multitudes of coral-red berries, which hang from the cones by a white silky thread. The wood of this tree, when seasoned, is of a straw colour, and harder than that of the poplar.

The palmetto royal, or Adam's needle, is a singular tree: they grow so thick together, that a bird can scarcely penetrate between them. The stiff, leaves of this sword-plant, standing straight out from the trunk, form a barrier that neither man nor beast can pass: it rises with an erect stem, about ten or twelve feet high, crowned with a chaplet of dagger-like green leaves, with a stiff sharp spur at the end: this thorny crown is tipped

ped with a pyramid of white flowers, shaped like a tulip or a lily. To these flowers succeed a large fruit, much like a cucumber in form, but when ripe, of a deep purple colour. Garlands and festoons of creeping shrubs hang upon the branches of the forest trees, and seem to bind them together. Amongst others, grape vines, of uncommon size, climb round the trunks, and twine to the very top, but the fruit is small and ill-tasted.

The long moss fixes itself, and takes root on the arms of the trees; and hangs pendant, like long streamers of many feet in length, waving in the wind in a fantastical manner. In order to prepare it for use, it is thrown into shallow water and exposed to the sun, where it soon rots, and the furry outside is dissolved; when taken out, beaten, and cleaned, nothing remains but the inside fibres, which are black and like horse-hair, and are equally proper for stuffing mattresses, chair-bottoms, saddles, &c. The Spaniards in South America, we are told, work them into cables. Cattle and deer are glad, in the winter season, to feed upon this moss, whilst it is fresh.

One species of the cypress, from its prodigious height and size, strikes the beholder with awe: it generally grows in the water, or on low, moist situations, near the banks of great rivers and lakes, that are covered several months in the year with water. The lower part of the trunk spreads out into many divisions, like buttresses, that seem designed

signed to support the vast body of the tree, and form large, strong, serpentine roots, that strike off in every direction. The main trunk rises from these, like a straight pillar, to a prodigious height, and then divides into a wide, spreading top, like a canopy, where eagles securely fix their nests: cranes, storks, and paroquets, venture to approach the royal bird, and often perch on these inaccessible branches. The paroquets are allured by the seeds, which are their favourite repast. The trunk of this tree, hollowed out, forms an excellent canoe, and is frequently used for that purpose. Many trees, shrubs, and plants, of a more diminutive size, deserve a stranger's admiration. One species of hibiscus is extremely elegant; it is a very tall shrub, growing like a pyramid, adorned with large, expanded, crimson flowers. Besides these, and hundreds more, equally remarkable for their beauty, the shrubs are overrun by a pale pink convolvulus, with a deep crimson eye, which forms a delicate contrast with its dark green leaves.

In this excursion we have sometimes taken up our abode for the night near the banks of a river, or on the borders of a lake, where I have often amused myself in watching the pelicans catch fish. Sancho, who is a good marksman, shot one of them; it is larger than a tame goose, with very short legs and webbed feet: its bill is of a great length, and bent like a scythe; but the large pouch beneath it is the most extraordinary part
of

of the bird, and seems calculated to carry water, or hide the prey that it has caught. The colour is much like a gull. Sancho's gun has generally procured us a good supper: we were sure of either curlews, willets, snipes, sand-birds, or some kind of water-fowl; to which we frequently added oysters, that were to be found in abundance in the water close to the shores. Mr. Franklin and I performed the office of cooks: we kindled a fire, by rubbing two pieces of dry wood together, and then contrived to roast our fowl with a spit of Sancho's making. Our concert at going to rest was not so harmonious as in the woods, where the birds chaunted our lullaby. The buzzing of musquitoes, (a huge species of gnat,) the noise and restlessness of sea fowl, thousands of toons, herons, pelicans, curlews, and others roosting around us, but above all, the roaring of crocodiles, for a long time prevented me from closing an eye, till, worn out by the exercise of the day, I lost myself in spite of their discordant cries. One evening I had strayed from my companions to a promontory covered with orange trees, taking with me my fishing-tackle, intending to catch some fish for our supper. The sky, richly illuminated with the tints of the setting sun, and the shores and islets embellished with flowering shrubs and plants, presented a charming scene: multitudes of water-fowl were seeking their food, before they retired to rest; amongst others, I remarked the coots, with
half-

half-spread wings, tripping over the little coves, and hiding themselves in the tufts of long grass: young broods of the summer teal skimmed the still surface of the water, following the old one, unconscious of danger, till overtaken by the greedy trout, who, in his turn, became the prey of the subtle alligator. In a shallow part, flowing over a bed of gravel, beneath the rock where I had chosen my seat, rose a number of little pyramidal hills, formed of gravel stones, by a species of small crayfish, as a secure place of refuge for their young, from the attacks of their natural enemy, the gold fish. Small companies of the boldest of the old crayfish ventured out, and defied the gold fish, who continually turned to the charge. The sight of this battle was new, and interested my attention so much, that I never perceived a huge alligator, that lay concealed under the edge of the projecting rock on which I sat: he was at least eighteen feet long, and covered with an impenetrable coat of mail. In one dreadful moment he darted out of the water, opened his terrific jaw, and spouted both wind and water out of his nostrils. Resistance was vain: flight was my only refuge. His unwieldy size made it difficult for him to climb over the edge of the promontory, which gave me an instant to take to my heels, and endeavour to ascend a tree. I had not reached the first branches, when an Indian hearing my cries, rushed out of the thickets, and, with heroic courage,

came to my deliverance. Happily, he was armed with a club as well as a tomahawk. Being prepared for the attack, and extremely active, he struck the alligator a violent blow across the head with a club, which stunned him a little; before he could recover himself, a second stroke fell with still greater violence, and deprived him of the power of moving his jaw. He attempted to get away, but my Indian friend was too nimble for him, and dispatched him with his tomahawk.

I descended the tree, and expressed my gratitude, as well as I could, by signs: by this time, the rest of our party came up, and heard, with horror, the particulars of my escape.

Mr. Franklin presented the Indian with several trinkets, and a bottle of rum, of which they are immoderately fond; and accepted his invitation to his village, which was only two miles off. There were about eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, facing a fresh-water stream, covered with yellow lilies. Some of the young men were naked up to their hips, in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst many of the boys were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows.

Our kind conductor led us to his hut, where his wife roasted acorns for our supper, and prepared a dish of rice, mixed with oil, made from the acorns of a live oak. I retired to rest, but could not forget the alligator: his image pursued me in my sleep, I even fancied that he had drawn me under
water.

water. The return of day rejoiced me, and presenting a variety of different objects, diverted me from the frightful idea that had taken possession of my mind.

Remember me tenderly to Catherine and Louisa, and tell them I have collected a number of beautiful butterflies and insects for their cabinet, which I shall send to England by the first opportunity.

Your affectionate

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XV.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Taskawila.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

THE fear of extending my last letter to an immoderate length obliged me to omit several things I wished to mention, that we saw in the neighbourhood of Lake George, which I must now do, before I proceed with our journey.

I mistook vast clusters of an aquatic plant, united together by its fibrous roots beneath the water, for a multitude of islets of different sizes; but was soon convinced of my error by Sancho, who tore two

or three of them from the rest : they are not unlike a lettuce, though the leaves are firmer, and of a yellow green. They are first produced near the shores, where they gradually spread in deep water, and form delightful green floating plains of a great length, frequently inhabited by serpents, frogs, otters, cranes, herons, curlews, and jackdaws.

The snake bird haunts the borders of all the rivers and waters of Florida. The head and neck are extremely slender, and the latter uncommonly long; the bill is likewise long and pointed: all the upper part of the bird is as black and glossy as a raven; the bosom is of a cream colour; the tail is long, of a deep black, tipped with silvery white, and, when spread, is like a fan. These birds love to assemble together in companies, upon the dry branches of trees, that hang over the water. If any thing alarms them in this situation, they suddenly drop into the water as if they were dead, and appear to sink to the bottom; but rise in a few minutes to the surface, at a vast distance from the spot where they fell, when nothing is to be seen above the water, but the slender head and neck, which look very much like a snake, and from this the bird takes its name.

Innumerable myriads of small flying insects hover over the streams of this country : they are of that race called *ephemera*, from the shortness of their life in the fly state. These insects rise out of the
water,

water, near the shore, in countless numbers, before sun-rise, when they generally take their flight to the land, but return to their native element, in swarms, towards evening, where they are greedily devoured by birds, frogs, and fish.

The grand business of their short existence seems to be that of laying their eggs, which they deposit in the water, as they die soon afterwards. The egg hatches, and the larvæ undergoes the usual changes in its oozy bed, till the warm season enables it to burst its shell and rise into the air.

The variety of fish that inhabit the waters, equals that of the birds, and far exceeds my powers of description; so I must limit my pen to a few of the most remarkable. The great brown spotted garr is defended by a coat of mail, and is so voracious, that he is a very cannibal amongst fish less powerful than himself. He finds but few opponents who dare contend with him, except the alligator, to whom he sometimes becomes a prey. The Indians use his sharp teeth to scratch or bleed themselves with, when they have occasion, and his pointed scales to arm their arrows. Sometimes they eat his flesh, which is white and tender, after being baked in hot embers, till the skin and scales peel off easily.

Some of the different species of bream are beautifully variegated, particularly the great yellow, or parti-coloured bream: his back is a dusky brown,

dashed with streaks of dull purple; the sides and belly are of a bright yellow, inclining to scarlet; the whole powdered with specks of green, gold, and silver, and a large spot near the gills of a deep glossy black, reflecting in the sun both green and blue, and encircled with a fiery red. The flesh of this and some of the other kinds make a good dish.

The great soft-shelled tortoise is an inhabitant of the rivers, lakes, and ponds of East Florida: they are delicious food, and weigh from twenty to thirty pounds. They very much resemble the sea turtle, except having a soft shell, which, when boiled, becomes a jelly. It is a disagreeable looking creature, having a sort of snout, with a hooked beak; the corners of the mouth are wrinkled, and armed with long pointed warts, which he can stretch out or contract as he pleases. This animal, when hungry, buries himself in the slushy bottoms of rivers, where they are covered with flags and long sedgy grass, leaving an opening just big enough for his head, which he darts out as quick as lightning, and seizes the first young duck, frog, or fish, that unfortunately passes near him. The gopher, or great land tortoise, though of the same family, differs very much from the creature I have just described, both in his place of residence, and in the substance of his shell, which is so hard, that a man might stand upon it without hurting the tortoise. He makes his den only on high dry sand-

hills,

hills, instead of choosing watery places; the eggs are larger than a musket ball, and the flesh is excellent food.

In one of our rides, a plain lying open before us, Mr. Franklin called my attention to a large hawk, which seemed to make many efforts to rise, but from some cause, which we could not perceive, was unable to lift himself from the ground. On coming near him, we found that a very long coach-whip snake had wreathed himself close round his body, and that he had but one wing at liberty. I alighted with an intention of parting them, but, whether from fear of me, or mutual consent, (the antagonists being nearly equal,) I know not, they separated without my interference; the bird rose into the higher regions of the air, and the snake crept into a thicket. It is most likely that the hawk began the affray, with the design of devouring the snake; but the reptile dexterously coiled himself round his body, so as to disarm him of the power to injure him.

We are now at Taskawila, an Indian town, to which, on our entrance, we were welcomed by a company of young people of both sexes, who conducted us to the chief's house, which is built on rising ground, and is distinguished from the rest, both by its size, and a large flag being hoisted on a high staff, at one corner of the roof.

The chief, being acquainted with the trader who

was with us, and hearing he was arrived, came to us, as we had alighted from our horses. He was accompanied by several old men; the first salutation was a hearty shake of the hands, (or rather arms,) saying, "You are come." We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests. The pipe being filled, was then handed round as a token of friendship; and a large bowl, of what they call thin drink, was set down on a small, low table, out of which every person helped himself to as much liquor as he pleased, with a great wooden ladle, till it had gone round the circle.

This chief is known by the title of the *cow-keeper*: he assembled his council, that they might hear the trader's proposals, for bartering with his people European goods, for furs and the skins of wild beasts. The bargain was soon struck, and both sides seemed satisfied.

You may believe I was highly gratified in being present at this conference, the persons, dress, and manners of the Indians being so new to me. They are of a copper colour, and have thick, straight black hair, generally a flat nose, high cheek bones, and small eyes. This chief is a tall, well-made man, of a cheerful countenance and behaviour; yet there is something ferocious in his look, that, if he were angry, would make one tremble. He has been a great warrior, having many captives,
who

who attend him as slaves : they waited on him with the most obsequious attention, and appeared very much afraid of him.

We partook of a great feast, consisting of venison, stewed in bear's oil, fresh corn cakes, milk, and hominy : our drink was honey and water, which I found cool and pleasant.

This town is the capital of the Alachua tribe, and contains about thirty habitations, which are each formed of two distinct houses, of nearly the same size. The dwelling-house is divided into two equal apartments, one of which serves for the kitchen and common hall, the other is the general chamber for the family. The other house stands at a small distance, and mostly has two stories. The end towards the dwelling-house is supported by posts or pillars, and is an open loft, to which there are no other stairs than a moveable ladder : this is a cool, airy apartment, where the chief of the family receives company, or reposes himself in the heat of the day. The other half of this building is closed on all sides with notched logs. The rooms are used for store-houses, where they lay up corn, potatoes, and other provisions. Every dwelling stands in the middle of a square yard, bounded by a low bank, formed with the earth taken out of the yard, which is always carefully swept. Every town has a public square, or council-house, where the chief and the elders assemble to transact public affairs. I have been particularly

exact in describing this town, as I imagine it will serve for a picture of the rest we shall visit in our future travels. Taskawila is charmingly situated on a high, swelling ridge of sand hills, opposite to a large, beautiful lake; the sloping bank terminated on one side by extensive forests, composed of orange groves, overtopped by grand magnolias, palms, poplars, oaks, &c. Huge herds of cattle, belonging to the cowkeeper and his townsmen, graze in a savannah that stretches out at some distance from the town. In this extensive plain are herds of sprightly deer, and squadrons of well-proportioned, fleet Seminole horses, which live almost in a state of nature. In order to make us more completely welcome, a party of young Indians, on horseback, were dispatched to the savannah, to pick out some of the best cattle, to feast the whole town in honour of our arrival. The feast was held in the public square. The first course consisted of prime joints, well barbecued; and the second of bowls and kettles of stewed fish and broth, with a very disagreeable dish called tripe soup, made of the paunch of the ox, cut and minced, and boiled into thin soup; but the aromatic herbs added as seasoning, were not sufficiently powerful to disguise the want of cleanliness in preparing this dish.

We are continually making excursions during our stay here, that we may lose no opportunity of indulging our curiosity. I hear the trampling of
the

the horses at the door, waiting to carry us on one of these jaunts. I wish you could be of our party; but as that is impossible, I must bid you adieu.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XVI.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Pensacola, West Florida.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I CANNOT give you such a clear account of our route through the territories of the Siminole and Muskogee, or Creek Indians, in the southern part of Georgia, as if we had travelled from one post town to another, along a high road, in a cultivated country. We have passed through all the varieties of soil and surface that you can imagine—hill, dale, plain, and forest. Sometimes we have traversed over extensive savannahs, that maintain innumerable herds of deer, cattle, and Siminole horses, which are of a small breed, but beautifully proportioned; they enjoy their perfect liberty, and approach to the state of wild horses. When it is intended to catch one of them, a domestic horse, which is much nimbler, is used to overtake and entangle them. Every year, as they come

of age, a troop of them is sent to Charlestown, where they are sold to the highest bidder. At other times we have taken our course through an enclosed country, covered with forests of such grandeur, that those who have never seen them can form no idea. Sometimes we have passed the course of rivers, and wandered over swampy meadows. Amongst the natural curiosities are those vast circular sinks, seen in many places in the neighbourhood of St. Juan's river, which are situated generally in the midst of rocks, and formed by an extraordinary eruption from the earth, or probably from some mighty body of water, restrained in its natural course. A person who was present at the formation of one of these receptacles of water, gave me the following account of the phenomenon. A tremendous rushing noise, like a hurricane or thunder-storm, first alarmed him; and looking round, he saw the earth overflowed by torrents, which rushed down a valley near the place. The inundation soon overwhelmed the higher grounds. When he had recovered from his surprise, he took courage to go to the place whence the terrific sound proceeded, when he perceived a prodigious fountain in this spot, rushing upwards, many feet high, and deluging the ground on all sides. It continued to flow in this manner for several days, forming a stream that discharged its waters into a distant lake. It gradually ceased to overflow, and at length confined itself within this bason, which

is fifty yards across, and continues full nearly to the verge, without once since overflowing its banks. The water is clear and well tasted, and crowded with fish, which satisfy the voracious appetite of a large alligator, who reigns lord of the place.

The Siminoles are a division of the Creek nation. They are scattered through an extensive range of country in East and West Florida, which is generally a fertile, well-watered level, being naturally divided into thousands of islets, knolls, and gentle eminences, by innumerable rivers, lakes, swamps, and ponds, which afford them secure retreats from the sudden attacks of an enemy, and supply them with fish and wild game in great abundance.

Hunting is the principal occupation of the men. With the hides of deer, bears, tigers, and wolves, they purchase clothes and domestic utensils from the traders. Their wants and desires are few, and easily satisfied, as appears from the cheerfulness of their countenances. The happiness that flows from the enjoyment of the natural affections between husband and wife, parent and child, is to be seen in their cabins: nor are they insensible to the pleasures of society, dancing being a favourite amusement, accompanied with a simple sort of music.

On some occasions they love to decorate their persons. A party of young warriors saluted us one day, as we were halting under a little grove of oranges and magnolias. They were all dressed and
 painted

painted very smartly, and wore silver chains and ornaments; their crests adorned, after the Seminole mode, with waving plumes of feathers.

After we had taken our departure from Taskawila, we visited the town of Talahasockte, on the banks of St. Juan, which is a remarkably clear stream, said to take its source in a great swamp, one hundred miles north of this town. Here we were entertained at the trading-house; and our companions unloaded their pack-horses, and exchanged their goods for deer-skins, furs, dry fish, honey, bees' wax, bears' oil, and some other natural productions.

These Indians have large, handsome canoes, which they form out of the trunks of cypress trees. Some of them conveniently accommodate from twenty to thirty persons. They descend the river in these canoes, on trading and hunting expeditions on the sea coasts, and sometimes extend their voyage even as far as Cuba. A crew of these adventurers arrived, whilst we were there, loaded with a cargo of coffee, sugar, tobacco, and spirituous liquors, which cause the destruction of many of the Indian tribes; for having once tasted rum, they have no longer the resolution to restrain themselves. A drinking bout followed the opening of this baneful treasure; quarrels ensued, and the peaceful scene was changed to drunkenness, brawls, and confusion.

Our friend, the trader, had concluded his bargains, and we were glad to withdraw from such a disgusting

disgusting picture of human nature in a state of debasement.

In our way to the town of Apalachuela, near a creek of excellent water, we found an encampment of Indians. The men were out a hunting. The women, willing to have a peep at strangers, came to the door of their tents, veiled in their mantle; but when we paid our respects to them, showed their faces with great modesty of behaviour.

Apalachuela is esteemed the capital of the Creek confederacy, and sacred to peace, no captives being ever put to death here. When a general peace is proposed, the deputies from the towns that form the union, meet here to deliberate on the accomplishment of the treaty.

The great Coweta town, twelve miles higher up the river, on the contrary, is called the bloody town, because the Micas, chiefs, and warriors assemble there when a general war is proposed; and captives taken in war are put to death at that place.

Three days' journey brought us to Talassee, a town on the Tallaposse river, which is the north-eastern branch of the Alabama or Mobile river. Having passed over a vast extent of level country, varied by savannahs, groves where the squirrel and cameleon sport amongst the trees, lone swamps, and open pine forests, watered by innumerable rivulets and brooks, we altered our course towards the south, and approached the banks of the river, where Indian towns and plantations enlivened our road.

road. Talassee stands in a fruitful plain, sheltered by a ridge of swelling hills. The houses consist of a wooden frame, with plaistered walls, and roofs of cypress bark : four of them compose one habitation, and enclose an oblong square.

Having taken a fresh store of provisions, and procured a guide to set us in the great trading path for West Florida, we proceeded, for eighteen miles, through a grand forest, frequently affording us a view of Indian towns, and at night pitched our tent under the shelter of a venerable oak. The first part of our next day's journey lay across extensive grassy plains, enamelled with a profusion of strawberries, which allayed our thirst, and refreshed us inexpressibly. To this open country succeeded a forest, which in some parts bordered the Alabama river.

For nine miles we rode through a continued grove of dog-wood trees, which being in bloom was really beautiful. Wild forest scenes, varied at times by flowing rivulets and gentle hills, conducted us to the borders of the Schambe, which we forded, and pitching our tents on the opposite bank, enjoyed a refreshing night's rest. Low swampy cane meadows presented a less agreeable landscape than the day before. As we approached the bay of Mobile, we passed high rocky cliffs, that indicated beds of rich iron ore. We lodged at Taensa, which is a pretty high bluff, or bank of sand. The evening was sultry hot. About midnight we were disturbed

disturbed by a tremendous thunder-storm. The air and earth were refreshed by the rain, and we had a pleasant ride to the city of Mobile, though it scarcely deserves that name. A few Europeans, of different nations, reside there, who carry on a trade with the Indians. From this place we proceeded directly for Pensacola, which is delightfully situated on gentle rising ascents, surrounding a spacious harbour, capable of containing a multitude of ships. Several rivers run into this bay, but none of them are navigable for large vessels. The governor's residence is a stone building, ornamented with a tower built by the Spaniards. The tower is defended by a fortress; and many of the inhabitants have handsome, convenient houses. After our long rambles, amongst savage tribes and a wild country, we enjoy a few days' repose, amongst people of our own colour and habits, who treat us with the most friendly hospitality. Such a favourable opportunity for writing I would not neglect, believing you will be pleased to hear from your affectionate brother,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Mrs Middleton.

Pensacola.

MADAM,

IT is with pleasure I assure you that your son's health is improved by travelling, and his mind enlarged by associating with persons of different education and modes of life.

For some weeks our time has been spent very much amongst the Indian tribes. Their habits differ essentially from the Europeans. They are more the children of nature; and being unenlightened by the sacred truths of Christianity, yield in principle, to revenge and cruelty, which we have been taught to subdue. Our acquaintance with this people is yet but slight; I can therefore only point out a few leading traits of their character, which, however, may probably afford you some amusement.

The Muskogees, which are probably the most numerous tribe of any within the limits of the United States, inhabit a hilly, but not a mountainous country, abounding in creeks and rivulets, whence they are often called Creek Indians. The men are tall and well-shaped, their countenances
expressive

expressive of magnanimity and independence. The women, though delicately formed, are very short; but their features are often regularly beautiful, particularly their eyes, which are large, black, and languishing. Being very numerous, and exposed to their potent and declared enemy, the Chactaws, they associate in large towns, which occasions great scarcity of game, and obliges them to be vigilant and industrious; qualities that form their manners to a dignified gravity, very conspicuous in the aged people.

Their hospitality may serve as an example to nations that boast of being more civilized. If an Indian travels to a distant town, he enters the first house upon which he fixes his eye, without ceremony, and says, "I am come." "You are—it is well," replies the master or mistress of the house; and immediately the table is spread with the best they have, and his arrival welcomed with the social pipe. When sufficiently refreshed, he rises, and says, "I go." "You do," is the answer; and he takes his departure without interruption. In several places we saw the vestiges of decayed Indian towns, often accompanied by a mount or terrace, and neglected orchards of peaches and plums. There are also barrows, or tombs of the dead, scattered in different parts of the country. We have seen them of various sizes; some constructed of earth, and some of loose stones. They are of such antiquity,

antiquity, that it cannot be ascertained whether they enclose the bones of those who fell in a battle fought on the spot, or whether they are the remains of persons who have died at different times and places, collected together into one vast grave, consistent with a supposed custom of these nations. Another opinion is, that they have been general sepulchres for towns, built near the place; but, for whatever purpose they have been made, they are highly venerated, and well known to the Indians, as appears from their finding their way through the most extensive forests exactly to the spot: here they remain some time, and vent their sorrow in expressive lamentations. Some of these barrows have been opened, and found to contain human bones, of all sizes, thrown together without the least order or regularity. They are often covered with trees, and surrounded with a sort of ditch, whence, probably, the earth was taken, of which they are composed. My own observations are not sufficient to enable me to define the peculiarities of the Muskogees; but I will give you my sentiments as to the general character of those Indians I have seen. The love of glory is their predominant passion, and stimulates the youth to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the greatest dangers in the chase, in order to convince their parents, and the council of the nation, that they deserve to be enrolled in the number of the warriors. The songs of the women, the dance of the warriors, the sage counsel

counsel of the chiefs, the tales of the old, the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with success from the battle, and the respect paid to those who distinguish themselves in war, animate them with an ardent thirst for military fame. A young hero, who has achieved any distinguished exploit, has no occasion to pay his court to a young woman to gain her affections: the girls pay court to him, and think it an honour to become the object of his choice. The same principle forbids a father to show immoderate grief for a son slain in battle; but their affections are as keen, and their sorrow as great, as the civilized nations of Europe, when their children are sick, or taken from them in the course of nature.

Their courage is not that kind only that is felt in the heat of action; they know how to meet death and suffer torture, without shrinking from either, when the honour of their nation is concerned: as is evinced by the unshaken fortitude with which they bear the excruciating pains they suffer from their enemies before they are put to death, when taken captives. Revenge is a strong feature in their character. They seem to consider it as a duty to the friends who have been injured, to avenge their cause. A dreadful instance of this once happened to a Spanish governor of St. Augustine, whose son, with two of his friends, went on an expedition for hunting and fishing, in a small bark, on the southern coast of Florida. Attracted by the variety of game,
and

and the diversified scenes of the country, they imprudently ventured far beyond the Spanish fort. Just as they were entering a harbour for the night, they were overtaken by a band of Creeks, who carried them off to one of their towns. At that time there was a fierce war between the Spaniards and the Indians. The innocent captives were condemned to be burnt. Some English traders, who had influence with the Indians, interfered to save them, both by entreaties and the offer of a large ransom; telling them that they were young men of high rank, and one of them the governor's son.

The reply of the chiefs, convened in council, was as follows.

“Brothers and friends, we have been considering this business concerning the captives; and that, under the eye and fear of the Great Spirit. You know that these people are our cruel enemies; they save no lives of us red men, who fall into their power. You say that the youth is the son of the Spanish governor. We believe it, and are sorry he has fallen into our hands; but he is our enemy. The two young men, his friends, are equally our enemies. We are sorry to see them here; but we know no difference in their flesh and blood. If we save one, we must save all three; but we cannot do it. The red men require their blood, to appease the spirits of their slain relations. They have entrusted to us the guardianship of our laws and rights. We cannot betray them. We have, however,

however, a sacred power to extend mercy to a certain degree. A third is saved by lot. The Great Spirit allows us to put it to that decision. He is no respecter of persons."

The lots were cast, and the governor's son was burnt. In this instance they seem to have been guided more by error in judgment than a bad intention.

The following anecdote will afford a fine example of their eloquence, and throw light on the spirit that stimulates them to avenge their kindred.

In the spring of 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on the frontiers of Virginia, by two Indians of the Shawance tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage by their own authority. Colonel Cresap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on those much-injured people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway, in quest of vengeance. Unfortunately, a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, unarmed, and unsuspecting a hostile attack from the whites. Cresap and his followers concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and at one fire killed every person in it. This canoe happened to contain the family of Logan, who had long been a distinguished friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance.

geance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued.

A decisive battle was fought in the autumn between the collected forces of the Indians and the Virginians. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disclaimed to be seen amongst the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which such an eminent chief absented himself, he caused the following pathetic speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore, then governor of the province.

“ I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘ Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it—I have killed many—I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear.

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He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

They are as warm in friendship as they are keen in vengeance, as I will show by the relation of another fact.

Colonel Byrd was sent to the Cherokee nation, to transact some business with them. It happened that some of the borderers had just killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore proposed in the counsel of the Cherokees that Colonel Byrd should be put to death, in revenge for the loss of their countrymen. Among them was a chief called Silouée, who, on some former occasion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Colonel Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, they should not kill him. After many days' deliberation, however, the determination was, contrary to Silouée's expectation, that Byrd should be put to death; and some warriors were dispatched as executioners. Silouée attended them, and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors, "*This man is my friend; before you get at him, you must kill me.*" On which they returned; and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination.

Their government is a kind of confederacy, united under the conduct of one chief. Every town or family has a peculiar chief, who is distinguished

by a particular title, and whom the whites commonly call Sachem. The several towns or families that compose a tribe, have a chief who presides over it; and the several tribes composing a nation have a chief, who is the supreme ruler of the whole. These chiefs are generally men advanced in years, and distinguished by their wisdom in council. The chiefs of the towns settle the private affairs of their neighbours. The appointment of warriors, and settling differences between townships and families, are regulated at a council of the chiefs from the several towns; and making war, concluding peace, or forming alliances with the neighbouring nations, are the subjects of deliberation in the national council, attended by the principal warriors and chiefs from the towns, who are counsellors to the chief of the nation.

In every town there is a council-house. Every tribe has a fixed place for the transaction of the public business belonging to it; and in every nation there is the council-house, where consultations are held on the affairs of the state.

Their religious ideas are confused with strange superstitions and absurd fables. They believe in the superintending providence of a Supreme Being, whom they adore under the title of the Great Spirit, or Lord of the Universe. Him they invoke for protection at home, and assistance in war; and honour him by feasts, in order to procure favourable

favourable seasons for hunting. These feasts are annually held in winter, on returning from the chase; when choice carcasses are presented, and sometimes a white dog is sacrificed. They repeat these ceremonies in spring, before the seed is put into the ground; and after harvest, when they have gathered the produce. They believe also in the existence of inferior deities; especially two, of whom they relate a strange allegory, representing the good and evil principles. According to their tradition, the good being, to whom they give a very hard Indian name*, had a twin brother†, of an opposite disposition, under which they represent evil. Their grandmother, say they, was cast down from heaven, when she was with child of their mother, and falling on the back of a great turtle, began to form the earth. When the two brothers grew up, the evil one ever endeavoured to frustrate the good intentions of his beneficent brother. At last they fought, and the earth shook at the combat. They passed over the continent of America; and according to their different agitations and tones of voice, the nations who afterwards were produced spoke different languages. Such is their history of the creation; and though very absurd, not more so than some of the fables of the natives of Indoostan. When compared with all other systems, how does the Mosaic account of the same

* Tcharonghyawagon.

† Tawiskaron.

great event rise in sublimity ! But my observations on this subject, to you, are needless.

I am, most respectfully, your's,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XVIII.

From Arthur Middleton to his Brother.

Nashville.

DEAR EDWIN,

AFTER a few days' rest at Pensacola, Mr. Franklin, whose mind is ever active, became impatient to pursue the object he had undertaken, and I was ready to follow him. We therefore took our departure in a boat, well stored, by the kindness of our friends, with every thing we could want; and keeping near the coast, upon which we observed several farms and plantations, proceeded to Pearl river. We landed on a small island of the same name: in the middle it rises to some height, but is nearly begirt with salt marshes, except a promontory, composed of white clam shells and sand. We embarked again, and were presently put ashore opposite to New Orleans, which we reached on foot, having disposed of our horses at Pensacola. New Orleans is the capital of Louisiana, and stands on the east side of the Mississippi. A few years ago

ago it was almost destroyed by a dreadful fire; but its advantages for trade are so great, that it is rebuilding very fast, and is likely to become the grand mart for the natural productions of the fertile and extensive country that borders the Mississippi and the Ohio. Many of the inhabitants being ill of a pestilential fever, we decamped in haste, and having hired a boat, proceeded along the Mississippi to Manchac. During our row, we had leisure to admire this noble stream, which deserves the title of the Great Father of Rivers, that being the meaning of the word Mississippi. Every object that belongs to it bears the stamp of sublime grandeur. The banks rise high one above another, and are clothed with majestic trees. At Manchac the shores are fifty feet above the surface of the river; but even these are overflowed in the spring by sudden inundations. We saw at an Indian village, a few miles from the town, manufactures of earthen-ware and pretty baskets; some of the latter we purchased. In our way back to our quarters, we passed a charming garden, glowing with fine flowers, particularly the fragrant tuberoses, which grows here in the open air to great perfection.

The candleberry myrtle, or wax-tree, is common in these parts. It is a beautiful evergreen, that grows on wet, sandy ground, and produces great numbers of large, round berries, which are covered

with a coat of a waxy substance, preferred by the inhabitants to bees' wax, for candles.

We suffered greatly from the stings of mosquitoes, in our passage from Manchac to the Natches, a settlement that is often called the Mississippi territory. Though the climate is very unwholesome, causing intermitting fevers in the summer and autumn, numbers of emigrants fix their abodes there, on account of the profitable culture of the long-woolled cotton, a plant that succeeds admirably in that soil.

Here we were again obliged to procure horses, and join a party of traders who were going to Nashville. Except a few villages belonging to the Chicasaw Indians, there was no prospect of seeing a town, or the traces of a human habitation, for six hundred miles. Our company, of course, were under the necessity of loading a sufficient number of pack-horses with provisions for this dreary journey, not daring to rely on game and fish only, which we sometimes obtained on our way. Without attempting to weary you with the particulars of every day, I shall only say, that for nearly five hundred miles we traversed a sandy, level country, partly covered with pines, which would have been insufferably tedious, but for the ever-entertaining conversation, and uninterrupted kindness of Mr. Franklin, whose conduct daily increases my esteem and attachment to him.

As we approached the side of the Tennessee, the country became extremely rich and fertile, and perhaps appeared with greater advantage to us, from the contrast to that we had just left. We were conducted through this extensive wilderness by a mere path; but the federal government of the United States is forming a broad road, with secure bridges over the small rivers that interrupt it, which will enable future travellers to go in a carriage from Boston to New Orleans, a distance of two thousand miles.

Nashville is the principal town in this part of Tennessee, and is built on a bare rock, on the river Cumberland, the banks of which are formed of a mass of brimstone, full sixty feet in height. The houses are scattered about in an irregular manner, and, except a very few of brick, are made with planks. Here are several stores or shops for goods of different kinds; but they are dear, and indifferently supplied. Though it stands close to the side of a river, the inhabitants find it difficult to procure water, as there are no springs to be found near it.

You will easily believe that the forests produce different species of trees, according to the nature of the soil; consequently I have lately observed some that I have not mentioned in my former letters, particularly the cherry tree; white walnut; buck eye; white, black, and blue ash; ackberry; slippery elm; black jack oak; coffee tree; honey locust; and the papaw, which bears a fruit as large as a hen's egg. The white and yellow tulip tree,

(distinguished only by the colour of the timber,) and the cucumber tree, are often eighteen feet in circumference; and the planes attain a still greater size.

Ginseng is a plant that is found in America, from Lower Canada to Georgia. It grows on the declivities of mountains, in cool, shady places, and in the richest soil. We were told by a person who deals in it, that it was first discovered in Canada, by a French missionary. As it was known to be highly valuable to the Chinese, who procure it from the Tartars, it became an article of commerce with China, and for a short time was sold for its weight in gold, but soon fell in price, from its being badly prepared. The hunters collect the roots, which is the part used chiefly for medicine, and sell them, when dry, to the inland merchants, who supply those in the sea-ports for exportation. The Chinese have a method of making these roots in some degree transparent, which greatly enhances the value. Some Americans have learned this art, but they keep it a secret.

Formerly there were elks and bisons in the country of Kentucky, but since the settlement of the Europeans they are no longer to be found. Troops of one or two hundred were seen feeding together, and they were so tame as not to fear the hunters, who frequently killed them for the sake of the tongue only, which is esteemed a dainty. Fear and want of food have driven them to the banks of
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the Mississippi. The most common wild animals in this country now are deer, bears, wolves, foxes, wild cats, raccoons, opossums, and several kinds of squirrels.

The raccoon is very destructive in the maize fields. It climbs up the stems, breaks them down, and gnaws the ears. The farmers hunt it with dogs in the night, for it generally lies concealed during the day. The planters have most enmity against the squirrels, which make great havoc amongst the wheat. Several times a day the children are sent round the fields to scare them from the corn. At the least noise they run off by dozens, and take refuge in the trees, where they hide till they have a safe opportunity of returning to the spoil. These animals, like the bears, change their situation with the season, and at the approach of winter appear in such multitudes in Kentucky, that the farmers are obliged to unite to hunt them. I have been invited to one of these great hunting matches. The hunters divided into pairs, many of which killed thirty or forty squirrels; but had they not had a partner, they would scarcely have killed one, because these cunning little creatures lay themselves along the trunk of the tree which they have climbed, and turn about so dexterously, as always to keep the tree between them and the hunter. A dinner was provided for us in the wood, and upwards of sixty poor squags were

roasted : and delicate white meat they are, and eat better roasted than any other mode of cooking them.

Sincerely hoping you may never have a worse dinner than a roasted squirrel, I put an end to this long epistle, which I hope will afford you and my sisters some amusement.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XIX.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Knoxville.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

As I know your desire of enriching your mind with useful knowledge, I endeavour to collect such information as shall add to your stock, and at the same time afford you some amusement.

The state of Tennessee, part of which we crossed in our way hither, had no white settlements in it before the year 1780, nor did the emigrants fix there in considerable numbers till nine years afterwards. The Cherokees harassed them on all occasions, and obliged them to carry on a fierce war, till, overcome by superior force, they were compelled to yield to a peace, and confine themselves
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to the southward of this province, which lies between their territories and the new state of Kentucky.

Before this country was admitted into the Union, it formed a part of North Carolina. Its two principal rivers are the Cumberland and the Tennessee, which are separated by the Cumberland Mountains, and both fall into the Ohio. The Cumberland Ridge runs obliquely through the state, and divides it into two parts, distinguished by the names of East and West Tennessee. The district on the western side of the mountains, is twice as large as that on the other, and is very fertile, as appears from the vast size of the trees. Most of the smaller rivers lose their waters in the Cumberland, and are nearly dry in summer, which, it is feared, will cause a scarcity of water, when the country shall become more populous. The people may, however, find a resource in the large brooks, or creeks, that are never dry, which issue in many places from deep caverns at the bottom of the low hills. As the water rushes from its subterraneous bed, it is sometimes attended by a current of air, so strong that I have seen it extinguish a light.

The mildness of the climate, fertility of the soil, and the certainty of acquiring a comfortable subsistence, draw multitudes of emigrants from the old states hither.

Cotton is the staple commodity by which they enrich themselves. Those who have no negroes

cultivate it with the plough, taking care to keep it well weeded and hoed; but if they can afford to purchase slaves, it is planted on parallel ridges, twelve or fifteen feet high, made with the hoe. Spinning the cotton employs the women and children. I one day stopped at a house to get a draught of milk, where the mistress had just received a prize of ten piastres from the legislature of the state, for producing the best piece of manufactured cotton. The wealthy encourage this rivalry amongst the women, by wearing calicoes made in the country.

Those emigrants who are not able to purchase lands, hire them for eight or ten bushels of maize, for every acre they clear; and, by their bargain, they are obliged to build a log-house on the farm.

Many churches are not yet built in Tennessee: to supply the deficiency, it is common for the people to meet in the woods of a Sunday, to hear a discourse from some itinerant preacher.

East Tennessee lies between the highest part of the Allegany and the Cumberland Mountains, and is watered by a great number of small rivers, that descend from them, and cross it in all directions. It is a hilly country, and not very fertile, and produces, principally, pines and oaks, of different species; one of these is called the over-cup white oak, the acorns of which are as large as an egg.

Maize, or Indian corn, is much cultivated here, but it does not grow to such perfection as on the
western

western side of the mountains, where it reaches to the height of eleven feet; and the ears are often nine or ten inches long, and thick in proportion. Numerous herds of cattle are reared by the farmers, who send them four or five hundred miles, to the towns on the sea coast. Though these animals are very wild, from living in the woods, and have a number of rivers to cross, and uncultivated forests to traverse, yet very few of them are lost in the journey.

Not being satisfied with the general account I had received of East Tennessee, I determined to direct our course that way. We advanced through beautiful forests, and were frequently entertained by the owners of plantations, thickly scattered on the borders of the road, though always sequestered in the midst of woods. The inhabitants live in good log-houses; most of them are assisted by negroes, and enjoy plenty with content.

We observed a stone house belonging to General Winchester, much superior in elegance to most of the dwellings in the country. In order to finish it completely, carpenters were had from Baltimore, at nearly seven hundred miles distance. We halted at Fort Blount, which was erected to defend the first emigrants against the Indians, who opposed their settlement; but being no longer necessary, the fortifications are destroyed. Roaring River, one of the branches of the Cumberland, receives its name from the confused noise occasioned by the falls of the
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the water, over the sudden depressions of its bed, which is formed of large, flat stones, close to each other. These falls are six, eight, or ten feet in height, and follow one another so closely, that they may be compared to a vast flight of steps. Large round stones, five or six feet across, lie in the middle of the river; but it is not possible to say how they came there.

The right bank rises in some places to a hundred feet, and is overtopped by projecting rocks, in some parts covered with a kind of white moss, resembling snow.

The prospects are rendered still more romantic, by a number of magnificent cascades, formed by large rivulets, which, after meandering through the forests, fall over the shores of Roaring River, and are lost amidst its waters. The rocks are covered with moss, which forms a verdant carpet, beneath the rich flowering trees and shrubs that grow here in great variety.

On the banks of this river are several caverns, that produce alum of so pure a quality, that the inhabitants use it in dyeing, and export it to Kentucky.

Having supplied ourselves with provisions, we entered the mountainous territory of the Cherokees. At midnight we encamped near a small river, where there was plenty of grass, and after having made a fire, lay down in our blankets, watching our horses by turns, with Sancho, lest the Indians should

should steal them, which they are very apt to do, without the strictest precaution.

In the morning we packed up our baggage, and met several flocks of wild turkeys, forty or fifty in a company. A party of Indians, who were seeking for summer grapes and chinquapins, a well-tasted small species of chesnut, crossed our road, and in exchange for some of their fruit, received a couple of loaves of bread, which to them is a great luxury; their common food being chiefly deer's flesh roasted.

Small boards, painted black, are nailed against the trees, to show travellers how far they have gone; after passing two of these, since our traffic with the Indians, we saw a carriage full of wealthy emigrants, followed by their negroes on foot. At the confluence of the rivers Clinch and Holston, we passed a pallisaded fort, built on a high hill, called West Point. About a mile beyond it, the road goes through Kingstown, composed of nearly forty log-houses. In the evening we reached Knoxville, which is the seat of government of the state of Tennessee. It is but a small town, built almost entirely of wood, and has no manufactures but that of tanning leather: there is, however, some trade, and the stores are better furnished than those at Nashville.

The traders obtain goods from Philadelphia by land, which is distant six hundred and forty miles; and

and they send flour, cotton, and lime, by the river Tennessee, and New Orleans, which is as far.

A merchant, who is now setting off for Philadelphia, will take this letter, and forward it to England by the first vessel that sails for that port.

I am your very affectionate friend,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XX.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Morgantown.

DEAR EDWIN,

THE love of variety supports me under the fatigues and hardships we are often obliged to suffer in passing through uninhabited or savage districts; and I console myself when I have no other bed than the hard ground, that when I return to my native country, the meanest accommodations will satisfy me, nay, will appear luxurious, in comparison with those I have often been glad to procure amongst the wilds we have traversed.

We have lately passed through the territory of the Cherokee Indians: they are a warlike people, and vigorously resisted the intrusion of the first settlers. Their stature is above the middle size,
and

and they are plumper than might be expected, from the long fasts they often endure, whilst pursuing the wild animals in the woods, which is their chief sustenance; though for some years past they have followed the example of the white settlers, in cultivating their lands. Some of them have good plantations, and negroes to labour for them. It is impossible to imagine any set of men more free and independent than these savage tribes, and their contempt for a slave equals their love of liberty; consequently, they despise the poor negroes still more than the white people do, though they are willing to employ them.

The men commonly wear a shirt, which they leave loose; and a piece of blue cloth passed beneath their legs, and fastened behind and before to their girdle, which serves them for breeches. They cover their legs and feet with gaiters, and shoes or socks, made of prepared deer-skin. A tuft of hair is left on the top of their heads, formed into several tresses, which hang down the sides of their faces; and very frequently the ends are decorated with feathers, or small pipes of silver. A great many of them make holes through the gristle of the nose, to put rings into; and when they are very young, cut their ears, and make them grow to a great length by hanging pieces of lead to them. They paint their faces red, blue, or black, which disfigures them very much.

In many respects the women dress like the men: they

they wear a man's shirt, and short petticoat, with socks and gaiters of deer's skin. They let all their hair grow, which, like that of the men, is of a jet black, but they do not pierce the nose or cut the ears.

In winter, both men and women defend themselves from the cold by a woollen blanket wrapped round their shoulders. A blanket is an essential part of their baggage, and they always carry one with them. The federal government encourages them to be industrious, by furnishing them with implements for agriculture, and tools for handicraft trades. Some of the women have learned to spin, and weave cotton cloth.

At a store near Fort Blount, we saw a great number of these people, who had brought ginseng, and the skins of bears, deer, and otters, to exchange for coarse stuffs, knives, hatchets, and other articles. Their intercourse with the white people has altered their manners, in a small degree, as we were told by a very aged chief, whom we saw in one of their towns. He said, that when he was a young man, they had no iron hatchets, pots, hoes, knives, razors, or guns; but that they then made use of their own stone axes, clay pots, flint knives, and bows and arrows: and that he was the first man who brought these articles from the whites, having walked with a load of them on his back several hundred miles. It was delightful to see the veneration and respect that was paid to this white-headed,

headed, blind old man, for he had lost his sight from great age. One morning his attendants had led him to the council fire, in the centre of the public square, when he addressed the people in the following words :

“ BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

“ YOU yet love me ; what can I now do to merit your regard ? Nothing. I am good for nothing. I cannot see to shoot the buck, or hunt up the sturdy bear. I know I am but a burthen to you : I have lived long enough ; now let my spirit go. I want to see the warriors of my youth, in the country of spirits. Here is the hatchet, (laying bare his breast,) take it, and strike.”

The square resounded with one united voice, “ We will not ; we cannot. We want you in our councils.” The old chief seemed affected at the regard of his countrymen, and indeed I am not ashamed to say, I could not restrain my tears.

For some miles beyond Knoxville, the land was poor and stony, producing a great number of chinquapin oaks, not above a yard high, but so loaded with acorns, that they were bent to the ground.

The sorrel tree is common in this country ; it grows to a great height, and is adorned with elegant bunches of white flowers.

We had comfortable quarters, one night, at the house of a farmer, whose log-house was divided into two apartments ; a luxury not very common

in this neighbourhood. Some very fine apple-trees were planted round the house, besides an orchard for peaches, which are preferred for the sake of the brandy they make from them. Here we saw two families who were going to settle in Tennessee. They looked poor, were very ragged, and were followed by their children, barefooted and in their shirts.

Riches, in the western country, do not consist in money, as with us; but in the abundance of corn and other necessary provision, which the industrious raise for themselves.

We stopped at the iron-works, about thirty miles beyond Knoxville. The iron obtained from them is said to be of an excellent kind. Small rock crystals, of the most beautiful transparency, are found in abundance in this part of the country. I did not fail to collect some of the finest of them for my sisters, hoping to enrich their cabinet with many valuable curiosities when I return.

We lodged at Grenville, a small town of about forty log-houses; and passing over a country rather hilly, reached Jonesborough to dinner, the next day. It is the last town in Tennessee: the houses are built with planks. Whilst dinner was preparing, I read the newspaper, which is published here once a week.

Our journey from this place to Morgantown, in North Carolina, was across the Allegany Ridge, of which I must give you some account. In Pennsylvania and Virginia this chain of mountains
appears

appears like high ridges, nearly parallel to each other, enclosing narrow valleys; and if the space between them extends to a considerable distance, it is filled with a multitude of unconnected hills; but here, on the confines of North Carolina and Tennessee, they rise singly to a great height, being joined together only at the base. They differ in size, and are distinguished by peculiar names. The great Father Mountain is in the first rank; then the Iron Mountain, the Black Mountain, the Table Mountain, and the Yellow Mountain, which is the only one that is free from trees at the summit: we clambered to the highest points of it, and saw from thence all those I have named, and a vast extent of mountainous country. The northern sides of these mountains are sometimes entirely clothed with the calico tree, the flowers of which are most beautiful.

New settlers are continually fixing their abode on the declivities of these hills, attracted by the healthiness of the situation, the goodness of the water, and the quantities of wild peas, for feeding cattle, that overrun the ground in the large woods.

A species of salamander, or water eft, two feet long, is found in the torrents, called here the alligator of the mountains.

The inhabitants of this rude district are very expert in the chase. In autumn they pursue the bears with strong dogs, which, without approaching these unwieldy creatures, tease and aggravate them,

them, till they force them to climb a tree, where they are shot by the hunters. The bear is a very profitable animal to these people. They prefer the flesh, as the most wholesome and agreeable of any kind of meat. The hind legs are made into hams, the fat is used instead of oil, and the skin brings some money into their purse. They fatten in winter upon roots, acorns, and chesnuts; and in the southern countries, plunder the orange groves of their fruit. If driven by hunger, they fall upon the pigs; and sometimes, from necessity, attack men.

Thick fogs prevail in the valleys, and render them very cold. The track that we pursued was often distinguished with difficulty; and as we travelled many miles without seeing a single house, we were obliged to rely upon our memory in observing large rocks, or remarkable trees, which had been named to us, as tokens that we had not lost our road. Sancho was compelled to carry a hatchet, to clear the way through forests of rhododendrons, eighteen or twenty feet high, the branches of which were so interwoven, that without this precaution, we could not force a passage.

In some parts, the descent was so steep, we could scarcely sit upon our horses, but found it prudent to get off and lead them. Often we had torrents to cross, the bottoms of which were covered with loose flints; and in other places, large flat stones lay across the road, and rendered our journey very fatiguing. However, we surmounted
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all these difficulties; passed the Blue Ridges, and the Mountains of Linneville, which are not quite so high, but the path is steeper and more difficult to ascend; and at length arrived at Morgantown, a small place, consisting of plank houses, inhabited by working people. There is only one store, that supplies all the country for five and twenty miles round, with English mercery and haberdashery; which, when they have a scarcity of money, they purchase with smoked hams, barrelled butter, tallow, skins, or ginseng. I send this letter by a person going to Charlestown, which is two hundred and eighty-five miles distant. With love to my mother and sisters, believe me always yours,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXI.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Lexington.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

IN our way from Morgantown hither, we have taken a circuitous direction through a considerable part of Kentucky, which qualifies me to give some account of this newly settled province.

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Some Virginia hunters discovered it about the year 1770, and gave such a favourable report of the country, that others were in a few years induced to form settlements there.

This extensive territory was not inhabited by any Indian nation: they only came there to hunt; but so tenacious are they of their rights, that they resisted the establishment of the white people, by destroying all who were not defended by numbers; which gave it the name of Kentucky, or the Land of Blood. After many of the first emigrants had been put to death, according to the Indian custom, by the most cruel tortures, they no longer emigrated by single families, but united in such multitudes that bore down all opposition: in some years twenty thousand persons have fixed themselves there, which has raised the price of land, and occasioned much imposition in the sale of it.

The river Ohio bounds this state on the north and west for above seven hundred miles. Virginia lies on the east side of it, and Tennessee to the south. It is neither mountainous nor level; and its principal minerals are limestones and coal.

Its most considerable rivers are the Kentucky and Green, which, after running about three hundred miles, fall into the Ohio. The size of these streams, and the rest in this country, differ much according to the season: in summer, many of them may be crossed on foot, which in winter swell to a considerable breadth; a circumstance that puts the

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the inhabitants, in many places, to great difficulty in dry weather, from want of water.

The Barrens, or meadows of Kentucky, extend nearly sixty miles on all sides, and are bounded by woods: from their name, I expected to pass a dry, sandy plain, void of herbage, but was agreeably surprised to see them covered with grass, intermixed with flowering plants. Compared with the forests and cultivated country, it was an uninteresting scene; as, except a great number of partridges, scarcely any thing alive is to be heard or seen. We observed many subterraneous caverns, very near the surface of these barrens, and were often glad to quench our thirst at a small trickling stream of water, in the sides of broken holes of the shape of a funnel, rather common here, and which are never dry. The owners of the few plantations on these barrens, lead a most solitary life. A woman, where I stopped for refreshment, told me, that for eighteen months she had not seen any person but her own family, which consisted of a husband and two children. The luxuriant herbage of these meadows is burnt every year, that the cattle may be able to get at the new grass beneath it. They presented so little variety, that both of us were glad to get into a more inhabited country. Most of the people have emigrated from the remote parts of Virginia; and the generality, especially amongst the lower orders, retain the faults for which they are distinguished. Gaming, a love of

spirituous liquors, and ferocious quarrels in consequence of intoxication, are but too common amongst them. They are very inquisitive, and tease a stranger with a multitude of questions. Whence did you come?—where are you going?—what is your name?—where do you live?—and why do you travel?—are to be answered wherever you stop, till the repetition becomes truly tiresome.

As schools are established wherever the population is sufficiently numerous to support them, there are grounds to hope that the morals of the rising generation will be superior to those of their ancestors, whose care to provide immediate support absorbed their principal attention. Tobacco, hemp, and grain, are cultivated with success; but the cold often sets in too early to suffer the cotton plant to ripen. Peaches are the fruit most cultivated; though, probably, other kinds would thrive. Pigs are turned into the peach orchards a little while before the fruit is ripe, that they may feast upon the wind-falls. Immense quantities of peaches are distilled into brandy: a great deal of this intoxicating liquor is drunk, and the rest is exported. Horses and cattle are principal articles of commerce in Kentucky; and salt is absolutely necessary to fatten them: in all the western states, it is mixed with their food, and is an allurement to them to return from the woods to the plantations. Wild turkeys are numerous, and, in the uninhabited

bited parts, so tame as to be easily shot. In autumn and winter they feed chiefly upon acorns and chestnuts. They inhabit the sides of rivers, and perch upon the tops of the highest trees.

One of the peculiar beauties of this country is the perpetual foliage of the trees, which continues unimpaired, even in the depth of winter, though a considerable degree of cold is felt.

We did not pass many towns. Harrod's Burgh may serve for a specimen of the rest: it is merely a small group of plank houses. Near it lives General Adair, whose large, convenient house, retinue of black servants, and equipage, mark him for a man of consequence; but these distinctions are not very usual in America, less respect being paid to rank than in any country I was ever in before.

I write this from Lexington, which is situated in the middle of a spot of cleared land, surrounded with woods, like all the other inferior towns of the United States, which are not near the sea. It is built on a regular plan, with broad streets intersecting each other. Most of the houses are brick. Though Franckfort is the seat of government of Kentucky, Lexington is the most considerable town in the province. There are but few manufactures, agriculture being the favourite pursuit. We visited, however, two printing offices, each of which issues a newspaper; a rope work; a tannery; a nail manufactory; and, in the neighbourhood, a pottery and a gunpowder mill.

Lest I should fatigue your attention with too many objects, I will conclude, after desiring to be remembered, in the most affectionate manner, to my brother and your family.

H. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Pittsburgh.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

WHEN I have nothing to communicate but the departure from one town, and arrival at another, without any thing new or interesting to say, I defer the task of writing as long as I can, lest, instead of receiving my letters with pleasure, you should break open the seal with reluctance, except for the sake of hearing that I am well.

A voyage on the Ohio will, I hope, afford you entertainment in the relation, as it did me in reality.

After leaving Lexington, we passed through the small town of Paris, agreeably situated in a plain of considerable extent, and watered by a stream that turns several corn mills. Millesburgh is another town, of no great size, that lay in our road; beyond

beyond it the country bore a dry, sandy appearance, and the trees stunted in their growth, which Mr. Franklin attributed to the salt mines, with which it abounds. We stopped to observe the process of some salt-works, established near some pits of salt water at Mays-Lick. There are a great many salt springs, both in this neighbourhood and on the banks of the Ohio, which the people call *licks*, because the elks, bisons, and stags, which ran wild in the forests before the country was inhabited, used to come to these places to lick the salt particles from the earth. The most remarkable of these licks, that are known amongst the white settlers, are Bullet's Lick, the Big Bones, the Blue Licks, and some on the north foot of the river Holston. When the earth is opened to the depth of three feet, the water begins to boil up; and the deeper it is dug, and the drier the weather, the stronger is the brine.

Near some of these licks, on the banks of the Ohio, are found the bones of a prodigious animal, much larger than an elephant, called the mammoth, or big buffalo. The Indians assert, that there are still some of these creatures existing very far northward; but no animal is known to the European settlers, that can compare in bulk, with the tusks, grinders, and skeletons, that are either scattered on the surface of the ground, or a little beneath it, at some of these places. This circumstance has caused

many enquiries, but no very satisfactory information has been obtained.

A Delaware chief, who headed an embassy of warriors, replied to the questions of the Governor of Virginia, on this subject, in the following manner. After first placing himself in a proper attitude to make an oration, he told them that it was a tradition from their ancestors, that in ancient times, a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Big-bone Licks, and began a universal destruction of the bears, deer, elks, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians: that the Great Man above, looking down, saw this, and was so enraged, that he seized his lightning, seated himself on a neighbouring mountain, on a rock, (of which his seat and the print of his feet are still to be seen,) and hurled his bolts among them, till the whole was slaughtered, except the big bull, which presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell: but not being aware of one of them, it wounded him in the side; upon which he gave a spring, bounded over the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, and finally, over the great lakes, where he is living at this day. This strange mixture of truth and fable does not clear up the point, nor prove whether any of this huge race remain, where they inhabit, or what kind of creatures they are. The bones are incontestible evidence that there once was such a race, and that is all we know about it.

Having

Having seen the salt-works, we jogged on to Washington, which we reached at an early hour in the evening; not that great city that was described in some of our former letters, but a small town, with a brisk trade, composed of about two hundred plank houses. The custom of giving several places the same name, makes American geography very confused, and difficult to be remembered. The course of the rivers is the best guide to define which of the places is meant. Thus, the federal city, Washington, stands on the Patowmack, and this near the Ohio.

At the tavern where we lodged, we heard of two persons in the town who were going to Pittsburgh to purchase goods. They were to embark the next morning at Limestone, in a canoe on the Ohio. Mr. Franklin embraced the opportunity of joining their party. We readily disposed of our horses to some travellers, who were just arrived at Limestone, and were going to the eastward of the Alleghanies. All matters being amicably settled, we set out under a most serene sky, and an intense sun, and in a few miles fell in with a first settler; that is, one in search of uncultivated land, where he may choose a spot of ground for himself, on the borders of the savage tribes. This man was going to visit the banks of the Missouri, attracted, as he told us, by the multitude of bisons, beavers, and elks, and the fertility of the soil. When he had determined the place of his choice, he was to

return for his family. Thus he would make a voyage of fourteen or fifteen hundred miles, three times, before he had completed his undertaking. He was alone, in a canoe of eighteen or twenty feet long, and twelve or fifteen inches wide: his dress, like that of all the American hunters, consisted of a short waistcoat with sleeves, a pair of pantaloons, and a broad woollen girdle, of a red and yellow colour. A carbine; a small hatchet, called by the Indians a tomahawk, and used by them both to cut wood, and to dispatch their enemies; two beaver traps; and a large knife hanging to his girdle, composed his hunting equipage. One blanket was all his baggage. Every evening he encamped on the banks of the river, or passed the night by a fire; and when he judged that there was a favourable opportunity for the chase, he penetrated into the woods, for several days, and, from the produce of his hunting, provided himself with food, and procured fresh supplies, by selling the skins of the animals he had killed. This wandering, unsettled life, gives these people a distaste to a fixed home: they are no sooner settled, but they dispose of their land to other settlers, who are more civilized, and then set out again to explore uninhabited regions.

The shores of the Ohio are thickly scattered with plantations: the owners live in wretched log-houses, often built in most delightful situations; but the cultivation of the land is sometimes

times neglected, for the pleasure of hunting the stag and the bear, the skins of which bring them ready money, or they exchange them for articles they cannot otherwise procure. These people have not much to give, but they were always willing to let us enjoy the shelter of their houses, to spread our blankets for the night; a mode of lodging to which I am quite reconciled. Maize bread, smoked ham, butter, and milk, were generally our fare; but their larder seldom afforded any other provision, except, accidentally, a piece of venison. The second day, for the sake of amusement, I put out a fishing-net, and caught a cat-fish: it weighed a hundred pounds. This fish is the terror of a smaller race of the finny tribe, which he destroys with a sharp spine, that grows on the first ray of the back fin. When he catches his prey, he sinks below the fish he means to attack, then rising suddenly, wounds it several times in the belly.

In this river, and some others in the western country, there are a great many muscles, of a particular species, of a rather large size: they are not good to eat, but the shell is lined with a thick coat of mother-of-pearl, which is made into buttons. Man is very ingenious, for he contrives to make the parts of almost all other creatures useful to him. We passed many fine situations. Point Pleasant is one of these, a little above the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, a river that falls into the

Ohio. This little promontory stretches out into the middle of the Ohio, which is here very broad: its shelving banks are planted at the bottom with weeping willows. The pendant branches, and pale green of these, form a pleasing contrast with the maples and ash-trees immediately above them; whilst these last are covered, as with a canopy, by the plane, the tulip-tree, the beech, and the magnolia, that rise above them in a majestic manner.

We passed several towns: the principal of them are Alexandria, Gallipoli, Marietta, Wheeling, and West Liberty town. Marietta is the chief place in the state of the Ohio. There may be two hundred houses: some of them of brick; and many of them have two stories, and are handsomely built. Most of them face the river: high hills shelter it behind. It is situated at the union of the great Muskingum with the Ohio; near it are the remains of ancient fortifications belonging to the Indians.

About fifteen miles from the Muskingum, in a small island, is a plane-tree, said to measure above forty feet in circumference. This, to you, may appear like a traveller's wonder; but we, who have seen several nearly that size, can easily believe it.

For some time before we reached Pittsburgh, the Ohio runs between two ridges of hills, frequently unbroken for miles; at other times a river passes through the break, or another hill in a different

ferent direction. For a great length of way the course of this river lies through a mountainous country, covered with forests, and almost uninhabited.

This noble river takes in a vast circuit, winding with a prodigious sweep, for nearly a thousand miles, before it reaches the Mississippi; its breadth varies in different parts. The islands in it are very numerous, and the stream so rapid, that the west-country boats are made almost square, to stem the current; and having raised sides, and roofs at one end, look like floating houses.

After so long a voyage, you must excuse an account of Pittsburgh till my next, and in the meantime believe, that no variety of place or people can ever make me forgetful of the pleasant hours I have passed in your society at home.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXIII.

Mr. Henry Franklin to his Brother.

Lancaster.

DEAR BROTHER,

PITTSBURGH is built on a triangular plain, just at the confluence of the rivers Monongahela and Allegany, which, when united, form the Ohio. Agues are but little known here, though so frequent in many other parts.

It is the great market for the exchange of goods, between Philadelphia and Baltimore, with the western country and the numerous settlements on the Monongahela and Allegany rivers. The greater part of the traders who reside in this town are partners or agents to the commercial houses at Philadelphia. The merchandise is conveyed from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, in large covered waggon, drawn by four horses, two and two abreast: from thence it is frequently sent in carrying boats, along the Ohio and Mississippi, to New Orleans, a distance of more than two thousand miles. Sometimes the cargoes returned by the merchants of New Orleans, go by sea to Philadelphia. Thus a communication, to their mutual benefit, is maintained between the distant parts of this vast and increasing

increasing empire. Thirty years ago, there were scarcely thirty thousand white inhabitants in the three new western states, Tennessee, Kentucky, and that of the Ohio; now they are estimated at four hundred thousand. Do not suppose that this wonderful augmentation arises from the natural increase of the first settlers, but a continued influx of new emigrants, who flock from all parts to this fertile region.

The river Monongahela rises in Virginia, at the foot of Laurel Mountain, which forms part of the chain of the Allegany, and receives some inferior rivers before it joins the Allegany; this latter river takes its source near lake Erie, and begins to be navigable two hundred miles from Pittsburgh. The dock-yards for building ships, give employment to many hands in the town, as well as some at Redstone and Lexington, which supply the cordage.

The time that I had appointed for our stay at Pittsburgh being elapsed, we set forward, with design to bend our course, by way of Northumberland, to New-York. The excessive heat over a mountainous road, prevented us from proceeding further than Greensburgh the first day, a town of about a hundred houses, standing on the summit of a hill. The country near it abounds so much with coal, that it is used for fuel in preference to wood, as being less expensive than cutting wood for the fire. Ligonier's Valley is a fertile tract, producing

producing wheat, rye, and oats, for food; hemp and flax for clothing. Most of the women were at work at the spinning wheel or the loom: their families are supplied with linen by their industry. We observed some wild plants of great beauty; particularly a species of azalea, with large white flowers, that grows to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. At the end of Ligonier's Valley we crossed Laurel Hill, probably so called from the numerous laurels and rhododendrons that cover it.

Some fried ham and deer's flesh, with a cake of maize bread, baked on a board before the fire, at Stanley Town, gave us fresh strength and spirits to ascend the Allegany Ridge, which is extremely steep, and rendered still more inconvenient by enormous stones, that are scattered about the road. We slept at Bedford. Unfortunately for us, it had been a public holiday, and the tavern was filled with people, in such a state of intoxication as to lie dead drunk about the rooms, on the stairs, and in the yard. From those who were able to speak, nothing was heard but a frightful uproar of riot or abuse. Arthur remarked, that a young man did not need a more striking picture of the hateful consequences of excess.

The people in the interior of the United States are too generally prone to the love of spirituous liquors, as a regale; for their common beverage, in summer, is water or sour milk.

The banks of the Juncata, which we crossed in a ferry-boat, are high, and adorned with trees and flowering shrubs. The country people gather the green cones of the cucumber tree, and steep them in whisky, which they consider as a remedy for the ague.

Travelling over a hilly, stony country, we observed several scattered farm-houses, and some small towns, in our way to Shippensburgh. Labour is dear and hands scarce; so that a farmer, instead of considering a numerous family a burthen, finds the assistance of his children a source of wealth.

Shippensburgh is a small place, that trades principally in flour. We lodged at a tavern kept by a colonel; no uncommon case in America, where the distinctions of rank are not yet observed with the same exactness as in Europe.

A mountainous country, with few inhabitants, brought us to Carlisle, a tolerable town, having several stores that deal in mercery, haberdashery, grocery, and liquor. York is a well-built town, chiefly composed of brick-houses, and, like many other places in this part of the country, inhabited by Germans, who still speak their own language. At Columbia we were ferried over the Susquehannah: very high hills form the banks of this river, the middle of which is covered with small, woody islands, which appear to divide it into several branches. Some of these, though very small, are as high as the neighbouring hills, and being irregular

regular in their form, having a picturesque effect, which is improved by multitudes of wild-fowl that nestle in the isles, and hover about the river.

Early in the morning we reached Lancaster, the largest inland town in North America. The houses, which have two stories, are chiefly of brick or stone, with a broad stone pavement, and pumps placed at small distances before them; there are several well-built churches, and an elegant sessions-house. It is computed to contain from four to five thousand inhabitants, nearly all of German extraction, but of different religions and occupations. Hatters, saddlers, coopers, and gunsmiths, are the most numerous.

The gunsmiths are celebrated for rifles, the only kind of fire-arms used by the Indians and the people of the interior. In the town, as well as the neighbourhood, are a great many tan-yards, and mills for grinding corn; the flour is sent to Philadelphia in waggons. Lancaster is surrounded by verdant meadows, watered by a wheel, contrived to raise the water for that purpose. Near it limestones and slates are found, of a large size; and the neighbouring country is full of iron mines.

Having an engagement upon my hands, I cannot enlarge further, than to assure you that I am

Your affectionate brother,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXIV.

Arthur Middleton to his Sister Catherine.

New York.

MY DEAR GIRL,

IT is so long since I have addressed myself to you, that Edwin cannot be jealous of this attention. Whilst we were at Lancaster, we took a ride to Ephrata, to see the establishment of the Dunkers, a religious society well known in America by their solitary mode of life. The men and women live apart, in houses that are without ornament. They wear a long gown, made in winter of grey cloth, and in summer of white linen, tied round the waist with a strap of leather : a long beard renders this dress still more venerable. They live in a plain, frugal manner, and sleep on a bench without a bed. The property of the whole community is shared equally by the members who belong to it. What the principles are that lead to these singularities, I could not learn. From Lancaster to May Town is a woody tract of country. Along the road we saw many German farms, which are known by small houses and large barns. Cows and oxen, with a few sheep, were grazing in the woods, or near

near the road ; and the woods chiefly consist of oak, hiccory, black oak, acacia, chesnut, cherry, and apple trees, a few spindle trees, some cedars and Weymouth pines.

May Town is only a small village. Harrisburgh is another town of no great magnitude. Several ranges of hills, or high ridges, run parallel to each other, in the way from this place to Sunbury, and are in most parts covered with trees. Azalias blossom in almost every wood, and delight both the eye and the smell. We passed many straggling log-houses, and new settlements, where the owners had felled some of the trees, and barked others for several inches in breadth, in order to make them decay.

The mountains over which the road runs from Harrisburgh to Sunbury, are all of granite ; and in some places it is very fine and beautiful. At length we perceived the little town of Sunbury, standing on the bank of the Susquehannah, which, wherever we meet it, is a grand object. The opposite shore is bounded by high mountains, darkened by numerous pines growing on the rocks. Sunbury is the chief town of the country ; but Northumberland is larger and more agreeably situated, though it is ill built, and inhabited chiefly by Dutchmen. Hither the celebrated Dr. Priestley retired, and ended his days in tranquillity.

In one of our walks on the borders of the river we were surprised at hearing the melodious sounds
of

of a piano forte, exquisitely touched, proceed from a small wooden house, built against the side of a high mountain, covered with wood and fragments of rocks. The romantic situation, the unexpected melody, and the apparent poverty of the inhabitants, were such an extraordinary contrast, that we were led to enquire who resided in the hut. It appeared that they were an English family, of refined manners, whom misfortune had driven to seek an asylum in America. Turning our course towards the east, we came to Bethlehem, which is the chief settlement of the Moravians. The town stands on rising ground, nearly encompassed by streams, and is built with great regularity: it consists of about eighty strong stone houses, and a large church.

Towards the centre is a spring, that supplies every house with excellent water: over it is erected a public pantry, (I think I may call it,) with very thick walls, to keep out the heat of the sun, furnished with numerous shelves. In this place, during hot weather, the inhabitants keep their provisions: meat, milk, butter, &c. stand in the neatest order, belonging to different families; where, so honest are the people, that though the door is unfastened, they always find whatever they have deposited there, just as they left it.

The Moravians are a most singular people, as you will acknowledge when I have related the particulars of their establishment. From the elders we received

received the greatest hospitality during our visit to the town; they seemed to take pleasure in showing us the order, harmony, and tranquillity, that prevail in their little commonwealth, which might properly be called the City of Peace; for such is the good will and affection of the inhabitants towards each other, that they are like the members of a large family, that have but one interest in view. They are united together by the bond of religion, and conform their manners and conduct to a discipline which they think agrees with the gospel.

An elder conducted us to every part of the establishment, explaining their rules and discipline, with a civility far more touching than the ceremonious forms of fashionable manners. The young men, young women, and widows, live each in separate houses. Our friendly guide led us first to that which is appropriated to the young women: here we were desired to wait in a neat parlour, till the inspectress appeared to give us welcome. The house is large and airy. About a dozen women, of nearly the same age, were busied in embroidery, knitting, spinning, or other female works, in each apartment. We were not allowed to speak to them; and none of them seemed sensible of our entrance, except the inspectress, who always rose and spoke to us with the greatest civility. They were dressed much alike, in plain linen or stuff gowns, with aprons, and close, tight, linen caps, having a peak in front, and tied under the chin with
pink

pink ribbons, a colour that is worn by all the single women: the married women wear blue, and the widows, white. In these houses, the inmates are subject to rules, like the monks and nuns in a convent. They eat together in a refectory, sleep in a dormitory, attend morning and evening prayers in the chapel of the house, and have an appointed time for work and recreation. The different sexes do not only live apart, but they are not allowed, whilst single, to have any communication with each other. If a young man has an inclination to marry, he makes it known to the inspector, and points out the girl of his choice, whom, most probably, he knows only by sight. The inspector then declares his proposal to the inspectress of the young women; and if, after consulting together, they think their characters suitable, they are married immediately, unless the girl refuses, or any other obstacle arises, and then another girl is selected for him. Attached to these houses are boarding schools for boys and girls, where they are instructed in a variety of useful accomplishments. The married people live independently, in their own houses. We visited several of them, remarkable for their ingenuity in different arts. The neatness of their houses is charming; as is, indeed, that of the public buildings. The church is a plain edifice of stone, adorned with pictures from sacred history. They have most of the necessaries of life within themselves. On the creek
that

that skirts the town is a flour mill, a saw mill, an oil mill, a fulling mill, a mill for grinding bark and dyeing-drugs, a tan-yard, a currier's yard, and on the Lehigh River is a large brewery. The tavern affords excellent accommodations; and for neatness and good management, excels most we have seen in America.

The United Brethren, as they call themselves, trace their first rise as far back at 1424, and relate that they underwent such grievous sufferings in Europe, as almost destroyed their society; till Count Zinzendorf gave a new turn to their affairs by his patronage; and under his protection many of them emigrated from Germany, and settled in this place. It should be added, to their honour, that their missionaries are indefatigable in converting the Indians to Christianity. There are several other establishments in different parts of America; one at Salem, in North Carolina; another near Lancaster; one at Mount Hope, in Jersey; and another at Nazareth; whither we went in our road to Easton, which is a large town, situated where the rivers Lehigh and Delaware join. A considerable trade is carried on there, in corn, with Philadelphia; and there are many mills in the neighbourhood, which often grind corn for the people in New Jersey, who, in some parts, are not supplied with creeks for turning mills. At Easton we crossed the Delaware, over a wooden bridge, and entered the state of New Jersey. Along the
northern

northern part of it lies the Blue Ridge of Mountains. A road full of hills and rocks brought us to the straggling village of Hacketstown: near it is a mineral spring, much frequented in summer, with no better accommodations than an old cask, covered with a bunch of willows, to shelter the well where the company bathe. When I compared this with the bath-house at Buxton, and other medicinal springs in England, Mr. Franklin reminded me that there was an essential difference between a country colonized but a few centuries, contending with savage nations and uncultivated deserts; and one civilized, and arrived at the utmost refinement of wealth and luxury.

The towns are thickly set from Morristown to New York: neat painted houses compose this pretty village, which stands on a branch of the Rariton, and is the chief town of Morris County. The court of justice, the Presbyterian church, another for the Anabaptists, a handsome academy, and a great square planned out in the centre, give this town an air of consequence. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in rearing cattle for the markets of Philadelphia and New York.

We passed a flat, marshy country, to the Falls of the Pasaik, over a road made of logs laid close together, and kept dry by a ditch on each side. The river flows with a gentle current, till it reaches the brink of the descent, where it is about thirty feet wide,

wide, and then tumbles in one vast sheet over a ledge of rocks eighty feet high, into a deep chasm beneath, formed by immense crags, that rise above the top of the cataract, and appear to have been torn asunder by some violent convulsion of nature. Every thing belonging to this majestic cascade bears an air of sublimity, and impresses the mind with an inexpressible awe.

Near these Falls is a rich copper mine, originally discovered by a person who was passing by very early in the morning, and observed a blue flame issuing from the ground: struck with the singularity of the phenomenon, he marked the spot, and on examination the earth was found to contain a valuable vein of copper.

Peaches are as common as apples in England, but they are not very high-flavoured. The Americans have a method of drying both peaches and apples, in slices, for puddings and pies; but they are acid and tasteless.

Several species of the *red fruit* grow here in plenty, though unknown in Europe; and the trees are full of little birds, in size, shape, and colour resembling a blackbird, but their head is of the most brilliant plumage, and they are remarkably tame.

On our approach to the North River, a noble view of the city of New York, on the opposite shore, with the harbour and shipping, burst upon
our

our sight. The pleasing variety of the high banks of the river, richly wooded with trees almost dipping into the water; and numbers of vessels moving in all directions, complete the beauty of the animated picture.

We have now fixed our abode in that city, in ready-furnished lodgings, for a few weeks, and have dispatched the faithful Sancho to fetch his wife from Charlestown, in a vessel that was bound to that port; hoping to be able to settle him in the island of Nantucket, as a cooper, an employment he has been used to when a slave. I know your feeling heart will partake my pleasure, in seeing him a free man, and enjoying an independent right to whatever he may acquire by his industry.

Adieu, my Catherine. Tell Louisa I shall have a box full of curiosities for her, when I return.

Your's, &c.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXV.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Boston.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

The pleasure you express on reading the events of our journey, encourages me to proceed in my correspondence, and to neglect no opportunity of writing, when I have a collection of matter to supply you with amusement.

The reception we have met with at New York has rendered our abode there very agreeable. We find the inhabitants polite, gay, and hospitable, but not so dissipated as those of Charlestown. Entertainments are frequent amongst them; and, as strangers, we were always invited. The furniture and apartments of the genteelest houses, as well as the style of the table, are in the English fashion.

The city is large, and finely situated on a small island of the same name, encircled by the North and East Rivers, and a creek that connects them together. Part of the town was burnt during the American war, which gave an opportunity of rebuilding it in a superior manner to the old streets, which are narrow, inconvenient, and dirty.

Our

Our apartments are in the Broadway, which is very wide, nearly a mile long, and formed by exceedingly handsome brick houses. This noble street is terminated by a square, with the governor's residence in the front of it. Between this edifice and the river, where the fort formerly stood, is a fine public walk, that overlooks Long and Staten Islands, the river, and the shipping. Arthur and I often walk here, as we are almost sure of finding some of our acquaintance amongst the company, of a fine evening.

There are no grand public buildings, though the churches and meeting houses amount to twenty; for here, as in other parts of America, every man follows that mode of worship that he thinks most acceptable to his Creator, without diminishing his civil rights: there being no national establishment endowed with peculiar privileges, as in the ancient nations of Europe.

There are three market places; but, except a more plentiful supply of fish, they are inferior, in every respect, to those of Philadelphia.

The inhabitants are very benevolent, as appears from the number of well-regulated charitable establishments; particularly the hospital and dispensary. The prison is a modern building, adapted to the security and health of its unfortunate inmates. The same humane code of laws, with some small difference, is adopted here, as at Philadelphia. No

crime is punished with death, but robbing a church and malicious murder.

The slaves are treated with great mildness; but still they are slaves, and their masters have not sufficient generosity to give them their liberty. A great deal of trade is carried on by the merchants of this city. It has a most flourishing port, and communicates by the river and canals with distant parts of the country; particularly with Massachusetts, and that part of Vermont which lies in the same tract. Till within a few years it was the seat of the legislature of the state, but it is now removed to Albany. The colony of New York was originally founded by the Dutch. Henry Hudson, in a vessel belonging to that nation, first discovered Long Island, and gave his name to the Great Northern River.

The English asserted a previous possession, and there was a long contest between them and the Dutch; but in the reign of Charles the Second, the former drove out their antagonists, and changed the name of the province from New Holland to that of New York, in compliment to the king's brother, then Duke of York, and afterwards James the Second.

At the solicitation of two or three of our friends, we formed an excursion to Long Island, which is a very narrow strip of land, extending to the east, lengthwise, one hundred and forty miles; though it does not extend ten in breadth, at a medium.

The

The country on the western side, bordering on the channel that separates the island from the continent, is romantically varied with charming prospects of the distant hills on Staten Island, and the New Jersey shore, rising beyond the water, which is enlivened with vessels of different sizes and forms. The inhabitants of this island are mostly descended from the Dutch, and are many of them farmers. We tried the hospitality of several, when hunger and fatigue made us wish for rest and refreshment; but we did not find the art of softening them to complacency; they received us coldly, and seemed glad when we proposed to depart. Towards the northern side of the island we saw orchards of delicious fruit: the flavour of the Newtown pippins excelled any I ever tasted. As we rode through the woods, we observed immense numbers of grouse and deer, enjoying the shelter of the thickets; and both are so common at table, that they are not considered as dainties. We visited several towns with Dutch names; at one, called Utrecht, there was a fair, where we saw a negro, who came from Virginia. He was born of negro parents, (of course both black,) and he continued of the same colour till he was forty, when he became gradually of a paler hue, till his skin was changed to the complexion of an European with red hair. He has, however, still some brown spots remaining, though they are daily growing smaller and smaller. His hair is as much

as his skin; for straight, smooth locks have succeeded to the short, curly wool that formerly covered his head. As it does not affect his health, it is a happy metamorphosis for him; for he gains a comfortable subsistence by showing himself to the curious.

Having exhausted our curiosity at New York, we proceeded through Connecticut and Rhode Island to Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay. A more minute account of the places we passed in our way hither shall conclude this letter.

On first leaving the city, I observed many handsome country villas, belonging to rich merchants, who precipitately retire from the pestilential infection, on the earliest rumour of the yellow fever. The rugged rocks of Jersey have a striking effect, from the opposite shore of an arm of the North River, which separates the island of New York from the main land. The prospect from Stamford is varied with verdant meadows, and woods chiefly composed of pines, spruce furs, and birch trees.

The farmers in this part of the coast prefer rearing of cattle to the cultivation of corn, because the climate is subject to blasts that destroy the crop. Between Stamford and Fairfield we passed a few pretty villages, though the country is thinly inhabited, and intersected with rugged rocks. The pleasant flourishing town of Newhaven lies round the head of a bay, about four miles north of the sound, and covers part of a spacious plain, bounded

on

on three sides by mountains. The state-house, the church, and the college, are the principal public edifices; the latter possesses a library of several thousand volumes, and a museum of natural curiosities. The houses are chiefly wood; but many of the streets, and the square, are planted with trees, which gives them a regular appearance. Fifty ships belong to the port, and a brisk trade in wood, oxen, horses, and mules, to the West Indies, and produce of different kinds to New York, employs the industrious inhabitants.

Beyond Newhaven we crossed a morass, often overflowed by the tide, succeeded by a road bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by hills, till we came to Middleton, the great market for the farmers from the northern parts of New York, Massachusetts, and Vermont, to dispose of their horses, mules, and black cattle, for exportation to the West Indies. Receding from the Sound, we travelled along a country adorned with woods and meadows, and enlivened by numerous herds of cattle, to Hertford, the chief town of the county of the same name. The inhabitants seem much on an equality, and the houses adapted to their humble circumstances: they are large enough for comfort, but too small for ostentation. We rode through woods of oak and hiccory, varied by open fields, bordered with fruit trees, to Lebanon, beyond which the country became hilly to Norwich, where two rivers unite; one of them is called the Thames.

Here our attention was turned to the ingenious arts practised by the people of Norwich. Mills of all sorts are built near the town: and manufactures of paper, stockings, clocks, buttons, earthen-ware, oil, chocolate, and iron forges, where the operations vary from the drawing of wire to the casting of bells and anchors, employ the inhabitants. Within a mile after leaving this busy scene, a romantic cataract presented itself, by the waters of the Quinaburg rushing over some high rocks.

At New London we were diverted by the occupations of a commercial sea-port, having the best harbour in Connecticut. Cattle, salted provisions, butter, and cheese, are exported from thence to the West Indies, and the other states; and wood, linseed, pearl-ash, and sumac, to England. The sumac is prepared for the dyers, from the invention of a merchant of this port, who has received a patent for his discovery.

Leaving the confines of Connecticut, we entered the territory of Rhode Island, and proceeded over wretched roads, where the miserable habitations marked the poverty of the owners, to Providence, the most flourishing town in the state. It is built on both sides of a river of the same name; the two divisions being united by a handsome bridge. There are many lofty, substantial, and well-finished houses in this town; and the prosperous manufactures, and foreign commerce, are likely to augment the sources of its wealth. There is one of the largest distilleries

distilleries in the United States, besides extensive nail manufactories, and other forged iron-work. We were introduced to the elegant college, which was founded, principally, by the Baptists, and is still very much engrossed by that community. Roger Williams, a man of a very amiable character, and a divine, was banished, in 1636, from Plymouth, on account of his particular opinions. He retired to Salem, where his gentle manners gained him many friends; but the same spirit of persecution drove him from thence to seek a new asylum amongst the Indians, in the northern part of the state, whither he was followed by a few adherents, and by their mutual assistance, and the kind offices of the Indians, he laid the foundations of the town, and gave it the name of Providence.

Plymouth, the next town of importance, is engaged in the fishery, besides forges and iron works.

The college at Hingham detained us for an hour or two, as I rather wished to see it. It is composed of a number of small schools united, and is attended by nearly four hundred scholars.

We were much pleased by the neat coopers' work that employs the townsmen. Tubs, pails, and other wooden ware, are to be purchased here in perfection. From this place we went by water to Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay. The length of my letter is a sufficient apology for concluding myself
your affectionate friend,

H. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXVI.

*Arthur Middleton to Edwin.**Boston.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,

BEFORE I describe the town of Boston, there are some things that occurred in our journey between New York and this place worth your attention.

One of our fellow-passengers in the stage-waggon, was a manufacturer of pearl and pot ash, who, with his wife, a pretty, modest-looking young woman, was going to visit some relations in Connecticut.

Mr. Franklin, who never loses an opportunity of adding to his knowledge, by collecting information from people of all classes and professions, turned the conversation upon the quantity of these ashes exported from America; and hinted, that as I was ignorant of the arts used to bring them to perfection, he would be obliged to him to enter a little into the detail of the processes necessary for that purpose.

The manufacturer was pleased with this attention, and very readily gave me the following account. "The vast woods that cover the uncleared part of our country," said he, "furnish us with immense quantities

quantities of timber, some of which we burn, and afterwards collect the ashes for this purpose.

“ Our first care is to purify the ashes from every other substance that may be mixed with them, by washing them in tubs with double bottoms. The ley thus produced is boiled in large iron cauldrons, till all the watery particles have evaporated, and it is become of a proper substance. The ashes of green wood, and especially of oak, are most esteemed; and no pot-ash can be procured from resinous trees, such as the pine or the fir.

“ When our pot-ash is completely finished, it requires the greatest care to pack it in barrels of white oak, made so close, that neither damp nor air can enter, or the ashes would dissolve, and the cask be half empty, before it reached the destined port.” I thanked him for the information, and desired to know what are the ingredients of pearl-ash. “ It is only pot-ash,” replied he, “ refined by fire to a still greater degree of purity. The operation is performed in a drying kiln, heated by a fire beneath it.” “ Both pot and pearl ash,” remarked Mr. Franklin, “ are of great use to manufacturers in other branches of trade: the glass-maker, the bleacher, the fuller, the soap-maker, the scourer, the dyer, and the apothecary, would be at a loss to complete their different works without vegetable ashes, properly prepared, to promote the effects of other ingredients.”

On the other side of the waggon sat a rough, honest-looking sailor, who began to think it was high time for him to take part in the conversation. He told us that he had risen from a cabin-boy to be captain of a vessel in the whale-fishery, and that he had been as far in the South Sea as the Cape of Good Hope; and to the North, to Hudson's Bay, in search of fish. He added, that in all his voyages, he had lost but two men from accidents, and that he was beloved by those whom he employed; that he paid them liberally in blubber instead of money; and, with a conscious smile, he finished his narrative by saying, that the trade was profitable, and that he had made a fortune.

The master of the inn at Newhaven, finding we were Englishmen, showed us the rocks where Golf and Wadley, two of the judges who condemned Charles the First to death, hid themselves from the soldiers, who were sent by his son, Charles the Second, to search for them. They lay snug under a bridge for some days, whilst their pursuers passed and repassed it without finding them.

In order to give you a clear notion of our journey from New York to Boston, I must tell you we passed through the provinces of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusets. The first settlers in Connecticut were driven from England to avoid persecution, on account of dissenting from the opinions of the church; but they were not sufficiently instructed by their own sufferings to leave others at liberty. In
their

their turn they persecuted those who differed from them, and drove them to seek refuge in new settlements. The first Englishmen who established themselves in Connecticut were bigoted, enthusiastic people, of the Presbyterian persuasion, and cruelly oppressed their brethren of different sects, especially the Quakers, many of whom they tortured and banished, and even put some of them to death. Their descendants are very strict, on far better grounds than difference of opinion; for they punish gaming of all kinds, even horse-racing: and in order to preserve decorum on Sundays, impose a fine on those who travel on that day. With such an attention to morality, it is strange that they can still allow the horrid slave-trade. The inhabitants of this province are very active and liberal in the establishment of public institutions for the education of children. Schools are so general, and the people so well instructed, that almost all can at least read, write, and cipher.

In Rhode Island, on the contrary, they are very illiterate, and have few schools. A large proportion of the inhabitants are Baptists and Quakers, but all kinds of Christians are allowed to worship in their own way, unmolested. The district of Rhode Island is an intermixture of meadows and fields of maize; barley and flax are also cultivated in great quantities: but the principal object of the farmers is grazing, and their cheese is celebrated throughout

throughout America. General Green was a native of this province, and the people boast of the honour of being his countrymen. He was a distinguished general in the American revolution; and though he fought against the English, it appears that his bravery and military skill endeared him to his soldiers; and that his humanity to the vanquished, and moderation in prosperity, have established his character as a person of great merit.

We are now at Boston, which is the capital of New England, as well as of Massachusetts Bay. It stands upon a peninsula, united to the continent by a narrow isthmus. The view over the capacious harbour, containing many islands, is very fine, but the entrance of the bay is so narrow, that not more than two large ships can enter in at the same time, though it is capable of containing a numerous fleet.

Some of these islands are guarded by soldiers, to prevent the approach of an enemy; and the convicts of the state are sent to one of them, named Castle Island, and employed in making shoes and nails. Boston is united to the flourishing village of Charlestown, by a fine bridge, built over Charles's River. The town spreads, in the form of a crescent, round the harbour. Boston is not very large, nor are the streets regular; but nevertheless, it is pleasant, and the people are so kind and sociable, that

that I should like to live here better than in any large town I have been in on the American continent.

On the spot where the fort stood is a simple monument, erected to the memory of General Warren; a revolutionary general, who lost his life in its defence.

Boston trades to all parts of the globe; of course the harbour is a busy, lively scene, which I often enjoy from the noble pier, which is two thousand feet long.

Some of the ships belonging to this port carry on a trade between the western coast of America and Canton in China.

These vessels make a very long voyage round South America, for the sake of purchasing the skins of the sea otter, which is the most valuable of furs; and having obtained a cargo, sail to the westward, till they reach Canton, where they barter them with the Chinese for their manufactures, which are either used by the Americans, or exported to Europe.

Mr. Franklin says, that though luxury has many evils, it is the means of bringing distant nations acquainted with each other, by the desire for commodities that are not produced at home.

This enterprising life would be just the thing for me, and when I have made the tour of America, I hope my mother will let me go on a voyage of discovery.

I wish

I wish our tastes were more alike, that we might travel together; for nothing but your company is wanting to complete the enjoyment of your

Affectionate brother,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXVII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

North side of the Kennebeck River.

DEAR EDWIN,

BEHOLD us now set off on horseback for the province of Maine, which lies towards the north-east. At a place called Lynn, standing on a small haven, we got a good breakfast, and observed that the people are chiefly employed in making shoes. We were told that four hundred thousand pair are sent every year to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia: and from these ports many of them are exported to Europe. We advanced no further that day than Salem, the capital of the county of Essex, a large, populous place, handsomely built, with neat houses of a moderate size, suited to the inhabitants, who are chiefly engaged in foreign commerce, though there is a manufacture of sail-cloth. The senate-house is a spacious, elegant structure;

structure; but the harbour is so shallow and inconvenient, that a large vessel, heavily laden, cannot approach their quays; yet the enterprising spirit of the people has so well overcome this obstacle, that they trade to all parts of the globe. The ancestors of these industrious merchants were ignorant and superstitious; for in 1692, they persecuted, in a cruel manner, a number of unhappy wretches, for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. How absurd! For the honour of Salem, however, its townsmen were not alone in this ridiculous notion; the same miserable delusion disgraced New England in general at the same period. We took a pleasant walk in the afternoon to Marblehead, a small port on the same bay, wildly situated in the midst of rocks.

The place seemed to be inhabited only by wretched looking women and children, so that I could not help asking one of the former, whether they had banished men from their society. She replied, with a smile, that there were plenty of men, but that they were all employed on the sea, fishing for cod, which they cure, and then call them stock-fish. On our return, we crossed over a bridge that unites Salem to Beverley, where such multitudes of cod are cured, that we were almost poisoned by the smell of them. You shall know the process, without suffering the inconvenience.

After the fish are brought on shore, they are washed,

washed, and laid in heaps to drain; and when they have been exposed to the air two or three days, they are placed on hurdles, which extend the length of a large field, till they are sufficiently dry to be packed in cases, pressed down, and sent either to the West Indies or Europe.

The whole coast of Massachusetts and Maine is inhabited by a hardy race of men, who are engaged in the fishery on the Great Sand Bank.

In our way to Ipswich we saw several fields of flax and hemp. Gloucester is situated at the bottom of Cape Ann, and here our noses were again assailed by the odoriferous smell of the stock-fish.

Newbury Port is built on the river Merrimack: it has ten public schools, and an institution called the Sea Company, which supports several small houses, on an inlet in the mouth of the river, for the accommodation of shipwrecked sailors.

Some of the inhabitants are employed in a nail manufactory; and others in sugar-boiling, who are supplied with molasses from the Antilles, by the exchange of American commodities.

Having crossed a fine bridge over the Merrimack, we entered the high road to Portsmouth, which is the principal town and harbour in New Hampshire, standing upon a bay formed by the river Piscataqua, before it discharges its waters into the ocean. The little towns of Dover, Exeter, and Derham, each employed in trade and ship-building, lie

lie on the arms of the bay, and the rivers that fall into it.

The views in this neighbourhood are rendered picturesque, by the intermixture of large rocks and rich meadows.

A few miles beyond Portsmouth, we crossed the Piscataqua, over a bridge that is said to be the finest in America. It is built of wood, in the form of an angle, the two sides uniting on an arch of so great a height, that it admits small vessels to sail under it. The rest of our ride to Portland was through a populous country, bordering on a ridge of mountains that lie between the Piscataqua and the river Back; commanding prospects delightfully varied by a great number of rivers, bays, and cultivated promontories, that terminate at a considerable distance in the mountains of New Hampshire.

The whole coast is a continued zig-zag, formed by numerous bays, creeks, and promontories, pretty thickly inhabited; but the further we go, the less marks of wealth or industry we observe. Portland, however, is handsome in that part called the New Town. The Old Town was destroyed in the war of the revolution, and is rebuilt with mean houses, and inhabited by the meanest ranks; it stands on a peninsula that juts out into Casco Bay; as does North Yarmouth, on a creek of the same bay. Here I was well amused with looking at

at the various operations of the ship builders, and examining mills of different kinds.

We passed through Brunswick and Wiscasset, two towns of which I have nothing to say, before we reached the Kennebeck, which is one of the principal rivers of the province of Maine; its source is distant from its mouth two hundred miles, and it waters the finest woodlands in this region. The forests and the sea are the grand sources of riches to this district. Most of the people are either wood-cutters, fishers, or lime-burners. The dealers in wood retire with their families, about November, into the recesses of the forests; having taken care, in the summer, to provide hay for their cattle, and a hut for themselves, on a particular spot marked for their winter residence. Thus dismally secluded from the comforts of a neighbourhood, they remain till April or May, unless very severe weather compels them to return sooner. Having felled their timber, they bring it on sledges to the brink of the river, where it remains till the rains swell the waters sufficiently to float it down the stream. Each wood-owner knows his own trees by a particular mark. When they reach the mouth of the rivers, they are sent to different ports belonging to the United States, in small yachts.

Evening coming on, with an appearance of rain, we did not wait for a tavern, but rode up to the door of a farmer, who admitted us with the kindest welcome.

come. The manner of life and simplicity of behaviour of this happy family, resemble the stories of the patriarchs, that we read in the Bible. He draws his whole support from the farm; he is surrounded by a number of children, who assist by their labour to increase the common stock. The sons catch cod-fish and salmon, besides ploughing and sowing, and tending the cattle. The mother and daughters not only spin all the linen they use, but also make the shoes for the family, out of the hides of the cattle they kill for sale. The good old man and his wife were determined to make a feast for the strangers; so a lamb was presently condemned, and a joint of it served for supper. The sideboard was supplied with beer, brewed from the twigs of the spruce fir-tree; and grog, which is a mixture of rum and water, a very common beverage wherever we go. After supper, they amused us with an account of their employments, in reply to Mr. Franklin's questions concerning the dairy, the farm, the fishery, and the orchard. Every season brings with it something new, and they seem so affectionate to one another, and so happy, I was ready to envy them. I went to bed full of this pleasing scene, and dreamt of you and my sisters cultivating a little farm with me. I awoke, and the vast Atlantic rolled between us. I felt our separation, and rose out of spirits. The cheerful conversation of the farmer and his family chased

cbaced away dull thoughts; and the hour of departure obliging us to take leave, we mounted our horses and renewed our journey. Adieu.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXVIII.

Mr. Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Penobscot.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

THE variety of scenes that succeed each other in our rambles through different parts of this extensive continent, will, I hope, in the repetition, amuse some of your leisure hours at home.

The latter part of our journey hither, through a portion of the district of Maine, has been amidst a wild country, where the poverty of the inhabitants is apparent, from the wretched log-houses they live in, and the few accommodations they possess. We have frequently taken shelter from the night, where our host could neither procure us rum, sugar, meat, nor any bread but a soft kind of paste made of rye and Indian corn, that an English sportsman would scarcely think good enough for his dogs. A succession of small fishing towns border the coast. The views round Penobscot Bay are agreeable, and
enlivened

enlivened by the different aspects of numerous islets, most of them inhabited by fishermen, whose boats, scattered on the bosom of the water, complete the animation of the scene.

The treasures of the sea are so easily procured, that they neglect to cultivate the land, and are contented to live in miserable huts, ill provided with clothes or food. People thus indifferent to private comfort, are not likely to attend to public accommodation; the roads, accordingly, are very indifferent, and are often obstructed by rocks and roots of trees. The silver fir grows plentifully in this district, especially near North Yarmouth; as do the red oak, the white oak, and another species that seldom exceeds fifteen feet in height. The black fir, the Weymouth pine, the red cedar, the common fir, the red maple, the Pennsylvania ash, the black birch, and the dwarf birch, are also common. Wood pigeons, and squirrels of different kinds, abound in the woods; the former emigrate in prodigious swarms to the southward, on the approach of winter. Bears and wolves are rather numerous. We lately met a large bear within a mile of a village; he crossed the road fearlessly. Arthur imprudently pursued him. The bear, not being pressed with hunger, ran away with great speed.

Either religion is at a low ebb, or civilization is but little advanced, as I could hear of no building erected for public worship throughout the province.

These

These people enjoy a healthy climate, and frequently attain a great age, though medical men are very scarce among them.

We are now stationed in the only place that deserves the name of a town. It is called Penobscot, and contains about a thousand houses.

We were rather surprised yesterday to reconnoitre our old acquaintance, the sea captain, who travelled with us in the stage waggon between New York and Boston. The pleasure of meeting seemed mutual; and as he was just arrived from Nantucket, we were the more earnest to engage him to dine with us, that we might hear news of our faithful Sancho.

He told us that our friend (for his fidelity and gratitude entitle him to that appellation) was likely to do very well, having already found continual employment in his trade of a cooper; and as he exceeded in neatness of workmanship, punctuality, and industry, there was no fear that he would gain a competency, which was all that could be desired in Nantucket, where the inhabitants are remarkable for the simplicity of their behaviour and the moderation of their desires. The wealthiest amongst them make no display of their riches, luxury being unknown in the island: no coaches, no finery or grand houses, but every one enjoys his gains in the comforts of life, and sharing them with his neighbours.

He described the island as a barren, sandy spot,
that

that appears to be the summit of a huge mountain, which extends under the water. It is covered here and there with sorrel, grass, a few cedar-bushes, and scrubby oaks. The swamps yield peat, which is valuable for firing; and the ponds and lakes are covered with wild-fowl and black ducks. The shores abound with the soft-shelled, the hard-shelled, and the great sea-clams, a most nutritious shell-fish. Fishing is the principal diversion of these islanders, and contributes materially to their support. The most common fish are the streaked bass, the blue fish, the tom-cod, the mackarel, the tewtag, the herring, the flounder, and the eel. The sea supplies their riches and employments. Few of the inhabitants devote themselves to the cultivation of the ground, though many of them possess pastures for sheep, and a cow or two, which their wives take charge of, whilst they are gone on fishing expeditions in distant latitudes. This general description of Nantucket did not fully satisfy Arthur, who was impatient to hear the particulars of Sancho's situation. The captain replied to his enquiries on the subject in the following words: "The little money with which your bounty favoured Sancho, has enabled him to procure a house conveniently situated near the sea-shore. It is a neat, comfortable habitation, painted on the outside with ochre, brought from a neighbouring island, called Martha's Vineyard, where a promontory, known by the name of Gay-Head, yields a variety of

earths, of different colours. His gratitude to you is extreme; he attributes all his blessings to your generosity. His wife is remarkable for her industry and attachment to her husband; and is esteemed for her good nature by all her neighbours, which gains him a great deal of custom; and as their frugality and good management are equal to their assiduity, Sancho expects to save money, and proposes, when able, to purchase a share in a whale trader, and go in quest of that profitable fish; a profession that is followed by the principal men on the island."

This led to the subject of the whale fishery, carried on by these hardy mariners; and the account is so interesting, that I transmit the substance of it for your entertainment.

The vessels used for this purpose are not large, and are always manned with thirteen hands, that they may row two whale-boats, the crews of which must consist of six; four at the oars, one at the bows with the harpoon, and the other at the helm. It is indispensable that there should be two of these boats, that if one should be upset in attacking the whale, the other should be ready to save the hands. Five of the thirteen are always Indians; and the thirteenth man remains on board, to steer the vessel during the action. None but young men are fit for this employment, which requires great vigour and agility.

As soon as they arrive in those latitudes where
whales

whales are to be found, a man is sent up to the mast-head. If he sees one, he calls out, "Await, Pawana;" which signifies, "Here is a whale." The boats are immediately launched, filled with every implement necessary for the attack. They row towards the whale with astonishing velocity. When they have reached a proper distance, one of them rests on its oars, and stands off to witness the approaching engagement. The harpooner in the other, in a jacket closely buttoned, and a handkerchief bound tight round his head, stands on the bow, with the dreadful weapon in his hand, to the shaft of which is firmly tied the end of a cord, that is coiled up in the middle of the boat, with the other end fastened to the bottom.

When the harpooner judges that they are near enough to the whale, he orders them to stop. If the whale has a calf, whose safety attracts the attention of the dam, it is considered to be a favourable circumstance: if she happens to be asleep, he balances high the harpoon, trying in this critical moment to collect all the energy he can exert. He launches forth the instrument of death. She is struck. From her first movement, they judge of her temper, as well as of their success.

Sometimes, in the sudden impulse of rage, she will attack the boat, and demolish it with one stroke of her tail. In an instant the frail vehicle disappears, and the assailants are plunged into the dangerous element. Were the whale armed with the jaws of

the shark, and as voracious, they never would return home to amuse their listening wives with the interesting tale of their adventures. Sometimes, on the first stroke, she will dive, and disappear from human sight, and every thing must then give way to her velocity, or all is lost. At other times, she will swim away as if untouched, and draw the cord with such swiftness, that it will set the edge of the boat on fire by the friction. If she rises before she has run out the whole length, she is looked upon as a sure prey. The blood she has lost in her flight weakens her so much, that, if she sinks again, it is but for a short time; the boat follows her course with an almost equal speed. She soon re-appears, tired with her exertions, and having tinged the water with her blood, dies, and floats upon the surface. Perhaps at another time she may not be dangerously wounded, though she carries the harpoon fast in her body; when she will alternately dive and rise, and swim on with unabated vigour. She then soon reaches beyond the length of the cord, and carries the boat along with amazing swiftness. The harpooner, with the axe in his hands, stands ready. When he observes that the bows of the boat are much pulled down by the diving whale, and that it begins to sink deep, and to take in a great deal of water, he brings the axe almost to the cord. He pauses, still flattering himself she will slacken her pace; but the moment grows critical—unavoidable danger threatens them. But it is vain to hope; their

their lives must be saved : the cord is cut : the boat rises again. If, after thus getting loose, she makes a second appearance, they will attack and wound her again. She soon dies; and when dead, is towed alongside their vessel, where she is secured. Their next care is to cut up their prey, and set the kettles a boiling, in order to procure the oil, which is the reward of their dangerous enterprize.

Different occupations promote vice or virtue, according to their peculiar influence. The life of a whaler is a continual exercise of fortitude, courage, activity, and presence of mind ; qualities renowned in those who have too often turned them to the purposes of destroying or oppressing their fellow-creatures, whilst they are sometimes overlooked in the hardy mariner, who risks his life to procure a maintenance for himself and family, and contributes, by his labours, to the good of the community.

The honest captain having finished his narration, we thanked him for the information he had given us, and Arthur entrusted him with a letter and a present to Sancho, after which we took leave. He departed to his ship ; and we are preparing to embark on board a vessel bound to Boston.

Believe me, with sincere attachment, yours,

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXIX.

*Arthur Middleton to Edwin.**Albany.***MY DEAR BOY,**

WE came from Penobscot to Boston in a merchantman, heavily laden with a cargo of firewood; it was happy for us our passage lasted but two days, as the very deck was so crammed, that there was only room for the steersman, which rendered the voyage very disagreeable. Mr. Franklin could not resist the pleasure of staying a few days with our friends at Boston, whose hospitality engaged us at different houses every day; in one of these cheerful meetings, the conversation turned upon the fine arts, and an American, who was desirous of praising the talents of his countrymen, observed, that several of the celebrated artists whose works adorn our public exhibitions in London, were Americans. I was so ignorant, that I was obliged to enquire who they were. "The president of your Royal Academy," said he, "West, is a native of Philadelphia, whose historical pictures will transmit his fame to posterity. Stuart was born in Rhode Island, and Trumball in Connecticut," continued he, "and this town may boast of having
given

given birth to Copley, whose works need only be seen to excite the warmest admiration. Can any one," said he, "cast his eyes on the Death of Lord Chatham, or that of Major Pearson, and not sympathize with the spectators in their sorrow." The company agreed in their encomiums, though few of them had seen these pictures, and Mr. Franklin politely closed the subject, by remarking, that this group of painters, alone, was a trophy to the genius of an infant country, which had not yet had leisure to draw forth the talents of her sons in cultivating the works of imagination. "To these names," continued he, "let me add that of Rittenhouse, the self-taught astronomer; perhaps second to no one of any country in that science, and the inventor of so curious an orrery, that he may be said to have approached nearer to the imitation of the motion of the planets, than any that has gone before him. I am told also," said he, "that the real inventor of that instrument called Hadley's quadrant, was one Godfrey, an American. In botany you may mention with applause the indefatigable and amiable Bartram. Nor need I enlarge on the genius of Washington in politics, or Franklin in philosophy, so well known to all Europe, for further proofs of the capacity of your nation, to excel in the various departments of taste and science." The company seemed pleased with his complaisance, and we parted in the highest good humour. The time for bidding adieu to

Boston, and its agreeable inhabitants, being come, we once more sallied forth in a westerly direction, through a continued village for twenty miles. Handsome houses; cleanly and pleasant buildings; numerous churches; neat gardens; orchards, rich in autumnal fruit; fields covered with flocks and herds, and adorned with clumps of trees; enlivened our ride to Marlborough, and showed the striking contrast between this part of the country, and the district of Maine, through which we had lately passed. The scene was something similar the next day: in every village the streets were lined with shops; cabinet-makers, shoemakers, saddlers, and tanners, besides other trades, were very frequent, and the land was carefully cultivated, even where, in places, it was stony and rocky. The farm-houses are numerous, neatly built with wood, and painted white: the stables and barns are mostly red, and the fences are made of stones, collected from the fields. At length we approached the beautiful river Connecticut, and crossed it in a boat: fifty miles further up the stream it is navigable for small vessels. We passed the night at Northampton, the capital of the county of Hampshire, in the state of Massachusetts: the town is large, and handsomely built. From this place our course lay across the Green Mountains, a wild, rocky tract of country; but the hills are cultivated to the very summit. This chain of rocks led us to the small, neat town of Pittsfield: thence we

continued

continued to ascend a hilly country, and on the top of Hancock Mountain, passed the boundary where the province of Massachusetts is united to that of New York. We reached New Lebanon on a Sunday morning, and observed many country people, who had come on horseback to the churches we passed, putting up their horses in open stables, built on purpose for the accommodation of those who come from a distance. This is a useful custom, that prevails in most parts of America. Hearing that there was a settlement of the Shakers at this place, we attended their public worship, which was held in a large meeting-house, furnished with benches. The chief elder, who seems to direct the whole ceremony, sat nearly in the centre. At first, the most profound silence was observed; when, on a signal from the chief elder, all present rose from their seats, and the men and women formed two distinct rows opposite to each other, in form of a fan. They stood in this position a few minutes, when many of them began to shake and tremble. At the nod of their director, they fell on their knees; when presently rising again, they chanted, but no words could I distinguish. This ceremony being over, a few of the elders of both sexes seated themselves by the side of the chief elder, who made signs to the congregation to draw up in nine or ten companies, each sex still keeping apart; the men having first pulled off, and hung up, their coats. A general shout now took place;

followed by an odd kind of dance. The dancers having retaken their seats, two women came in with brooms, and swept, first on the men's side, and then on the women's; after this, the same ceremonies as before were repeated. The service lasted about three hours; when it broke up, the people departed in regular order, two and two, followed by the chief elder. Blue is their favourite colour; for the ornaments of wood-work, and the window-frames of the meeting-house, were painted sky-blue. The men were dressed in blue coats, blue and white spotted pantaloons, and black waistcoats. The women wore long white gowns, blue petticoats, blue and white spotted aprons, large square plaited handkerchiefs, with plain caps tied under the chin.

We were not able to discover the opinions on which they found their extraordinary mode of worship and living. Each settlement forms a republic, whose members work for the benefit of the community, which, in turn, supplies all their wants. The chief elder may be called the governor of the society, but the sect is always headed by a woman, who may be compared to the Pope; as they believe her infallible, and when she dies, elect another: even the chief elders are only her deputies. Their village is remarkably neat and pretty, and their garden kept in the nicest order. They have four large dwelling-houses, where the brethren and sisters live in separate apartments; all the other buildings are shops or warehouses, in which they
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carry on a variety of trades and manufactures. They do not allow marriage, and oblige married people who enter their society to renounce each other. But, notwithstanding their singularities, they are esteemed by their neighbours as an industrious, punctual, kind-hearted set of people.

When the service was over, we returned to the inn to dinner, close to which we were shown a mineral spring, that bursts forth from the declivity of a mountain, and is esteemed efficacious in many disorders. The rest of the road to Albany lies in the midst of a mountainous district, but lately brought under the plough. We took up our quarters in this city for a week or ten days: it is full of Dutchmen and their descendants, and the appearance of the buildings so much like those in Holland, that I could have fancied myself in a Dutch town. It is distant from New York one hundred and sixty miles; has an extensive trade, and a good harbour. In the old part of the town the streets are narrow, and the houses ugly; being built with the gable end towards the street, the pyramidal part rising in steps, and terminating with large iron weather-cocks, in the form of men or animals: but the modern buildings are handsome, and the streets broad. It is also well paved and lighted. Here are several places for worship, belonging to different sects; the most remarkable is the Dutch Lutheran church, a Gothic structure of singular appearance. I was much entertained with the

manufactures of glass for windows and bottles, near the town; as well as with a set of mills for preparing tobacco, mustard, starch, and cocoa, worked by curious water machinery. A few years ago the chief of the inhabitants were of Dutch origin, but the advantages for commerce are so great, that strangers from all quarters have settled here. The trade is principally carried on with the produce of the Mohawk country, and reaches eastward as far as agriculture and cultivated lands extend. The exports mostly consist in timber and lumber of every sort, pot and pearl ashes, grain, and manufactured goods; which are brought hither in winter on sledges, and sent by the merchants to New York, whence they are frequently exported to Europe. Getting money is the grand object at Albany, and business the delight of most of the people; yet a few of the Dutch Dons have found leisure to entertain us with great civility. Their hospitality, and our acquaintance with an Indian Chief, have detained us here some time. Our route is determined by Mr. Franklin to the northward, to visit the shores of Lake Champlain, whence I shall probably write again. Adieu.—A kiss to both my sisters, and do not suffer absence to weaken your affection for yours,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

Mr. Henry Franklin to his Brother.

Albany.

DEAR BROTHER,

THIS place is much resorted to by the Indians; and as I am particularly desirous of making acquaintance with them, wherever they cross my path, that I may gain a thorough knowledge of their character, I have lengthened my stay, and have been well recompensed by an introduction to Kayashota, a chief of the Mohawks, who has had an European education, and to great natural talents adds the most amiable manners. He has been with me every day, and has given me some curious particulars concerning the Six Nations, which inhabit the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes. He feels a patriotic warmth for the welfare of the Indians in general, and his own nation in particular; and sometimes speaks rather indignantly of the encroachments and arts, too often used by the European settlers, to diminish the territories of these, the native possessors of the soil. He loves to maintain the glory of the warlike achievements of the Indian heroes; and has communicated to me some interesting details of the war between these people and the Americans,

Americans, which, though it will form a little volume, I shall transcribe for your amusement, believing it will be acceptable to you, from its novelty, and authenticity of facts very little known, related in the true Indian style, though in an English dress.

As I do not desire to increase the bulk of this packet, I shall introduce you immediately to my Indian friend, who, with his pipe in his hand, addressed me nearly as follows.

“The Six Nations form a confederacy, or federal union, without either having any superiority over the others. This league consists of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Tuscaroras. Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes, or families, who are distinguished by different arms, or ensigns. The Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf, are the tokens put to all treaties by our chiefs, who maintain their authority by honour or shame, having no other restraint over the people.

“In former times, different circumstances caused various Indian tribes to emigrate to new situations. Some of these occur to me at this moment, which it may be grateful to you to know. Those who are sometimes called River* Indians inhabited the north side of Hudson’s River, below Albany, and afterwards formed the village of Stackbridge. Some

* Mahingans or Muhkekanok.

of them learned to cultivate the land, whilst others were sunk in indolence. The better sort, compassionating their destitute brethren, removed to the Oneidas, who bestowed a sufficient tract of land upon them, where they formed a settlement called Brothertown. Many of this tribe betook themselves to the Miami country, in the neighbourhood of Lake Michigan; and the Little Turtle, a renowned chief of the Miamis, is said to be one of their descendants. A band of these River Indians retired to Long Island, and afterwards removed to the westward, where, having but a small portion of land, they generally support themselves in the fisheries.

“ The Miamis have very much mixed with the Six Nations, as may be said of the Eropus Indians. Numbers of the New England Indians went to Canada and the westward. The French call them Abinakies, which resembles the common name given by the Chipperas to all the sea-coast tribes. The Narragons remain the most in a body in these parts: they wear the European dress, and are chiefly employed in the fisheries. The generality of those who remained on the coast acquired property, and blended with the other inhabitants, mostly deserting their tribe. Some owed their success to superior prudence and industry; but others, I fear, from conniving at the sale of lands beneath their value, and sharing the profits with the speculators. The rest, who, from their simplicity

plicity and want of foresight, remained poor, united together, and enjoyed in common the small reserves of their possessions, which just preserved them from dependence. At present the Oneidas are furthest to the eastward of any of the confederated tribes, known by a name* signifying a fixed house; as they consider themselves one house, divided into five families, or five places; having originally consisted of five nations only, till the Tuscaroras were permitted to join them. Ancient tradition says, that a Mohawk chief, called Tekanawitagh went westerly, with design to unite in firm compact the five dialects. Ododsefhte, a principal chief of the Oneidas, with his tribe, was adopted by him as his son. These two leaders proceeded together to Onondaga†, where Thadsdashon presided. They could not persuade him to accede to their proposal, but by giving him the dignity of Guardian of the General Council, which was to be held at his village. These new associations were styled brothers; as were the Senecas, who being the most westerly, received a name‡, signifying a bearing the door of the house,

* Akononghtropi.

† Most of the Indian names are significant. Onondaga was given to this tribe from its situation on a hill; on this occasion, of obtaining the precedency, it received that of Roghsennakeghte, or Title Bearer.

Bonninhokhont,

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“The Cayugas were adopted as a son, the younger brother of the Oneidas. Agreeably to what I have already told you, the confederacy at first consisted of three brothers and their two sons; but the Tuscaroras, from Carolina, having been adopted amongst the sons, there are now three of each.

“The innovations of the European settlers on the native territories of the various nations of Indians, has been the general cause of wars between them; except the Indians have been induced by the arts of the contending powers, who have intruded themselves into our country, to take part in their quarrels as allies. In the American war, the Mohawks, Ondagas, Cayugas, and Ondowagas, retired to the neighbourhood of Niagara, and continued in hostility with the Americans till the peace of 1783. The Onondagas and others preferred neutrality, till they were roused to arms by Sullivan’s invasion of their territory. Most of the Oneidas remained in the interest of the Americans. The British allies not being sufficiently protected by the peace, the southern and western tribes continued to oppose the Americans till 1795, when they concluded a treaty with General Wayne, who, on setting the boundary line, which had been the subject of contest, paid them twenty thousand dollars, and agreed to give them eight thousand annually. The Cherokees, from a similar treaty, receive also a large pension in money. From the wisdom of the present government of the United States,

States, a hope warms my breast that peace will continue, and the rising generation forget the art of war. Let the Americans, (said he,) remember the losses sustained by the defeat of their armies, the distresses of their back settlements, and the small advantages they gained from their most fortunate campaign under general Wayne, in 1794, and the philanthropic sentiments of the good and wise will prevail to cherish the tree of peace, over the council of the haughty and unjust."

To my enquiry, What effects their intercourse with Europeans had had on their manners, he gravely replied: "The circumstances in which the American war placed the Indian confederacy, has injured their simplicity, and frequently so much changed their mode of life, as to oblige them to depend on the British forts for a supply of provision; their corn fields having been destroyed, and game being there too scarce to depend wholly on the chase. They were detained in the neighbourhood of Niagara, to assist us in its defence, and often employed in incursions on the American frontier. The intervals were too frequently spent in licentious dances and drinking; vices to which, in similar circumstances, the most polished nations are prone. The men neglected their hunting, and were fed and clothed as a reward for their warlike achievements; but there being no regular system in bestowing these donations, it often happened that the boldest fared the best, and that the
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gifts which were intended to be the recompence of bravery and merit, served only to stifle virtue and encourage vice. Nor did the decorum and industry of the female sex suffer less.

“ Since that unhappy period, these irregularities are greatly vanished. The men have resumed the chace; and many of them are employed in the labours of the corn field. They practise the arts of building and fencing. Their cattle and horses have greatly increased, and numbers use the plough as well as the hoe, in the cultivation of the land.

“ The moral conduct of such of the Six Nations as adhere to the religion of their forefathers, has been improved by the influence of their decams, which has also led them to meet frequently for the observance of their sacred feasts.

“ When the French found it difficult to subdue the Six Nations by force, they sent missionaries amongst them. The priest who went to the Mohawks, soon acquired the language and affections of the people, many of whom embraced Christianity. From his custom of rising early to prayer, they called him the harbinger* of day.

“ The people of New York excited a jealousy amongst the Six Nations, lest the French should subject them by means of the priests; and in a general council they determined to send them

* Tchawendenshawighten.

away. The Mohawks were unwilling to part with their beloved father, and at the same time reluctant to displease their brethren; many of them, therefore, accompanied him to Montreal, and were joined by others from the Mohawk villages, so that it appears that a great part of that tribe removed thither. Several villages were established at different places by the Mohawks; one at Caghawage, near the cataracts of the St. Lawrence; another about forty miles up the same river, composed both of Mohawks and Onondagas; and the village of Caneghsadage, on the side of the mountain of Montreal. These are inhabited by six hundred warriors, have each churches and priests, and observe the forms of the Roman Catholic religion punctually. They cultivate their lands, and possess cattle and horses. The men undergo great fatigue in the beaver hunting excursions, where, owing to the scarcity of animals used for food, in the northern countries, which abound with furs, they are obliged to carry heavy loads of provisions. Profit induces others to accompany the Canadian traders in distant voyages to the northward; but the length of the way, and accidents, destroy numbers, and check population. English missionaries were afterwards sent to the original villages, but they made a slow progress in gaining converts.

“During the various French wars, the Roman Catholics were on their side; but the other part of the Six Nations were all for the English.

“Previously

“Previously to the American war, the yellow fever had made great havoc amongst the Mohawks and other tribes; so that, at its commencement, but few of the old warriors remained.

“The Mohawks, in the dispute between the mother country and the colonies, although in the midst of an American settlement, decidedly joined the king’s interest, and went to Niagara, and prevailed with some of the other tribes to unite in the same cause.

“A great number of the Oneidas having been converted, by a missionary from New England, to the doctrines of the Presbyterians, and feeling a jealousy of the Mohawks, continued on the side of the Americans.

“The elders of the other tribes did not unanimously agree to enter into the war for a considerable time, because they considered the English and Americans as the same people, though they had quarrelled; and that when a reconciliation should take place between them, whatever side they had taken, they should gain the ill-will of both. Whilst these reasons restrained the chiefs from coming to a decision, a number of the warriors, inclined to war, took an active part. The surprise of some of their villages by parties of American soldiers, coinciding with other circumstances, drew them at last generally into hostilities. Were I, (said Kaya-shota,) to recount every battle and skirmish in which the tawny warriors distinguished themselves
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for bravery and activity, I should tire your patience; but I will relate some of the most memorable actions.

“The battle of Ariska was fought near Fort Stanwix. Five hundred Mohawks, Onondagoes and Senecas, assisted Colonel St. Leger in the siege of that fort, when nine hundred Americans, under General Harkener, attempted to draw them from it; but the Indians met them on their way, and defeated them, with the loss of several hundreds, near Ariska Creek, whilst only thirty of their warriors were killed.

“In 1779, Sullivan invaded the country of the Six Nations, with a large army of several thousand men. About the same time there was an alarm of another invading army from the quarter of Fort Pitt, which circumstance obliged a great number of warriors to cover the villages towards the Allegany; so that there were only seven hundred to oppose Sullivan, including one hundred rangers, who were loyalists, or prisoners, embodied under Colonel Butler, who, from his knowledge of the customs and manners of the Six Nations, was appointed agent for the British government. The want of unanimity and system amongst the leaders of the main body, was a greater obstacle to their success, than the inferiority of their numbers would have been, if properly conducted. The corruption of their manners, and attachment to their own tribes, (whose private glory they sought, rather than

than the general welfare,) diminished their energy and disinterestedness; and made the leader who commanded a numerous party more anxious lest he should contribute to the advantage of him who had a small one, than he was to unite against the enemy.

“The partiality of the British agents, in bestowing their favours upon those who gained an influence from their knowledge of the English language, excited jealousy in others whose merits were overlooked. These jarring interests did not, however, prevent them from hovering in front of the American army, with a confidence of superior prowess, and a promise of victory; but the enemy was suffered to get through a pass, where there was a good ground of expectation that the resistance of the Six Nations would have been crowned with success.

“Here I must stop the progress of my history, to relate an extraordinary exploit of a young Cayuga warrior, who, in a fit of bravado, is said to have stripped naked, and armed only with a spear, to have entered the American camp, where he slew several, and then returned to his countrymen unhurt.

“When the Americans had advanced nearly to the remotest habitation of the Ondowaga, the most western canton of the Iroquois, the warriors felt indignant that in their time should happen, what had not been known since the confederacy—that an enemy should pass through the whole range of
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their house, as they express it; and, still more to their disgrace, that it should have been suffered without a desperate resistance. It was therefore resolved, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, to make a stand at Onakaron, on the Upper Genessee Road, at the passage of a river.

“ The high, steep banks, were not found such an advantageous situation, as they were at first supposed, from the disparity of numbers, which was in the proportion of hundreds to thousands. Several chiefs proposed to attack the Americans, and endeavour to cut off a wing, by a sudden onset, rather than to wait for them with such an inferior force, in any fixed place. An entrenchment on the eminence was preferred. The Americans began the action by an attack on the entrenchments: the warriors stood firm till the enemy passed their flank, and, it was imagined, had got in their rear. Terrified with the idea of being surrounded, the main body fled: about an hundred remained fighting as long as they could, and, by their later retreat, in some measure covered the first fugitives. Many of the chiefs distinguished themselves by exhortation and example; amongst these were colonel Brand; and Montour, famous for his undaunted bravery and intrepid conduct. As soon as the enemy appeared to be environing them, he proposed a fierce attack in front before the remainder could come up; but the general apprehension for the safety of their families, who were at no great distance

distance from their rear, prevented his advice from being adopted.

“ After this defeat, the greater part of the Six Nations retired to Niagara, and by the destruction of their villages, corn, and cattle, became dependent on the fort for their provisions; which was a greater misfortune than their loss of men. They would have felt it less, if the country had yet so far abounded in game as to have made up the deficiency of their corn by plenty of venison. Being unaccustomed to salt provisions, which was their principal substitute, much sickness and mortality ensued. The desire of vengeance increased with their misfortunes, and the back settlements were assaulted by war parties, in all directions. It is to be lamented that revenge was too often indulged by acts of cruelty on the innocent; but they were exasperated against the Americans, who did not spare even the aged: forgetful that, in the vigour of youth, those limbs that were now too enfeebled to injure them, had defended their infancy against the French.

“ Some overtures for peace were made through the medium of the Oneidas, who adhered to the Americans; but they were rejected, and the war pursued with unanimity: but it appeared, that the peaceable had suffered more from their confidence in those with whom they wished to remain friendly, than the hostile, from the battles they had fought.

“ From this period, to the conclusion of peace in 1783, every spring was ushered in by irruptions on the frontiers; and those places which some years before had been the seat of rural industry, (cultivated fields, rapidly improving under the care of the husbandman, along whose borders the Iroquois, or Delaware hunters, pursued the flying deer, and exchanged with their more sedentary neighbours the produce of the chase, for that of their fields or dairies, or the far-fetched articles of European commerce,) now became the scenes of blood and devastation. The hunter’s approach, which used to be anticipated with pleasure, now excited a dire alarm to all the surrounding neighbourhood.” “ Such are the horrors of war,” said I, “ yet all nations plunge into it, for matters of small consequence to their welfare.” “ Too true,” said Kyashota : “ the spirit of revenge at this time fanned the flames of discord; some considerable attacks were made on the Mohawk river, and in the neighbourhood of Albany. General Brown being sent with a detachment to pursue the ravagers, the Iroquois and loyalists suffered him to overtake them : a battle ensued, and with inferior numbers they defeated him. The cruelties committed in this quarter, were more the acts of straggling parties, than authorized by the main body. The greatest enormities happened in Cherry Valley. Some accounts lay much blame on Colonel Butler for these excesses; but let it be remembered, that
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though the warriors respected him, as deputed by the British government to preside over their affairs, yet they are subject only to their own chiefs, who at this juncture were animated with the same spirit of vengeance as the common people. Colonel Brand, and some others converted to Christianity, should be excepted from this reproach, for they used their utmost influence to restrain the fury of the warriors. These settlements to the eastward of the Iroquois were not the only sufferers; those to the south, on the banks of the Susquehannah, and down the Ohio, felt equally the distresses of war. One of the most considerable battles at this time was fought at Wioming. The place was attacked by a party of five hundred men, Indians and loyalists; Kayashoten, a celebrated war chief of the Senecas, was their principal leader.

“As the Americans had made great complaints of defenceless women and children being attacked in the settlements, in this instance they sent to the commander to collect his warriors, and that they would wait for him at an appointed place. Kayashoten, who had been a distinguished warrior against the English, in the war which succeeded the expulsion of the French from Canada, addressed the British agent, Colonel Butler, to this purpose: ‘Since I have been a warrior, the English have only known me as an enemy; now, they shall know me as a friend; and I trust, with the favour

of the Great Spirit, that they will find my aid effectual to the detriment of their enemies.' He then arranged the line in order of battle, and commanded that none should fire until he gave the war shout. They received the Americans lying flat on the ground. The enemy advanced firing, and insulting them with the most opprobrious language. After receiving the second fire, the war shout was given, and their well-directed shot soon threw the American line into confusion; and with the spear and tomahawk they completed the rout. The slaughter was immense, and the loss on our side very trifling, though the numbers were nearly equal. A vast concourse of prisoners were taken from the neighbourhood, many of whom now form part of the population of Upper Canada.

“Brevity obliges me to pass over many skirmishes in the vicinity of the Minisink; yet I must relate the success of Colonel Brand, with a party of ninety men, when surprised and in danger. After having attacked and destroyed some part of the neighbouring settlements, they were retiring, unprepared for an enemy, when the rear was apprized of the attack by a firing in the front. About an hundred and sixty of the American Militia had pursued this party, and the more effectually to surprise them, had, by another route, got before them, and taken possession of a fording place, which they knew must be passed. When the van, therefore, were crossing, they were saluted with ball.

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The fire, however, was not so coolly directed as to be very detrimental. The rear of the Indian band hastened to the support of their brethren, mutually exhorting to exertions for their succour. One said, that it was his custom, when overtaken in his retreat, to add to the number of his prisoners and the scalps he had already taken from the enemy; another, that he never turned his heel on an attacking foe. The woods presently re-echoed the shouts of the tawny warriors; and their leaden messengers of death so effectually answered those of the assailants, that they were reduced to act on the defensive. The Americans had sheltered themselves behind heaps of stones, which rendered the approach of the Indians very dangerous and difficult; at last, however, they broke through every obstacle, and thoroughly routed them. Ninety were left on the field; whilst the Indians had only six killed, besides some wounded.

“The peace concluded in 1783, between Great Britain and America, caused a cessation of hostilities in this quarter; but the lands of the Indians were by no means guaranteed by the treaty. From latitude 45. the line passed through the main stream of the St. Lawrence, and the centre of the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, with the straits of communication between them. The country to the south of this line was ceded to the United States, without any restrictions respecting the territory of those tribes who had fought for

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the royal cause. But the States, either from a reverence for justice, or in order to avoid a renewal of war with the Six Nations, always endeavoured to annul their rights by sums of money, previously to the settlement of any part.

“Some time after the ratification of peace, private speculators attempted to obtain lands from the Six Nations, by partial conferences, without consulting the general council of these tribes; but neither the Indian chieftains, nor the United States, would ratify the bargain. Some purchases from different tribes were made, and though they were sold too cheap, the payment of the annual interest has been punctual. During these transactions with the Six Nations, the western tribes seem neither to have been perfectly at peace or war.

“In former times, when the Six Nations were united, and far more numerous than at present, with intrepid independent chiefs to conduct them, they were highly venerated in this part of the world; and though deprived of several of these advantages, their name is still respected by the neighbouring tribes. In their treaties they always hold the language of an independent people, and in that character they proposed, a little before the peace of 1783, to the Ottawas, Cheppawas, Pontewattomies, Shawanons, Cherokees, and Creeks, a general confederacy, to protect their respective territories, and oppose the enemies of Great Britain.

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The propriety of this proposal was but just perceived, by many, when peace between Britain and the United States was concluded; and deputies from the Six Nations met those from the other tribes, at Sandusky: the latter, to express the resolution they had taken to unite in the common cause; the former, to request a cessation of all further hostility. The deputies from the western tribes thought that the chiefs of the Six Nations were duped by ill advisers; mutual confidence was weakened; and some on both sides appeared to be swayed more by private views than the public benefit. A partial treaty with the Americans was held at Muskingham, in which a considerable tract of country was given up to them, which gave great offence to those who were absent. The serious chiefs, however, only remonstrated against the impropriety of such contracts, and would not allow any agreement to be valid, which was not sanctioned by general consent. The young warriors were not so moderate. On hearing the claims of the Americans, in consequence of the treaty with Great Britain; and seeing them attempt to make surveys, with their haughty deportment at Muskingham, and the irregularities of the Virginians, conspired to incline them more to war than peace. Some of the most forward even carried on hostilities in small detached parties; and the subsequent conduct of the Americans soon caused them to become more general.

“In 1787 or 1788, a meeting was to be held, by deputies from the different tribes, at Wappatomaki, the principal village of the Shawanons, to confirm the union, and endeavour to obtain justice with respect to the boundary. About fifty of the Six Nations, and smaller parties from the other tribes, being arrived, the Shawanons, with their accustomed hospitality, wishing to give the best entertainment to their guests, went to hunt buffaloes, as being a greater rarity than venison. The party from the Six Nations, rather than remain inactive, went with them to the chase. Near the expected time of their return, clouds of dust rising from the surrounding plains drew the attention of the women, and those who were left in the village. They supposed it was the return of the hunters, especially when horsemen appeared; but on a nearer view, they perceived it to be the enemy. The few warriors who were there, not exceeding thirty, ran to arms; and made a resolute opposition; but what was such a handful of men against a thousand. Most of them fell; but whilst they were sacrificing themselves in this gallant defence, the women with their children had time to escape; so that, I believe, the enemy did not take above forty of them prisoners. When the hunters returned, joyfully anticipating the satisfaction they should derive from the social entertainments they had prepared for their brethren, and the acclamations of their wives for their exertions and success, (being usually saluted

saluted by them at their doors with smiling countenances,) all was in gloomy silence; heaps of ashes and half-burnt timber were only to be found where their houses had stood; and the paths where they had formerly strolled in peace, were now sprinkled with the blood of their friends. Anguish and rage took possession of their hearts. All burned with a desire of vengeance. They, however, received a gleam of comfort on finding that many of their families had escaped, and were secure in the neighbouring thickets. Some were for pursuing the enemy immediately, but they were restrained, from the improbability of overtaking them, and their apprehension for the safety of their friends who were prisoners, should they attack any place in hopes of finding them. At length it was resolved to obtain prisoners sufficient to make an exchange, which in a little time was effected; trusting to the Great Spirit for a favourable termination, and cautioning themselves in future to be unanimous in peace or war. The general inclination was for the latter; particularly after the treacherous conduct of the Americans towards those who were willing to have been at peace on reasonable terms. The frequent meetings of the different tribes inspired confidence and hope of mutual assistance. But the general zeal of the young warriors to make one common cause, was diverted from its natural course by artful intrigues; as the current of a river is turned by the ingenious

engineer from its natural bed, and only a small stream is left, formed from the drops that force through his bulwark. Thus it was in this instance; particularly with the warriors of the Six Nations, who, from their adjacent situation, number, and character, were the allies most coveted, and the most able to assist the Shawanons, had their chiefs been animated with as pure patriotism as themselves. But the thirst for gain drew those leaders into private conferences with the Americans, unknown to their allies, with the hope of obtaining the price that might be offered for peace. Their recommendations of it, therefore, on all occasions, became suspected to the Shawanons and others, who expressed their sentiments so freely as to give offence, and in their turn became the objects of blame, as seeking war, more for the sake of plunder than necessity.

These mutual jealousies had risen to a great height in 1793.—But to return to the year 1790. General Harmer, with fifteen hundred men, arrived at the Miami town, the chief residence of the Shawanons, since their misfortunes at Wappatomaki. At that time a great number of the warriors were absent at their hunting grounds, and there were only about five or six hundred Indians in the neighbourhood to oppose him. Nor were these all collected on his arrival; but the few that were there did not neglect to harass him by continual alarms, and deprive him of his horses and cattle.

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At last the general fight began; and though some Ottowas, who had too hastily engaged before the others came up, were obliged to give way, and keep for some distance a running fight, yet, when their forces were united, the woods re-echoing the shouts of the warriors, and exhortations of the chiefs, the Americans could no longer sustain the well-directed fire and impetuous onset of the brethren. They fled, and panic-fear brought up the rear. The pursuers, some on horseback, and others on foot, followed, and cut them down until they were tired of slaughter. Agushawa, an Ottawa chief of much repute, saved hundreds of them, by representing, that blood enough was shed for one day, and that the Great Spirit might be offended at their prosecuting the success he had given them, without mercy or compassion; and that he might yet give them other opportunities of avenging themselves on their enemies. Amongst the leaders who acquired fame, none was more distinguished than a female of the Ottawa tribe. With her exhortations she impeded the flight of those who first retreated, and urged them to renew the fight with redoubled fury. 'Warriors,' said she, 'I have ever heard you pride yourselves on your superiority to those enemies, whom you have held in contempt, and do I now see you shrink at inequality of numbers! What is that to men like you, who, when your voices were heard in the circle of warriors, and the woods resounded with your songs of war,

each of you seemed as if he would be undaunted at a host. Did you not come here to aid your distressed brother, the Shawanon, who has confided in your manly protection? but if you thus shamefully quit the field, in a manner unworthy of your tribe, unworthy of yourselves, they will think they have been deceived in supposing that you were men, and that your numbers would count in the day of battle. If love to your friends and brothers is not sufficient to sustain your courage against unequal numbers, let the insolence of your enemies, who have presumed to intrude their standard into the country given to your ancestors and to you by the Great Spirit. Show them that they are mistaken in expecting an easy conquest; and that their numbers, discipline, and mighty preparations of war are ineffectual, when opposed to your innate courage, assisted by the Protecting Spirit that watches over our destiny. Death is glorious to the brave, as life is honourable; but the flying dastard shamefully falls a victim to his pusillanimity; or if he escapes, it is but to pine away in contempt the remainder of a worthless life.' The warriors were much abashed by the spirited reproaches of this heroine; and if they had disgraced themselves in her eyes by retreating with such disparity of numbers, they re-established their character for bravery, when joined by the others, though then they did not amount to half the number of the enemy.

enemy. A few nobly fell, whilst others received honourable marks of the day. The surprise and indignation of the Americans at this defeat occasioned another army to be raised, which was to exceed the former greatly in numbers. These tribes, whilst acting on the offensive, had carried on a desultory war, by means of small parties, who were seldom able to effect any thing important; which made the Americans suppose they would be easily overcome, and that, if they should be attacked, it would be only some random shot, by which a few might fall. They seemed to have forgotten many occurrences, in which these tribes, when roused to take the field in considerable bodies, had displayed a confidence equal to their force.

“ During the summer of 1791 this vaunted army was raised under Sinclair, and advanced towards the Miami, presuming that all nature would be impressed with awe at the approach of such a potent force; that the trees of the forest would bow in reverence; the lakes and rivers shrink at the voice of their general, in fear of annihilation; and as to the bipeds of the wilderness, they were to be put under the ground, or into the water to feed the fish, and make way for their fellow men of the towns and cultivated fields.

“ The ardour of the tribes to give them a warm reception, was increased by the late expedition of General Wilkinson, who, with some hundred cavalry, attacked a retired village, a few days’
journey

to the south-west of the Miami towns. He came upon it unexpectedly, and approached it with such undaunted valour as to frighten all the women and children, who fled to the adjacent thicket, like young pheasants on the approach of an enemy, whilst their mother amuses him from the pursuit. About fifteen poor fellows who were in the village fought bravely, and some fell.—But to return to the advancing army, to oppose which, warriors from the different tribes assembled at the Miami towns to await its approach; but this was so much delayed by building forts, that the confederated tribes, who wished to have the matter speedily terminated, that they might not be detained from their hunting, grew impatient, and determined to go in quest of their enemies. Two hundred warriors of the generous Shawanons, which indeed were all that remained in these parts of that brave but unfortunate people, who had for a long series of years been unjustly oppressed and harassed with consequent wars, against which their gallant warriors ever opposed their fronts. The body of this people had retired to the westward, and left only this remnant in their ancient settlements. Being the most zealous, and having suffered most from the enemy, the lead was consigned to them by joint consent, and one of their elder chieftains took the principal direction.

“The Delawares, who had inhabited the Atlantic shores, but by gradual retirement had now reached
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the fertile banks of the Miami, joined them, with three hundred sturdy warriors. The Wyandots and the Iroquois, both famed for a persevering valour and hardy stratagems of war, and either from this cause, or ancient obscure traditions, styled Elder Brethren by all the adjacent tribes, except the Delawares, who with yet greater reverence, give them the appellation of Uncle: these furnished two hundred determined warriors, emulous of adding new glory to the fame acquired by their ancestors; and though the Shawanons had the lead in council, the post of honour in the line was given to them. The mild, honest, and brave Ottawas, whose far-scattered, but numerous bands, from the shores of the Lake to the banks of the Mississippi, yet retain their ancient simplicity, added an hundred warriors to the host, from the villages at Miami's roaring rapids, and the bay that opens into Lake Erie's wide, extensive views, led by the valiant Agushawegh, nephew to the famous Pontiac. Though from their distant situation they did not come so much to resent their own wrongs, as to assist their friends, where flights of water-fowl cause a thundering noise, and their mighty cackle gives the fowler warm hopes of the morning's sport. Some scattered warriors from the Pontewatomie's plains, and Miamis, not famed for their good qualities, but as they included the valiant Little Turtle, amounted to an hundred and fifty. In all, nine hundred and fifty. This determined

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troop began their march, the air resounding with their war songs and animating shouts. The frightened deer run in all directions, when they penetrate the woods, and the young warriors divide in search of provisions. The aged, and many others, keep the road, and form the encampment at the appointed place, where the hunting warriors arrive, loaded with the spoils of the place.

“After a few pleasant days’ journey in this manner the scouts return, about the time of encamping, when the sun was fast sinking behind the western clouds, and relate that the enemy’s camp was pitched near them, on a meandering branch of the Waback. The chiefs exhort to be in readiness by the morning’s dawn to give assault; and permit the youthful warriors, during the night, to acquire horses by disembarassing their enemies of them. At the approach of day, the chiefs call to arms, and the encampment resounds with the exhortations and plaudits of the warriors. They march in files, according to their tribes, and arrive in good order at General Sinclair’s encampment, which was on a point rather elevated, and nearly encompassed with the river. A bottom in front was occupied by a corps of riflemen. On the approach of the Linawegh Indians, the riflemen fire, but instantly shrink from their impetuous onset: the line extends, and forms, with animating shouts and steady fire. The American cannon belch flames and smoke, sending their hard contents to rattle amongst the trees, and
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lop their unfortunate branches. Their noisy roar attracts the warrior's attention, and showers of leaden deaths assail their attendants, who become the objects, instead of being the instruments of destruction. The battle rages, the warriors cross the stream, and the Iroquois and Shawanons enter the camp. To prevent being outflanked by superior numbers, the Linawegh were obliged, by extending their line, to leave very considerable intervals between the divisions. General Butler, taking advantage of this, charged, with great impetuosity of force, the Iroquois, who were too much separated from their friends to receive immediate support, and they were obliged to retreat; but their pursuers suffered for their temerity, as they turned on them with such impetuosity that few escaped to the camp, having their line of march strewed with dead bodies. They recross the stream, mount the bank, and re-enter the camp. The much-thinned ranks of the American army could no longer withstand their eagerness. The exulting shouts of the conquering warriors seemed to chill with increased terror the affrighted soldier; and in the onset the unavailing bayonet was ever baffled by the tomahawk and war club, wielded by more energetic arms. Butler is killed, and many other officers of note. General Sinclair prudently rode away. The American ranks are thoroughly broken, and the plumage of the victorious warriors waved conspicuously, whilst they dealt destruction amongst the flying multitude.

multitude. The field of battle, and some distance beyond it, were thickly covered by the fall. A general pursuit was not continued far: a few warriors only persevered in following the poor affrighted remnant to Fort Jefferson, about thirty miles distant from the field of action. From the appearance on the ground, and the American account of those who escaped, there could not have been less killed than fifteen hundred. The most limited reports of those who were in the action say, they lost passim nine hundred. There were but few prisoners taken. Eight pieces of cannon, and all the ammunition, provisions, baggage, &c. fell into their hands. In order to conceal the cannon, they were thrown into the river. Their weight, and the haste of the warriors to follow their hunting, prevented their being conveyed to their villages, or indeed taking any other advantage from the victory they had acquired. Some repaired immediately to their hunting stations; others to the villages, to take their families with them. The loss on their side, according to the best information, was the Wyandots, four men killed on the spot; the Mingoos two; the Shawanons six; and the Delawares six. Those that fell of the Chippawa and Ottawa were not considerable. The wounded were numerous; but few were mortally injured. The ensuing spring, the Americans sent an officer named Freeman, and two other persons, to make overtures of peace: one of these had been prisoner with the
Delawares,

Delawares, and was to serve as their interpreter. Before they reached any of the villages, where they would have been under the protection of the chiefs, they unfortunately encountered a ferocious fellow and his son, or nephew, who killed all but the interpreter, whom they saved because he had been adopted into the nation. This atrocious deed raised the indignation of the chief and warriors; but a considerable time elapsing from the perpetration of this crime to the general meeting in the villages, this man and his friends industriously reported, that he was actuated by the good of the tribes; for that this pretended offer of peace was only to lull them into security, the better to receive and to destroy them: that he thought war was their greatest security with the Americans, who had grasped so much territory, and by whom so many of their warriors had fallen at various times of peace, who, unsuspecting of danger, had hunted in the neighbourhood of the settlements; and that he made no doubt, had the deceased arrived at the villages, he would, with his fair and soft speeches, have prevailed on the chiefs and warriors to have listened to him, and have deceived them by his pacific proposals: therefore, though the act he had committed was cruel and inhospitable, yet the anxiety he felt at the danger in which he saw his beloved brethren, excited him to do it; and as such were his motives, he hoped it would neither meet with the displeasure of the Great Spirit, nor of those whose welfare he had so much

much at heart. The general feeling corresponding with these arguments, for that time screened him from punishment.

The warriors during this summer only annoyed the enemy in small parties, who brought in a few prisoners and scalps, with a great number of horses and cattle. Many confined their attacks to the neighbourhood of the forts; whilst others penetrated into the various parts of the back settlements, but nothing of moment was effected. In the autumn, many of the Six Nations came to the Miami, particularly Senecas, or Ondowagas, to hold a council with the Shawanons, and warmly urged them to accept of peace, hinting, that their thirst of plunder led them astray, in desiring the continuance of the war; and deprecating the idea that such motives should ever influence warriors, or any others than the welfare or glory of their tribes. These reproaches were not received very kindly: nor did the Shawanons fail to retort, by attributing the exhortations of the Ondowagas to peace, to interested views. They said their grievances were too well known, for any to suppose they were led into the field only from the love of plunder; though they acknowledged that, after a warrior had surmounted the dangers and hardships of war, and gloriously triumphed over his enemies, a rich booty was a great gratification. 'We, (said they,) have, with the favour of the Great Spirit, defeated and plundered their armies, who, had they been equally fortunate, would have
deprived

deprived us of our houses, and robbed us of our territory. The poverty in which this war has plunged us, it is true, has almost rendered plunder necessary for the support of our families, it having called forth every exertion, and in a great measure obliged us to relinquish our former occupation of hunting. Are the proposals hitherto offered us any thing more than a deliberate despoiling us of our territory? and is it reasonable to expect that we shall sanction these injuries, and become instrumental to their depriving our children of their birth-rights; or surrender that independence the Great Spirit has given us? No, brethren, we will never submit to this whilst a warrior remains. We lament to see your deplorable degeneracy from the valour and independent spirit of your ancestors, who were the admiration of all our land. We see you, as it were, become the instruments of Europeans, to say or do whatever they direct. After you have sacrificed almost all the respected country of your forefathers, yourselves form the second sacrifice. We now hear their speeches proceed from your mouths; for you certainly have not uttered the feelings of your hearts, or the suggestions of your understandings. Their riches have blinded you, or you have willingly closed your eyes, that you might not see things as they really are, otherwise you would feel as your brethren do, and recal to your minds, with indignation, our villages burnt, our women and children taken prisoners, and our warriors

warriors bravely falling in their defence; and all these injuries inflicted by surprise, in a time of peace, for to this they owed their success. The bones of their slaughtered armies yet bear record of the hostility of their intentions, and the successful efforts of our warriors to render them ineffectual. Are we then to embrace peace on any terms their injustice may propose? No; if they sincerely desire it, let them enquire what was the boundary before we took up the hatchet in our fathers' cause. We have never yet found peace a security; it has rather the more exposed us to danger, by putting our warriors off their guard. They are not afraid of war, to them it is a field of glory, and the trophies there acquired they esteem more than the riches of their antagonists. Yet the love we bear our women and children urges us to listen to the pleasing sounds of peace. If our enemy is in earnest, let him show it by the equity of his proposals. Let the Ohio, our ancient boundary, yet remain so. Tell them, we will freely grant peace; but we will not relinquish any part of our territory to obtain it. We are warriors; and if we purchase peace it can only be with our blood. Brethren, these are our sentiments, and such were those of your ancestors; we are also assured that these feelings are not entirely banished from your fires. Brethren, we exhort you to show yourselves worthy the name you bear. Cast off the shackles of corruption, or rather infatuation, that

that are fallen over you like a trap. Resume the independent spirit of your ancestors, and resign yourselves to the guidance of the impressions the Good Spirit may put into your hearts; then will we plant the tree of peace, whose branches may extend to the ends of the world, if not prevented by the noxious qualities of the surrounding atmosphere. We will unite our strength to remove these, and every other impediment to its growth; and our mutual vengeance shall fall on those who may attempt to injure this tree, either by the gnawing of its roots to cause an imperceptible decay, and by the first wind be blown down; or by the lopping of its branches, injure with their fall any of the children who securely play under its shade.'

“ In consequence of this treaty, the Americans received intimations that peace would be listened to by the Shawanons, and the tribes in conjunction with them. The Shawanons and Mingoës contended that the Ohio should be the boundary, whose pleasant banks they could not relinquish, where they had hunted from infancy. In March, 1793, a mediating belt and speech were received at the Miami, from the agents of Great Britain, exhorting the Shawanons and others to listen to terms of accommodation, and promising their mediation in obtaining an equitable boundary. Sandusky was proposed for the place of rendezvous for the tribes, and

and the foot of the rapids of the Miami for their treating with the American commissioners.

“ In June, Captain Brand came to the Miami, with upwards of five hundred followers of the eastern tribes. The Shawanons and Delawares were yet occupied in planting their corn, so that few of them arrived till the beginning of July. When they saw the numbers of their eastern brethren, suspicion arose, especially as their chiefs had never led them in great bodies to their assistance in the field, even in times of the greatest difficulty; and now, when the council of a few venerable chiefs only was necessary, they could attribute the presence of so many warriors only to the intriguing disposition of a certain chief, who might think, by their means, of carrying the measures that suited his interest with the greater facility. Their jealousy was increased by the recollection that Captain Brand, and others of the Six Nations, had been, the preceding summer, to Philadelphia, to confer with General Washington on the concerns of the American tribes at large, without the concurrence of their western brethren. These jealousies made them listen with caution to every proposal of the Six Nations, who acted as mediators, and even reject some councils that were good, because they came from them. This was no favourable omen at the onset of the deliberations. The situation of the western tribes, with respect to the British government of Canada, was another

another powerful obstacle to peace. In the revolutionary war, the principal argument to induce them to take up arms, was the defence of their territory against the encroachments of the Americans; but when peace was concluded between Britain and America, they were disappointed, and, instead of security, received only evasive speeches and distant promises.

“ Another war was apparently at hand, and the services of the tribes might be again necessary. A hope was therefore held out of assistance, should the Americans refuse to ratify the ancient boundary, the Ohio, which was supposed to strengthen some in their inclination for war. The result of the first deliberation was to send deputies, to meet the American commissioners at Fort Erie, and enquire whether they were empowered to remove the line, which the Americans had formerly insisted upon, and which they had got sanctioned at a partial treaty at Muskingum. The commissioners replied, that they had power to change it; and, after the conference, proceeded to the mouth of Detroit River, to Captain Elliott's, whilst the Indian deputies retired to the Miami, where they found a great number of the various tribes, particularly from the eastward; for a rumour prevailed, that the Americans were to pay an immense sum of money on the conclusion of peace. Those Indians who came from amongst the European settlements, had acquired no small taste for that article, though

not much industry, by which they might obtain a supply of it; consequently, they were ready to grasp at it with much greater avidity than their western brethren, whose industry in the chase, and that of their females in the villages, abundantly provided for all their wants. It is earnestly to be hoped, that, as the game may decrease, thinned by the extraordinary exertions of the hunters, excited by trade, domestic animals, and the consequent branches of rural industry, may increase in such proportion, as not to suffer the natural and reasonable wants of man to seduce them to avarice, that debaser of the human mind. On further consultation, another embassy was sent to the commissioners at the mouth of the river, to know whether they would use their power to establish the Ohio as the boundary, having been esteemed such by both parties before the separation from Great Britain. The commissioners proposed that the line should be drawn within fifty miles of the Ohio, and offered to pay a considerable sum of money for the difference. Captain Brand, and the eastern chiefs, seconded this proposal with all their influence, and it would have been prudent to accept these terms, for many obvious reasons; particularly from the very unequal contest so long maintained between a few hundred warriors, and so powerful a people as the United States. The greater part would have consented to peace, but from a jealousy of Captain Brand's motives. They thought, that as they had
fought

fought and conquered without his assistance, so they might treat of peace without his arbitration. These suspicions were fostered by the outrages of a half Shawanon named M'Gee, which put both sides into such an unfriendly temper, that no happy termination was likely to be effected by this meeting. A report prevailed, that on the refusal of the terms of the commissioners, the American army was to advance. This restrained the advocates for peace, lest their opinions should be attributed to fear. At length they came to the unanimous resolution to reject the overtures, and defy the hostile army, in the defeat of which the warriors hoped to acquire some additional glory. It was first proposed to assemble the warriors and march to Greenville, where the American army was encamped, a place about an hundred and fifty miles distant. Various reasons prevented this plan; particularly a rumour that the Six Nations, retiring in disgust, had determined to espouse the interests of the Americans. This caused a serious apprehension to those who were weak enough to believe it; and was sufficient to deter them from leaving their villages unprotected, whilst they were in the field against the Americans. But the strongest impulse was that of the chase. The leaves were beginning to fall; the season for hunting the buck was arrived. No appearance of the American army being in readiness to march, the pleasures of hunting were much more enticing to

the warriors, than the hardships of a winter's campaign, against an enemy encamped in fortresses, and who, they were certain, would remain there, while they appeared in force.

“ You, as a European, may be surprised at the apparent reluctance of the chiefs and warriors to go against an enemy in large bodies, unless to oppose an invading army; but it will be readily explained, when you consider that the desert they have to march through is generally of some extent, and that their mode of supplying the army with provisions is different from yours. Every warrior is furnished with some sweet meal, or angwitzer; (a composition of parched maize and maple sugar;) some bread; and, if he is mounted, very probably a small bag of maize: but as each individual is proud of his ability as a hunter, to supply himself in the desert with his gun, they are not anxious that all should contribute an equal store, or that it should be calculated to last a stated time, independently of the product of the chase. Some warriors may have a stock for a month; others, for not more than two or three days; but when they are together there is no distinction: all is in common, all fare alike. On their march, venison and other game are abundant; but if they remain several days in a place, in a numerous body, as soon as the village provisions are expended they begin to suffer, because the great number of hunters cause the game to leave their route: therefore, if the
 enemy

enemy be fortified, they are necessitated either to overcome him by storm, or retreat from hunger. Parties under fifty are not liable to these inconveniencies. If they have but sufficient provisions to carry them two or three days' march, they abound in the game natural to the country they pass through; and should they be obliged to halt, so small a number will never cause a scarcity. Besides, the personal vanity of the chiefs is most flattered by conducting small parties, as they engross the full glory of their achievements. When a leading warrior conceals an enterprize, he makes known his designs to his friends and followers, who mostly hasten to assist in the undertaking; especially if he be a man of known courage, abilities, and moderation, so as to retain the good will of the warriors. If it be against the settlements, they seize some prisoners, horses, and cattle, and drive them away. If they are pursued, after having secured the captives and cattle at a distance, under a guard, they return to meet the pursuing enemy, which they very frequently effect. At other times they have gone to the chain of forts, and there waited till some party came out, or some convoy of provisions attempted to enter. When neither of these events occurred so soon as they expected, they endeavoured to cause a sortie, by driving away cattle or horses, and showing only three or four men, while the main body, forming an ambuscade, the fugitives drew the pursuers into

it. This, and similar stratagems, are practised, according to circumstances, and the genius of those who conduct the enterprise.

“ We will now, if you please, return to the council, which determined to continue the war. The Little Otter, a celebrated warrior of the Ottawa nation, soon after conducted a party of sixty to a place called the Hurricane, or the St. Mary's, which was appointed to be the general rendezvous for those who were to join the intended expedition. The necessity of hunting for winter clothing, and other circumstances, delayed the Shawanons and others from meeting them; and the Little Otter growing impatient to complete his campaign, that he might be at leisure for the chase, set off with his own party, solely with the addition of two Wyandots, who joined him on the road of communication between Greenville and Kentucky; where they discovered an American escort, of three companies of riflemen, with provisions, laden on pack-horses and oxen, for General Wayne's army, which lay encamped at Greenville. The Ottawas attacked them immediately, and defeated them, with no other injury to themselves than one man wounded. They killed twenty of the enemy, who were three times their number, and took ten prisoners: the rest ran away without being pursued; for prudence required their departure, lest they should be overpowered by a superior force from the main army. They therefore staid

staid only to pack up the plunder, amongst which was the finely plumed helmet of the American commanding officer, which served the Little Otter as a trophy. They next put the prisoners on horseback, mounted themselves, and drove the supernumerary horses before them; leaving the oxen to graze at liberty, not choosing to be delayed by their slow motion; and some superstition restrained them from killing them. The Ottowas considered this exploit as releasing them from further service that year; and after their return home, prepared to take their families to their hunting stations.

“ From the long continuance of the war, and the repeated calls on the generosity of the Shawanons, famed for hospitality, whose village had been the general rendezvous, they had become so very poor, that both they and their guests often suffered from want; having nothing but corn and water, instead of the venison and bread to which they were accustomed. This created great impatience to meet the enemy, that they might engage and be set at liberty. On resolving to continue the war, the Shawanons expected supplies from Britain, in which they were disappointed. This caused them to summon the confederated warriors with diffidence; nor could they detain either their own, or those of their neighbours, in any great numbers, from their hunting; so that on an alarm early in November, that the enemy was likely to advance,

runners were sent to the neighbouring villages, where only fifty Wyandots were found at home. These marched directly to the frontier village, where they met only three hundred Shawanons, Mingoës, and Delawares. Being interrupted from their usual occupations, on a false rumour, they were desirous of disturbing the enemy in his quarters; but the speaker of the Delawares, who took the lead, dissuaded them from this measure, from the inferiority of their numbers to effect any thing material; the difficulties of a winter campaign; and the danger of rousing the Americans, who believed that they were deliberating concerning peace. The council being broke up, they separated, each to his own employment. In the mean time, mutual skirmishes passed, with unequal success. The spring was ushered in, with an expectation that the British would aid their allies in obtaining the Ohio for a boundary, as they had encouraged them to insist upon it at the late council; and, consistently with these expectations, a party of the 24th regiment was sent to the Miami, to build a fort, a little below the rapids, which the tribes understood was to be a depôt for ammunition and provision, as well as a resource, should the American army come before the warriors had time to assemble. It was advised to take the field early in the spring; but necessity compelled the chiefs and warriors to remain in their villages, till they had put the seed into the ground, which detained them
till

till the latter end of June, when the Ottowas and Chippawas, along the shores of the Lakes, came in their canoes to the foot of the rapids of Miami, a little above the new fort. Some chiefs wished to detain these, till more, who were on the way, should arrive, or the Americans show signs of coming out of their forts; when they might proceed to the Glaiz, where they would find the Shawanons, Mingoës, and Delawares, joined by the Pontewattomies and Miamis, and in union with them to attack the enemy. For they feared the difficulties of supporting such numbers, if all assembled at the frontier village, and that they would consequently grow impatient to engage, under the disadvantages of encountering their opponents with inferiority of force, and sheltered under block-houses, &c. Besides, the brave impetuosity of the Chippawas and Ottowas being well known, was thought likely to ensure success; but should they be detained, and assist only in an inconsiderable action, they would think they had performed their part in the campaign. Renown was their principal object; for few extended their views to the permanent welfare of their tribes, by checking the encroachments of the Americans, and increasing the strength and importance of the confederacy by their warlike achievements. In order to restrain their impatience of delay, and turn their thirst of private honour to the public good, they should have

been kept in action, and amused in the friendly emulation of ball-playing, foot-races, and wurdances, till an opportunity offered of striking a decisive blow. This being neglected, and feeling a scarcity of provisions, the Chippawas and Ottowas were in haste to leave the rapids. Some went to the Glaiz, and others to a place called the Fallen Timber; a ruined village, fifty miles from the Glaiz, which was to be the place of rendezvous. These tribes arriving first, had an opportunity of hunting, and supplying themselves with mankipins, whilst they waited for their brethren. Numerous tribes marched from the Glaiz: the Delawares only refused to join the rest, under pretence of going another road, lest their numbers should occasion a scarcity; but their motives were attributed to the intrigues of the Americans, to prevent them from joining in hostilities, though they dared not openly refuse.

There were assembled at the Fallen Timber about twelve hundred, of different tribes. When the confederates were within thirty miles of Greenville, where General Wayne's army lay in a fortified encampment, scouts were sent to reconnoitre, some towards the American camp, others to Fort Recovery, erected where General Sinclair had been defeated. The former soon discovered a scout of the Chicasaws, whom they put to flight. Observing that they were nearly naked, they supposed them to be the forerunners of a greater body,

body, perhaps of the main army. On their return, it was determined to advance in files, to be ready to form instantly, should they meet the enemy, which they rather expected. From the other scout, whom they met on the road, they received intelligence, that the Americans were in a considerable body on the outside of Fort Recovery. This caused a division of sentiment. The Chippawas and Ottowas, who were the most numerous, expected that a deference should be paid to their opinion, which was, to proceed to the Fort; but the other tribes, fearing that the rashness of the Chippawas might precipitate them into a difficult situation, and weighing the disadvantages of attacking a well fortified fort, without ladders or cannon, were averse from that measure, and advised to march to the camp, hoping that General Wayne would give them battle; trusting, from experience, that, though he had above three times the number, by the blessing of the Great Spirit, they might gain such a victory, as would deter their opponents from further encroachments. Yet a victory would not have saved them from the baneful intrigues of those schemers, who, under the mask of friendship, gnaw their entrails. The arms of the confederates had already sufficiently triumphed to have obtained, by prudent management, every thing to be desired.

The confederacy depended upon the assistance of Great Britain, because they had formerly fought

in her cause, which was indeed the origin of the present war. This hope was supported by Captain Elliot, accompanying the confederates with about thirty English and Canadian traders, servants, &c. The Wyandots and Mingoës requested him to urge their brethren to march to the encampment at Greenville, relying upon his influence, as the representative of their Great Father, but he declined interfering.

“ In the mean time, it was agreed to form a camp, and send a detachment to reconnoitre the force of the Chicasaws. They soon discovered it to have been a party of fifty or sixty of that tribe, who fled immediately on receiving the alarm. In the evening a council was held, and the Chippawas carried their point of going to Fort Recovery. The next morning the confederates changed their course, according to that determination, and encamped within a few miles. Scouts were dispatched by the three tribes, to see whether the Americans yet remained in that neighbourhood; thinking, if they were gone, they might yet prevail with the Chippawas to proceed towards the army, without attempting any thing against the fort. The scouts reported, that they did remain there. On this they began their march, with more expedition than regularity; for they found that the Americans about the fort were only a detachment of a few hundreds from the main army, not sufficient to give the confederates in general an opportunity of acquiring

acquiring glory; so all were eager to be first in the onset. The Wyandots, Mingoës, and Shawanons were more in the van than the others, many of them being mounted; besides, they were generally more swift of foot than the Chippawas.

“The Americans were just under the fort. A Shawanon in the van, seeing the American commander in the front of his men, bravely encouraging them, advanced upon him and was killed. A Mingo, who followed to succour his friend, killed the commander. A captain, also, in the front, was encountered by a half Shawanon, who overpowered him. The American party of only two hundred were instantaneously defeated, with no other loss sustained by the three tribes than the Shawanon already mentioned, a Wyandot, and a Mingo wounded in the thigh. There were about thirty of the Americans killed in this encounter, and a few prisoners taken. The remainder escaped into the fort, or were scattered in the woods, though they were pursued to the gates; and, had a regular plan been formed, the assailants might have entered with them, and the courage of the poor Chippawas would not have been spent in vain; for they coming up, and finding glory so scarce that hardly any fell to their share, rushed on to the fort without any regularity or system; whence they were annoyed with a severe fire from a block-house, and the loopholes of the stockades, which were too high to pass over hastily without ladders.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding they were thus exposed, they returned the fire upon their concealed enemies; and, from the continued shrieks, it was evident their efforts were not ineffectual. Finding no probability of carrying the fort, they retired, giving the Americans reason of exultation; for the garrison and convoy altogether was supposed not to exceed five hundred men.

“The next day, finding themselves without provisions, and encumbered with the wounded, it was determined to return homewards, though the result of the expedition made every warrior retire reluctantly. The loss of the Chippawas under the fort was said to be sixteen. The only advantage gained, was about two hundred packhorses, and some oxen, that fell into the hands of the confederates. Though the confederates were reinforced by four hundred Delawares and Pontawattomies, yet, on consulting on the future operations, nothing further could at that time be undertaken; and it was unanimously agreed to make the best of their way to their respective villages, because they were totally destitute of provisions, and the Chippawas were determined to return with their wounded companions.

The Delaware and Shawanon village at the Glaiz was surprized, about a month after, by the arrival of an American subaltern, who acquainted them that he had left General Wayne, with the army of five thousand men, at the distance of only two days' journey.

Previously

Previously to this intelligence, they had lived in perfect security; the expectation of the enemy being worn out by long delay. Many of the warriors were gone to their summer hunt, so that there might be remaining only about five hundred. Runners were therefore immediately dispatched to the different villages, to collect the warriors; and embarking their families in canoes, and mounting others on horseback, they retreated down the river to the foot of the rapids. They were there met by the Wyandots from Sandusky and Detroit; also the Ottowas and Chippawas, from the same neighbourhood; in all not exceeding a thousand. They encamped in a meadow below the fort. The American army arrived at Rock de Bœuf. General Wayne fortified his camp there. This was his usual custom every night, but here he did it with peculiar caution. It was a work, flanked by bastions of the same, with cannon. From this camp he sent a flag of truce to that of the confederates, advising them no longer to listen to Europeans, (meaning the English,) but come and take their brother Americans by the hand, who only wanted to live with them in peace and friendship; that they did not desire their territory, as they had been led to believe, by those who wanted to keep them at variance, that they might monopolize the trade. The tribes did not think it a proper time to talk of peace, lest their readiness to accept it might be deemed the effect of fear; and that their enemies might

might exult at having defeated them, as it were, before they fought; they resolved, therefore, to send an ambiguous answer, that there were not a sufficient number of chiefs assembled to authorize them to enter into a treaty, but that, if he would wait twenty days, they hoped to be able to inform him further of their sentiments. They flattered themselves that the British fort at the Miami was to have co-operated with their warriors, and have afforded them shelter, should the Americans advance so suddenly as not to give them time to assemble in sufficient numbers to oppose them; but in this hope they were gradually undeceived, for the environs of the fort being woods, where cavalry could not act advantageously, were an excellent situation to wait for a general engagement. Yet they were urged to fix upon a plain at two miles distance, scarcely covered on one side by the river, which at that time was so shallow, that it was no great impediment to infantry, much less to men well mounted. On the second day of forming, their situation was more favourable, being on an eminence, quite below the rapids, where the river both widens and deepens, and at the utmost edge of the flats on that side the river, whilst it overlooked those on the opposite shore, where the house of the British agent, Colonel M'Gee, stood; and being woods, the warriors of the confederate tribes might have made such a resistance as would have defied their superiority of numbers. On the
third

third day, they were again prevailed with to take their former station. The two preceding days they had waited for the enemy with great patience; suffering from thirst and hunger, which rendered them backward to resume their places in the line, till they had taken sufficient refreshment. The Wyandots, however, to the amount of an hundred and fifty, with thirty of the Detroit Militia, placed themselves on the right: small detachments of the other tribes, amounting to nearly three hundred, took their stations on the left. They had scarcely reached the ground, when they saw the Americans advance through the plain. It was the van guard, intended by General Wayne to lead them into a snare, while fifteen hundred Kentucky riflemen were to pass the right flank, and the cavalry proceeded down the meadows on the opposite side the river, till they should cross it, and fall on the rear of the left flank. They gave into this stratagem, for when the Americans came very near, they rushed on them with great impetuosity, pursued them nearly two miles, but did not destroy many. The greater part of this detachment being mounted, they now perceived the centre of the American army, drawn up in order to receive them; and notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, they would have made an essay, but perceiving a numerous body of cavalry going down on the other side of the river, with the apparent design of crossing in their rear, they retreated; annoying the

the

the enemy's cavalry with their fire, whenever they came within reach. In the mean time the Wyandots, (who, as I have already said, were on the right,) when they perceived their companions on the left advance in pursuit of the Americans, desirous of keeping pace with them, and at the same time to guard against having their flank passed by the enemy, went forward, inclining to the right; and thus met the Kentucky riflemen, whom they engaged under the disadvantages of very unequal numbers, until a chief ordered a retreat, thinking it ineffectual to combat such a vast superiority unsupported. They retired with the loss of nine warriors, amongst whom were some leading chiefs, besides a few made prisoners. The retreat was conducted with so much coolness, that the Americans did not derive any great advantage from the adverse fortune of the day. The wounded were carried off in front of the army; for the warriors mutually supported each other, by firing and retreating alternately, till out of the reach of the enemy. The whole loss of the confederates may be computed under thirty men; whilst the Americans, by their own account, had two hundred killed and wounded. The warriors, who remained in the encampment to regale themselves, on hearing the firing, seized their arms, and ran towards the scene of action; but before they arrived there, met their companions retreating, so that they all returned together. On passing the fort, some
wished

wished to enter to join in its defence; others who were wounded desired to be taken in: both were refused. This suspicious conduct of the garrison damped their energy; for instead of receiving the assistance of allies, they found them anxious to remove the contest to a distance, that they might not be involved in it. They saw, as it were, a fort built on the territory with their blood, apparently for no other purpose than to take possession: so that they began to think themselves in no less danger from their friends than their enemies, as far as respected encroachments. Notwithstanding the many circumstances adverse to the tribes, and favourable to General Wayne, he did not gain so complete an advantage as he probably expected from his military skill and courage; his plan, however, for encompassing the confederate warriors, proved entirely abortive. They all assembled at the farther end of the meadow, where they had been encamped, a little below the English fort. There they waited in expectation of hearing the fort attacked by the Americans, when they intended to return to the fight; not doubting of victory when they acted as auxiliaries. In this they were disappointed, for there was not any sign of hostility shown by either party, except some interchange of rude language; yet the Americans showed no respect to the British flag, venting their rage on the corn-fields and wigwams*, some of which being

* Wigwam, an Indian house.

composed of bark, required little less trouble to burn than to build.

The confederates retired to a small river, called Swan Creek, about five or six miles below the fort, on the other side of which was an advantageous situation for an encampment, where a small number might defend themselves against very superior force. All those who did not go to their hunting grounds remained here during the winter, and were abundantly supplied with provisions by the British agent, so long as they continued here; but they had none if they went to any distance, where they might prepare corn-fields, or in any other way remedy their losses. The expence was excessive: half of it, a few months sooner bestowed, would have sufficed, and prevented the evil. Invitations to peace were sent by the Americans, through a Canadian trader who had been taken prisoner, and others. A person named Williams, whose mother had been a captive, and married to a Mohawk, had brought him up a trader. This man was disgusted with the British Indian department, on various accounts, and saw, in the present opportunity, a hopeful prospect for advancing his fortune with the Americans. They anxiously desired to conciliate the tribes, but were at a loss for a proper person to convey their real intentions, and remove hostilities and suspicion from their minds. They were therefore ready to heap favours on whoever would undertake the commission.

During

During the winter, Williams, his brother, and a Mingo, went to General Wayne's camp, and terms of pacification were proposed. They returned with extravagant praises of American benevolence, generosity, and affability. The way being thus opened, others followed, and were equally well pleased with their reception. It is not surprising that the warriors, who had never been daunted by the bravery or power of their enemies, should now be captivated by their civility; especially when they compared the politeness and courteous deportment of the Americans, with the haughtiness of the Detroit traders, who stupified the old with rum, and dazzled the eyes of the young with gifts. The Indian department, through whom the king's bounty passed, were equally unconciliating, in expecting a reverence that was due only to a dignified, benevolent conduct. This friendly intercourse produced an agreement to meet in council, at Midsummer, to treat of peace.

“The Shawanons and Mingoes were rather averse from coming to terms, lest, from the event of the last battle, the enemy might think he had gained peace by his prowess. Blue Jacket, a chief eminent for property, talents, and, I may add, valour, (though some have detracted from his renown in that respect,) added his influence to that of his brother, who was the most distinguished warrior among the Shawanons. None could have more patriotism than Blue Jacket: he had been to the
Mississippi,

Mississippi, to seek for friends to support his brethren in the war; but he saw that they were destitute of the means of keeping a great body together, or of supplying them with the necessary ammunition, and that they could not rely on the assistance of Great Britain: for these reasons, he thought the offers of a generous enemy were not to be refused, and persuaded many of the Shawanons to go to the treaty. By the loss of the brave chiefs who fell at Miami Rapids, the Wyandots of Sandusky had only the Crane, (except some young men who were too modest to interfere,) and he did not seem to understand the true interest of his tribe. The traders of Detroit were tampering with Agushawa, the Ottawa chief, to purchase, or rather trick him out of, some land.

“The Crane was too ready to surrender any rights he possessed, provided he was well rewarded. Agushawa, though a sensible and brave man, was old and weak, and too much addicted to intoxicating liquors. From a council composed of such members, who met without any previous deliberation, and summoned by himself, General Wayne had every reason to expect he should succeed better in negociation than he had done in the field. Disputes amongst themselves, concerning the priority of possession, and the consequent right of disposal, rendered it still easier to General Wayne to obtain such a treaty as he wished, on paying a quantity of goods, and stipulating to give a certain
sum

cum in merchandise to each tribe annually. The line agreed upon ran along the Kaikhage, to a branch of the Suskarawas; then west, to where Sinclair was defeated; and to the south, opposite the Kentucky river. The north and west of this line the confederate tribes retained, but the United States held several ports where trading places were to be established.

“ Thus ended a war, which had been entered into without foresight; persevered in without system; and although the tribes might have obtained their own terms in granting peace, yet was it concluded at random, and they gained no advantage that might not have been obtained without the eclat of their victories.

“ From this we may learn, that energy of mind, and even talents, unless regulated by some wise system, and directed to some end, may be exerted ineffectually to produce any substantial benefit. If we except the too liberal introduction of whiskey amongst the tribes, the effects of this peace have been of general advantage; and from the moderation of the American government, the friends of humanity may hope it will long continue, and the warrior's sword be turned into a ploughshare, and his battle axe into an axe to fell trees. No more the widow with her tears sprinkle the grave of a beloved husband, who has sacrificed the tender anxiety of a father, to his thirst for glory and zeal for his tribe. Nor does the mother lament
her

her son, whom she hoped would have comforted her drooping years, cut off in the bloom of youth, like some tall, tender sapling, that yields to the keen cutting axe of the laborious woodman. It falls, and with it sinks the expectation of what it might have been, when once its towering top had overlooked the forest, and its wide-spreading, majestic branches, green with its beauteous foliage, afforded spacious shelter to the wearied traveller, from the sun's scorching heat*.”

This, my dear brother, is the substance of my Mohawk's narrative; which, in many places, you must admire, for the simplicity and expression of the figures, whilst it describes the manners of these untutored nations, both in time of war and in council. I have nothing further to say, but, with Indian simplicity, to bid you farewell.

H. FRANKLIN.

* The five Mohawk nations are the same race with those called by the French, Iroquois. The Wyandots, or Hurons, are likewise of the same lineage. The Chippawas, Ottowas, and Shawanons, are all denominated Nottowegh. The English call those who sided with the Shawanons, Mingoës; which is the common appellation of the five nations along the Ohio, as Mohawk is at Albany.

LETTER XXXI.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

St. John's, on Lake Champlain.

DEAR EDWIN,

A PROMISE, my dear Edwin, should always be observed: I hasten to fulfil mine, and give you the particulars of our journey from Albany to Lake Champlain.

Cohòz is a small village, which is distinguished by the neighbourhood of a remarkable fall in the Mohawk river. Though a cataract is no great novelty for me, I was charmed with the sublimity of this, which differs in many respects from most I had before seen. The breadth of the river is three hundred yards; a ledge of rocks extends quite across it, and from the top of them, the water falls about fifty feet perpendicularly. The appearance of this grand spectacle varies according to the quantity of water: after heavy rains, it descends in an unbroken sheet, from one bank to the other; whilst, at other times, the greater part of the dark-coloured rocks are visible. Following the direction of the Hudson river, we came to Stillwater, a place that receives its name from the uncommon tranquillity of that part of the stream

opposite to it. We were stopped an hour or two by some mineral springs upon the borders of a marsh. Each of them is contained in the crater of a pyramidal rock, about a man's height. The rocks seem to have been formed by the petrification of the water, and the water within them is generally below the rim of the mouth of the rock: it bubbles up, as if boiling; and at the beginning of the summer, regularly overflows the bason. The guide showed us the properties of these springs in several experiments. They extinguish a lighted candle in an instant, and suffocate any animal that is put down into the rock; but neither Mr. Franklin nor myself could suffer any creature capable of feeling, to be tormented for our amusement. After having gratified our curiosity, we quickened our pace, and reached Saratoga before the close of evening. It consists of a few detached houses, and a Dutch reformed church. This place excited no very flattering recollections in my mind, as being remarkable for the surrender of General Burgoyne. Whilst we were examining the remains of the encampments, with painful reflections on the ill success of our countrymen, a grey-headed American, perceiving we were strangers, accosted us with a degree of national pride, perhaps allowable, but not very agreeable to our sensations at that moment, and related the events of that unfortunate day. "There, gentlemen," said he, "is the very spot where the British general delivered

delivered up his sword to our commander, General Gates." "Sir," replied Mr. Franklin, with more asperity than I ever heard him speak on any other occasion, "the next time you boast of the exploits of your countrymen, be sure that you know to whom you address yourself: we are Englishmen;" and hastily taking hold of my arm, abruptly withdrew.

The next day we renewed our journey, and observed that the woods of this part chiefly consist of different species of the oak, hiccory, hemlock firs, and Weymouth pines, which differ from the tree of the same name in Europe. Amongst the under-wood are plenty of wild raspberries, which we found very refreshing. Wretched roads, made of the trunks of trees, brought us, by Fort Edward and Fort Anne, to Skenesborough, a town situated on the borders of Lake Champlain. Here Mr. Franklin hired a boat to convey us across the lake, and having provided two or three blankets and a basket of provisions, we set sail with a fair wind. Our voyage lasted several days, and was far more agreeable than being cooped up in a large vessel, on the ocean, where nothing is to be seen but the sky above, and a vast expanse of water around; for we landed frequently, both for the sake of procuring refreshments, and observing the mode of life of the people who dwell in the scattered farm-houses that skirt the lake. Many of these are wretched log-houses, that are scarcely a defence against the weather, and so badly supplied with any

thing eatable, that we could seldom obtain milk, eggs, or even bread. At night, we generally wrapt ourselves in our blankets, and lay down on the cabin floor. This mode of sleeping is not very comfortable, till use has reconciled it; but when I am well tired in the day, I am not disturbed by the hardness of my bed. At Ticonderoga we enjoyed, with double relish, the comforts of a good inn, the only dwelling-house in the place. The agreeable accommodations arise from the good management of the mistress, who is always the active person, whilst the husband minds his farm or other occupations.

The ruins of the old fort and barracks are to be seen on the top of a rising ground just behind the tavern; but they are in such a state of decay as to be of no use, nor is there any probability of their being repaired. There are the remains of another fort at Crown Point, which has also been demolished. Some of the ditches are, however, perfect; which, with the ruined buildings, overgrown with different shrubs, particularly ivy, combined with a view of the lake and the distant mountains rising beyond it, have a fine effect. This prospect was rendered still more picturesque to us by a large birch canoe, full of Indians, in the dresses of their nation. Their skins were painted of various colours, and in the most whimsical manner: one leg of the same man was white, whilst the other was daubed with green; his body was bright yellow, and his face full of red spots;

spots; and, to give his countenance the greatest possible fierceness, his eyes were of different colours. The others had indulged their taste with the same irregularity; and all were adorned with feathers, horse-hair, rings, and bracelets; and to complete their attire, each carried a small looking-glass, which was often consulted, in order to touch up the faded colours, or adjust their ornaments.

In the course of our voyage we were frequently regaled with magnificent landscapes from the shores, of hanging woods, rocks, and mountains; which in the evening received a rich glow from the reflection of the setting sun, that at the same time gilded the curling waters of the lake. The length of Lake Champlain is an hundred and twenty miles, and its breadth from two to eighteen. In the widest part are a great number of islands: the largest of them is called South Hero, and contains five hundred inhabitants. The broad lake reaches fifty miles, and terminates in a large river, named Sorelle, which is lost in the mighty St. Lawrence. Its waters are of great depth, and the shore in many places mountainous and rocky. The splashing of the waters into their chasms, make an uncommon, hollow, murmuring noise, when the wind rises to a breeze. Some of the rocks shelve under the water, at no great depth beneath it, as we experienced by a sudden shock, which convinced us that our boat had struck on one of them. All was confusion in a moment, and every one of us obliged to help to

disengage her; in which we succeeded, with no greater misfortune than a thorough drenching—a circumstance that obliged us to get ashore at the first house that would receive us. It was the dwelling of a plain Scotch labourer, who also performed the functions of a judge.

Having passed the boundary that separates the United States from the British dominions, we reached a garrison town, called St. John's, whither the Indian party had arrived before us. With them we perceived a middle-aged European, whose languishing, harassed countenance, had something peculiarly interesting in it; especially, as with the traces of grief, was a mixture of calm resignation painted on his face. Mr. Franklin was so struck with his appearance, that he sat down amongst them, and insinuated himself into their favour. The stranger seemed pleased with his attentions, but did not appear very communicative, till an opportunity occurred of conversing in private; when he related his history, which is so long, it must be deferred to a future letter. Adieu. May every happiness attend you.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER

LETTER XXXII.

Mr. Henry Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

St. John's, on Lake Champlain.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

THERE is no occasion to have recourse to novels or feigned tales, in order to amuse and interest, whilst the occurrences of real life are often so full of extraordinary accidents, and contain more instruction than the fictions of the imagination*. Arthur mentioned, in his last, a white man that we met with amongst a party of Indians. It proved to be a merchant, who resided at Richmond in Virginia, but, from a train of unfortunate circumstances, had fallen into their hands as a prisoner. A settled distress was marked on his face, till he perceived I gained the confidence of the chief who commanded the expedition, when something like hope began to animate his listless frame. His master did not watch him with such jealousy as to prevent him from telling me his unhappy story, and interesting me in his fate. It happened, some time ago, that he was obliged to go to Kentucky,

* The principal circumstances of this narrative are facts related by the Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt.

to receive some money that was due to him. He was accompanied by a friend who was a landholder in Kentucky. They proceeded together to the banks of the Great Kenhaway, where they met with several other persons, who were also going to Kentucky. They joined company, and purchased between them one of those slight, large, flat-bottomed vessels, without any deck, that are used merely to descend the Ohio, but are not sufficiently substantial to remount the stream. Having embarked with their merchandise and stores, they proceeded on the voyage, working the vessels themselves. Their company consisted of six persons: four men, and two young women, who were sisters, and going to settle, under the protection of a relation, at Kentucky. They were all fully aware that the navigation of the Ohio is not free from danger from the Indians; but they also knew that an attack on a vessel in the midst of the stream is very rare, and that such an attempt, with so many on board, had not been heard of for many years. Confiding in their numbers, they proceeded, without anxiety, an hundred and six miles, when, about day-break, they were alarmed by the most dreadful shrieks, proceeding from two white men on the shore, who told them, with the most affecting tone of grief, that they had been taken prisoners by the Indians, and had made their escape, but feared again to fall into their hands. They said they had not eaten any thing for the last four days, and entreated, if they could

could not be taken on board, to be at least supplied with some provision, and saved from perishing by hunger. That humanity, which is implanted in every breast, pleaded in their favour with all on board; till a little further consideration induced those of most experience to apprehend that they should expose themselves to danger, by stopping to assist these unfortunate persons. Their arguments were, however, overruled by the rest; and the women, especially, declared it would be an act of the most barbarous cruelty to refuse assistance to two fellow-creatures in such deplorable circumstances. Whilst this contest between prudence and compassion was carrying on, the two men followed the vessel along the shore. Their mournful lamentations, their screams and expressions of agonizing anguish and despair, still increasing, one of the passengers offered to go alone, and carry bread to these miserable sufferers, if his companions would put him on the land; alledging, that he should discern the Indians from afar, if they made their appearance; that in this case, the vessel might easily regain the middle of the stream; and that he should be able to reach Lime one on foot, where they might wait for him. Who could resist this proposal, so noble, so generous, so full of humanity? Those who feared the consequences were obliged to yield. They steered towards the shore, where the two sufferers were dragging themselves along, as if tormented by the most

excruciating pains. How lamentable, that generous compassion should ever be abused! The apprehensions of the two gentlemen who opposed the measure were too well founded. The men were two traitors, under the direction of the Indians, and appointed by them to decoy the vessel to the shore. The Indians followed them at some distance, constantly concealing themselves behind trees. The moment the vessel reached the shore, they burst forth, about twenty-five or thirty in number, raised a dreadful howl, and fired on the affrighted passengers. Two of them were killed by the first firing, and the rest, in equal terror and astonishment, endeavoured to regain the middle of the stream; but being too near the shore, and their dexterity checked by a sense of danger, they made but little way. The Indians continued to fire. A man and one of the young women had already fallen victims; another man was wounded, and two horses were killed. Mr. Martin, (the name of my new acquaintance,) and two others only, were left to use their exertions to save themselves. The fury of the savages increased with their hopes of success. Some threw themselves into the river, and swam towards the ship; those who remained on shore threatened to repeat their fire, if the passengers made the least resistance, and levelled their pieces at them. The swimmers succeeded in bringing the ship on shore, and my unfortunate friend and his companions were obliged to

to land, under the continued howls of the Indians; which, however, were no longer the accents of rage, but shouts of joy, on account of the seizure of their prey. The Indians offered them their hands, which in some measure allayed their apprehensions. Whilst some of their new masters were saluting their prisoners, and leading them to the shore, the rest were employed in landing the merchandise and stores. Some cut wood, and a fire was presently made. The articles found in the ship were carried to the fire, as well as the bodies of the two unfortunate persons who had been shot: these they completely stripped of their clothes, scalped them, and threw them into the river. The scalps were dried by the fire, to increase the trophies of the tribe. To express the horror of the surviving sister, or of Mr. Martin, (whose particular friend had been one of the victims,) at this dreadful sight, is impossible. Mr. Martin and his two male companions were next partly stripped, according to the caprice of those who were near them. The young woman was not touched, perhaps from respect to the female sex. Mr. Martin's coat and waistcoat were already pulled off, and half his shirt; when one of the Indians, with an air of authority, gave him back his shirt, and reproved him who was taking it off: he gave him also a blanket, instead of his coat and waistcoat. They provided him with Indian shoes, made of deer-skins, in exchange for his own, which, with the rest of the clothes, were

added to the booty. The Indians were now about seventy in number, amongst whom were several women. Their leader assembled them around the fire, and, holding the tomahawk in his hand, addressed them in a long speech, which he delivered with great fluency, with gestures and a tone of enthusiasm; looking frequently up to heaven, or casting his eyes down to the ground; and pointing, now to the prisoners—now to the river. The Indians, who listened to him with the utmost attention, expressed their applause with accents of deep, mournful exclamation. The booty was divided among the different tribes which shared in this enterprise. The tribe of the Shawanese received three prisoners, Mr. Martin, the young woman, and another of the passengers: the other fell to the lot of the Cherokees, and was afterwards burnt by them. Every prisoner was given to the charge of an Indian, who was answerable for his person. They were not prevented from the solace of conversing with each other.

The two men who had decoyed them on shore now rejoined the Indians, and were severely reproached by those who had been the wretched victims of their dissimulation. They pleaded that they had been compelled to act so, on pain of death. They said that they had been surprised by the Indians six months before, and had been several times employed on these treacherous expeditions. The stores found on board the vessel

vessel served the Indians for their meals, in which they generally allowed the prisoners to partake.

Night coming on, every one lay down to rest under the trees. The prisoners were surrounded by the tribes to which they were each allotted, and singly guarded by the Indians who had the charge of them. Mr. Martin was tied by the elbows, and the ends of the ropes were fastened to trees, which stood far asunder, so that it was impossible for him to lie down; yet they did not think this a sufficient security. Another rope, fastened to a tree, was tied round his neck, from which a rattle was suspended, that on the least motion would have awakened the whole troop. The rest were treated nearly in the same manner. The two white spies enjoyed the most perfect liberty. Some Indians were stationed on the outside, to observe what was passing in the surrounding country.

The next morning, the Indians who were posted along the banks of the Ohio, reported that a vessel was dropping down the river. The prisoners were ordered to join the other two, who only yesterday beguiled them, in exerting their utmost endeavours to decoy the passengers in the ship on shore. How powerful is the fear of instant death!—a punishment with which they were threatened in case of refusal or disobedience. They complied, and joined their hardened companions in a crime their souls abhorred. Mr. Martin, however, though compelled
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for the preservation of his own life, to accompany the rest, firmly determined not to be guilty of occasioning the slavery, or probable death, of the unsuspecting passengers on board, by any voluntary action; and consequently, neither to make the smallest gesture, nor to speak a word. Nor was there occasion for his effort. His companions, less refined in their feelings, exerted themselves to the utmost to excite the compassion of those on board, who, without the least hesitation, stood in towards the shore, to succour and rescue from slavery those whom they thought unfortunate captives. Scarcely had they approached within a small distance from the shore, when the Indians, who had stolen along behind the bushes, hastened up, fired, and shot the six persons on board. Shouts of victory succeeded to the howls of barbarous rage. The vessel was hauled on shore; and two of the ill-fated victims, who were not quite dead, were immediately dispatched by the tomahawk. The six scalps were torn off and dried, and the booty divided as before, but with fewer formalities.

The scouts soon after made signals that three other vessels were in sight. The same stratagem was attempted, but in vain. The passengers were too wary to be decoyed out of their course. They were, however, so much panic-struck as to abandon one of their vessels, which was laden with stores and other valuable articles, belonging to several families

families who had emigrated, in company, from Virginia, to settle in Kentucky. This was a rich booty. Without distributing the whole, the Indians fixed eagerly on some casks of whiskey. They drank so largely, that most of them were soon intoxicated. Six or seven, to whom were committed the charge of guarding the booty, had been ordered, at the beginning of these Bacchanalian revels, to drink with moderation; and they alone retained the use of their senses. All the rest lay buried in a profound sleep; and among them, the leader of the party and the guards of the prisoners. Mr. Martin's mind was too deeply affected by his dreadful situation to partake of this disgusting banquet. Totally absorbed in reflecting upon the dangers and miseries that threatened him, and anxiously desirous of avoiding them, if possible, he conceived, that whilst the Indians were overpowered by the effects of the liquor, he might contrive a means of escape. This idea he communicated to one of his fellow sufferers, who was lying by his side. The vessels were fastened to stakes along the shore, at a small distance from them. The success of their attempt depended upon their stealing thither unobserved, throwing themselves into the first vessel they should find, (the night being very dark,) and abandoning her to the stream. If they reached the vessel in safety, success seemed as certain, as instant death if they should

should be discovered. The hopes that this scheme had kindled were soon destroyed; for though they spoke in such a low tone of voice, as seemed hardly possible to have been overheard by an Indian who lay at a considerable distance, had he had a thorough knowledge of English, yet he arose, and tied them in the same manner as the night before, without showing, however, any sign of passion, or even speaking a word. Separated from each other, and convinced that they were closely watched, even in moments when they had imagined themselves to be totally unguarded, they abandoned themselves to the dreadful idea that they were doomed to a state of hopeless misery. The remembrance of all they had heard of the cruelty of the Indians towards their prisoners, oppressed them with constant horror. They expected to be yielded up to the grossest insults, and to suffer a lingering, cruel death. They considered the Indians, who were lying around them in a state of senseless, brutish intoxication, as the instruments of their future tortures. Haunted by these painful ideas, they passed the remainder of the night in despair. At break of day the surrounding troop awoke, untied their prisoners, and renewed their revels with the remainder of the whiskey. On the fourth day the leader of the band proclaimed his will that the expedition should be ended, and that each tribe should return to their respective homes, which

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were all situated in the neighbourhood of the Lakes Ontario and Erie. Mr. Martin, his wounded companion, and the young woman, had fallen to the lot of the Shawanese. On the first day's journey, Mr. Martin was ordered to lead a cow, which they had taken from on board one of the plundered vessels. The vast booty which formed the share of this tribe, was in part conveyed on horses found in the vessels, and carried by the Indians, who often loaded Mr. Martin with part of their burden. The Shawanese halted in a beautiful vale, where, under straggling trees, about forty horses were grazing, which in the course of the expedition had been taken from the different travellers, and sent to this spot. The cow was killed the first day, roasted, and devoured: what was not eaten was left behind the next morning, when they set out to renew their journey.

The chief, with eight or ten Indians, mounted the best horses, and placing the young woman upon one of them, left the troop, in order to reach their village before the arrival of the rest.

Mr. Martin and his companion were left with the remainder of the troop, to follow more slowly. About twelve the troop halted. The game killed by the huntsmen was dressed; and the time of their halting was frequently determined by the success of the chase. They smoked their pipes before and after dinner, and then set out again to pursue their journey, until about an hour before night-fall. At

this

this time they stopped to eat their evening meal; then usually smoked a pipe, in profound silence; and afterwards lay down to rest on hides. During the march, some Indians, generally the huntsmen, formed a kind of van-guard, and others brought up the rear, at some distance, to watch whether the troop was pursued; for the Indians are as mistrustful as they are vigilant. The main body marched without any regularity. The van-guard seemed charged, in particular, with the care of looking for game; no more of which they killed than was required for the next meal. The women cook the food; having cut it in large pieces, they put it on stakes driven into the ground; but on lighting their fires they are careful not to endanger the neighbouring trees.

The prisoners took the advantage of the liberty of keeping constantly together. Their melancholy conversation breathed despair, in consequence of having missed the last favourable opportunity of escape; though not wholly unmixed with hope, that some unlooked-for accident would present them with another. Some mistrust was at length entertained at their keeping so close to each other, which was increased by Mr. Martin's inadvertently drawing from his pocket a knife, which he had carefully preserved, for the purpose of cutting the ropes with which he was tied at night, if any favourable opportunity should offer. This occasioned their being again searched, and finally
stripped

stripped of their breeches, to prevent them from secreting any thing that might facilitate their escape. Instead of the clothes that had been taken from them, they were supplied with short aprons, tied round their hips, and reaching half way down their thighs. But in order effectually to deprive them of the power of concerting measures for regaining their liberty, the chief ordered the troop to separate into two divisions, and one of the two prisoners to accompany each. Fellowship in misfortune had endeared them to each other, and the separation was inexpressibly painful to both. Mr. Martin felt that his companion in adversity was his support, his hope, and the only being with whom he could associate; yet he was deprived of this last resource, and for a time gave himself up to grief and apprehension. But a wise man does not long remain in this situation. Being blessed with an innate firmness, self-possession, and cheerfulness of temper, he determined to overcome his feelings, and beguile the mistrust of his masters by an appearance of serenity. Though the hideous image of a painful death often distressed his mind, he consoled himself with the thought, that not every prisoner is irrevocably doomed by the Indians to suffer death; but that sometimes they employ their captives to assist them in hunting, or adopt them as members of their tribes.

The sameness of the remaining journey was not chequered by any remarkable events. The marches
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were longer or shorter, in proportion to the game they killed, to the duration of their sleep at noon, and to the delight they found in their pipes. But their length especially depended on the will of the chief, and the advice of the conjurors. Their dreams frequently alter the direction of their journeys. Ignorance and superstition go hand in hand, amongst the people of all countries.

Mr. Martin was treated very capriciously, and sometimes beaten without any cause. On one of these occasions his patience forsook him, and he returned the blows, with the approbation of the whole troop. They said he had proved himself a man, and that none but women submitted to such treatment, without opposition. From that time he thought he was treated with more respect.

In the course of their journey they met a negro laden with whiskey. He was the slave of an Indian, who was hunting in the woods, and had commissioned him to sell the liquor. The negro soon sold his whole stock, and followed the troop, waiting for his master. The Indians halted soon after to enjoy their whiskey with more ease, and to prepare for their entrance into Sandusky, which was distant but a few days' journey, by touching up their colours; each being at liberty to paint himself according to his fancy, except that they all, men and women, wear a certain mark, the badge of their tribe, on their breast or arms: that of the Shawanese is a **wolf**. The troop was soon joined by the negro's master,

master, and shortly after by two other Indians, who took Mr. Martin by the hand, and conducted him to the chief, whom they seemed to address in a suppliant manner. After an hour's conversation, of which Mr. Martin was evidently the subject, and after the petitioners had presented two gallons of whiskey, Mr. Martin was presented to them, and carried off. Every ray of hope now vanished: he gave himself up to certain destruction: he dared not, for some time, ask his fate of the negro, who understood English, lest he should betray him. He moved on in silent and secret despair: but being no longer able to support the torturing idea of uncertainty, he at last, with great timidity, applied to the negro, who told him, that one of the two Indians to whom he now belonged, had some time ago killed one of the Mingo tribe, and by their laws he was bound to furnish a person instead of the one he had slain, or be himself surrendered to the vengeance of his family; that being too poor to buy a prisoner, he had prevailed on the Shawanese, by entreaties and the whiskey, to make him a present of their newly-taken prisoner; and that, therefore, he now belonged to the Mingo, to whom he would be delivered up in a few days. The prospect of slavery was pleasing, compared with the dread of torture and death, which he had had constantly before his eyes.

He journeyed on with his new masters for several days, in the same manner as with the former, except that he was not tied at night. Unfortunately, they
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fell in with the Shawanese again; and the chief, become sober, regretted his former generosity; and being the stronger, from the numbers that accompanied him, compelled the Mingoes to resign Mr. Martin to his former misery and anxiety. Some days after they met an Indian driving a horse laden with whiskey, belonging to a tribe residing further to the eastward. The desire of another revel induced the chief to exchange his prisoner for a cask of that intoxicating liquor. He was once more consigned to a new master, who employed him in assisting in the chase; and after hunting some time in the woods, carried him to his town, that bordered on the eastern side of Lake Ontario. Here he had passed several months in captivity, occupied in menial offices, though he was not treated with severity. Having gained the confidence of his masters, by his docility and industry, he had prevailed on them to suffer him to accompany them on a trading expedition to St. John's, in hopes that he might meet with some person who would sympathise with his misfortunes, and redeem him from the slavery under which he groaned. I could not hear this affecting recital without attempting to deliver him; but he had rendered himself so useful to his employers, that, after many proposals that were rejected, I almost despaired of success. At length I prevailed, by the influence of a box of paints, several hundred silver buttons, with other silver trinkets, and two casks of rum. To
express

express the gratitude and satisfaction that were shown by Mr. Martin is impossible. I advanced him a sum of money to enable him to make the best of his way to Philadelphia, where he has relations who are persons of the first respectability; and as he appears to be a man of worth, I have no doubt of receiving remittances from him, to reimburse me for what I have expended on his account. The days which afford such opportunities of succouring the distressed, should be reckoned amongst the happiest of our lives. May you enjoy many of them, and suffer none to escape, without tasting the exquisite pleasure they afford.

Yours, &c.

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXIII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Quebec.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

THE country around St. John's is flat, and almost destitute of trees, from a dreadful fire which destroyed the woods for miles, and has rendered firing very scarce.

We

We set out from this place in a light waggon, which carried us through a picturesque country, by the town of Chambly, adorned with a fine old castle, built by the French, to La Prairie, a small place, where we exchanged our vehicle for a bateau, in which we embarked for Montreal. A bateau is a flat-bottomed boat, with sharp ends, particularly adapted to the stormy lakes and rivers of America.

Since we left St. John's, the face of things bears quite a different aspect, and it is easy to perceive that we have entered a new territory. The British flag; soldiers on duty; the French inhabitants running about in their red night-caps; the children saluting you at the doors; (a custom never observed in the United States;) the improved appearance of the houses; large Roman Catholic churches and chapels; priests in their robes; nuns; friars; large wooden crucifixes by the road side; and, above all, a universal change of language from English to French. In order to account for these alterations, I must tell you, that Canada belonged to the French, till it was ceded by treaty to the English, in 1760; and it is still chiefly inhabited by people of French extraction, who are allowed the exercise of the Catholic religion.

Montreal is the capital of Upper Canada. It is built upon an island of the same name, in the river St. Lawrence, and is surrounded with walls, though the suburbs extend far beyond them. The build-
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ings within the walls are composed of a compact, dark-coloured limestone, which whitens in the fire, and becomes greyish when exposed to the air and sun : those in the suburbs are chiefly wood. The lower part of the town, where most of the shops are situated, has a gloomy aspect, especially towards evening, when the doors and windows are regularly shut up with sheet-iron shutters, a precaution used against fire. This accident has so often been attended here with dreadful consequences, that the inhabitants who can afford it, cover the roofs of their houses with tin plates, instead of shingles. The streets are narrow, but there are two open squares ; and the town is embellished with several churches and convents. The cathedral is a spacious edifice, and has five richly-decorated altars : the doors are always open, and numbers of people frequent it to pay their private devotions, when there is no public worship performed. One Sunday that we attended the celebration of high mass, the crowd was so great, that the steps on the outside were covered with people, who continued kneeling, with their hats off, during the service. It happened that there was a grand funeral at this church, at the time of our stay in the town. A number of priests accompanied it, chaunting prayers, followed by little boys in white robes and black caps, with wax lights in their hands. These are the usual ceremonies for all whose relations can afford to pay for them. The inhabitants are

lively, polite, and sociable, and live in such harmony, that you would suppose they were all related. The Island of Montreal is twenty-eight miles long. On it are several mountains. The foot of the largest of them is encircled with neat country houses, and pretty gardens; and its sides are covered with lofty trees. From this place a prodigious extent of country bursts upon the sight, with the noble river St. Lawrence winding through. On one side flows the river smoothly on, after passing down the tremendous rapids above the town, where it is hurried, with a noise like thunder, over huge rocks. On the opposite side is seen the town, with its churches, monasteries, glittering spires, and the shipping under its ruined walls.

Mr. Franklin having formed the resolution of passing the winter at Quebec, and the autumn being pretty much advanced, we again embarked on board a bateau, covered with an awning stretched over hoops, and sailed down the river St. Lawrence. For several leagues below Montreal, the houses are so numerous, that it appears like a continued village. These buildings are remarkably neat; and in each hamlet, be it ever so small, there is a church: the spires are generally covered with tin, which, sparkling in the sun, has a pretty effect through the trees.

Sorelle is a town standing at the mouth of the river of the same name, which runs from Lake Champlain

Champlain into the St. Lawrence. This town was to have been built upon a very extensive scale; but instead of that, it now consists of a few indifferent, straggling houses. It is principally inhabited by subjects of the United States, who, being attached to the British government, fled hither when the Americans became independent: they are chiefly employed in ship building. A little beyond Sorelle, the river expands to a great breadth, and is so thickly sprinkled with small islands, that it is astonishing how large vessels can pass between them. This wide part is called the Lac St. Pierre. It afterwards narrows, and is nowhere more than two miles across before it reaches Quebec. This city, where we have taken up our residence for two or three months, is situated on a very lofty point of land, at the confluence of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles. It is built on a rock of limestone, and is divided into the upper and lower town; the latter stands close to the water, and the former on rocks, so steep that they are absolutely inaccessible. Thus it is strongly fortified by nature and art, the side towards the land being defended by stupendous works. The lower town is a dirty, confined, disagreeable place, chiefly inhabited by traders concerned in the shipping. The elevated situation of the upper town renders it healthy and pleasant, though the streets are narrow and irregular. It is the residence of the governor, gentry, and principal merchants. Most of the

houses are very high, and built with stone. The house the governor inhabits is called the chateau. It stands in an open place, on the edge of a precipice that can only be ascended by birds. In fine weather, during summer, one of the regiments belonging to the garrison parades in this square, and the band plays to serenade the gentry, who make it a public walk. Opposite to the chateau is a Franciscan monastery, and near it the Jesuits' college. There are also several nunneries; and being a garrison town, large barracks, and an armory furnished with ten thousand stand of arms, fancifully disposed, like those in the Tower of London.

We have taken our abode in the upper town of Quebec, which overlooks the most grand and delightful scenery imaginable. As soon as I rise, I throw up my window, and cast my eye over stupendous rocks, immense rivers, variegated forests, cultivated plains, mountains, lakes, towns, villages, and shipping; forming at once a rich picture of nature and art. The loftiest part of the rock, on which the upper town is built, is called Cape Diamond, because spars of a brilliant quality are found in its cavities. This elevated precipice rises one thousand feet above the level of the river; you need not be surprised, therefore, that the prospect from it is sublime and extensive. Mr. Franklin's taste differs from mine: he prefers the view from a point not quite so high, because he
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thinks the objects are not seen clearly from the prodigious distance between them and the spectator.

I often visit, with enthusiasm, the spot marked by a large stone, where General Wolf expired, just as he heard the news that his troops had gained the victory, and got Quebec into their possession; an achievement that few, possessed of less magnanimity and skill, would have dared to undertake, and in which still fewer would have succeeded.

The market people carry their goods in little carts, drawn by dogs, that resemble the Newfoundland breed, and are wonderfully sagacious and tractable. I have already had several rides in a cariole, or sledge, drawn by half a dozen of them yoked together; and journeys are often performed in this manner. In a few weeks you shall hear from me, with a further account of this country. In the mean time, believe that I am always, affectionately,

Yours,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXXIV.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Montreal.

DEAREST EDWIN,

OUR stay here, and at Quebec, has enabled me to collect many particulars of Canada, and the manners of its inhabitants; especially as we have made several excursions from the town. It is necessary you should know that the British possessions in North America are divided into Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The two first are governed by a viceroy, deputed by the king of Great Britain; and two houses of legislature, one hereditary, the other elective; the former corresponding to our House of Lords, the latter to our house of Commons. Upper Canada is divided into the four districts of Detroit, Niagara, Kingstone, and St. John's.

The defence of the country is entrusted to the inhabitants, every male being a militia-man, from fifteen to fifty, except those who are employed in the public offices of government; and the Quakers, the Dunkers, and the Baptists, whose religious principles

principles forbid them to follow the profession of a soldier, who are fined a sum of money, in lieu of the service that would otherwise be required of them.

Every religion is tolerated. The Roman Catholic prevails most; though government favours that of the church of England.

Servants are extremely scarce, as most of those who come from Europe obtain lands, and so become farmers; therefore, the regulation that gives freedom to all negroes the moment they arrive in Canada, is as wise as it is humane.

Lower Canada is very productive in small grain, small fruits, and garden vegetables of every description. Currants, gooseberries, raspberries, and grapes, grow wild. The raspberries are particularly fine, and abound in the woods; but the grapes require the gardener's care to bring them to perfection. Tobacco also thrives well; and that grown in this country is esteemed for its peculiar mildness. The variety of trees in the forests of Canada is surprising, and highly pleasing to an admirer of the works of creation; there being oaks, elms, ashes, pines, sycamores, chesnuts, walnuts, of each several species, besides others not so well known. The sugar maple grows in all parts of the country, and is a very useful tree; as not only sugar may be made from it, but vinegar, table beer, and an excellent spirit. The country people pierce these trees with an augur, and put a vessel beneath, to catch the

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sap as it falls, which they refine by boiling till it is converted into sugar; and a sufficient quantity is procured to nearly supply the inhabitants, who seldom use any other.

Manufactures not being yet arrived at great perfection, the imports from Europe chiefly consist in earthenware, hardware, the more elegant articles of household furniture, stationery, leather, grocery, wines, and spirits: in return for these things, the Canadians export furs in immense quantities, wheat, flour, flax seed, pot-ash, timber, staves, and lumber, dried fish, oil, gensing, and various medicinal drugs.

A considerable portion of the lands in Lower Canada is in the possession of seigniors, who may be compared to thriving farmers in England; but the peasants who cultivate their estates are their vassals, and, in many respects, are dependent upon them.

When the country was yielded to the English, it was agreed that the Roman Catholic religion should continue to be the profession of the people at large; consequently, convents, nuns, and friars, with the other peculiarities of a catholic country, are to be seen here in all their formalities; amongst others, huge wooden crucifixes are common, by the road side, some of them richly ornamented and painted. The superstitious people call them *Bons Dieux*, and pull off their hats and make a reverend obeisance to these posts, at which I cannot forbear smiling;

smiling; though my good friend reproves me for it, by saying that I ought to respect the intention of the most absurd act of devotion, and pity the ignorance of the devotee.

The female French peasants are generally very pretty; and their beauty is improved by the tastefulness of their summer dress. Most of them wear a boddice of blue or scarlet, without sleeves, a petticoat of a different colour, and a straw hat. They look old early, which is attributed to their working too hard, their husbands leaving many fatiguing employments to them. But to make them amends, they are persons of great consequence in the family; for a Canadian never makes a bargain without consulting his wife. This probably arises from the superior learning of the women, as they are better taught than the men, who seldom are able to read or write. Both sexes are generally very cheerful, and are fond of dancing and singing, which are favourite amusements, even amongst the lower classes. I believe that the men are the most dexterous managers of bateaux in the world, in rapid rivers. But for our confidence in the skill of the boatman, we should have given ourselves up at the strong current that hurried us through the midst of large rocks with precipitate violence, just as we approached Montreal. We seemed every moment on the point of being dashed to pieces. They, however, brought us safe over. The canoes that are used in the river St. Lawrence

are curiously constructed of the bark of the birch-tree, which grows to a very large size in the more northern part of the country. This bark resembles that of the cork tree, and is so flexible, it may be rolled up like a piece of cloth; so that the Indians, when they go a hunting, provide themselves with some of it, to make a covering for a temporary hut. The canoes are formed with ribs made of thick, tough rods, covered with this bark, and are of different sizes; some of them holding one man only, and others twenty. Unless people are used to these frail vessels, they are easily upset; for they are so light, that two men are not overloaded by carrying one, of a moderate size, on their shoulders; and so swift, that they leave the best keel-boat behind them.

The most common carriage in Lower Canada is a calash, which is a sort of one-horse chaise that holds two people, besides the driver, who sits on a box placed over the foot-board. On each side of the carriage is a little door, which serves as an entrance, and, when shut, is convenient to prevent any thing from falling out. The harness is clumsy, studded with brass nails, and decorated with small bells, that make a most disagreeable jingle. During the severe frosts, sledges are frequently used, and form a favourite diversion. They are of two kinds, covered and open: the covered sledge is like the body of a chariot, covered all over with fur, and put upon two iron runners, shaped like a pair of skates;

skates; the open sledge varies in shape, according to the state of the owner, and is often very handsomely decorated. Those belonging to the gentry are drawn by one or two horses, placed like those in a tandem; and the ladies who ride in them are generally dressed superbly, in the most valuable furs. These sledges glide over the snow with such swiftness and so little noise, that, to prevent accidents, they are obliged to give notice of their approach, by bells attached to the harness, or by a horn sounded before them.

Though the cold is so intense, I do not suffer more from it than I did in England; for when I go abroad I am covered from head to foot with fur. My cap is so contrived that nothing but my eyes and nose is to be seen; and every part of our house is warmed with stoves. Our doors and windows are double; so that no cold air can enter to incommodate us. The heat and cold are both felt in the extreme in Canada; but the climate is not subject to such sudden changes, in the same day, as in the United States. The snow generally begins to fall in November, when it is disagreeably cold and raw, and the sky is dark and lowering: by the middle of December the sky clears, and the frost sets in; and for six weeks there is seldom any alteration. This is the season of gaiety and pleasure, as we have most agreeably experienced. Music, dancing, skating, and social parties, enliven every day, and make us disregard the cold and the snow. During

this long frost, we returned, in a sledge, to Montreal. We were three days on the road; but we were wrapped in our fur pelisses, and defied the rigours of the northern sky. The weather was remarkably clear, the roads as hard as a rock, and the frost on the trees glittered like a forest of diamonds. We glided as swift as an arrow, and on our arrival were welcomed by our friends with that warmth of heart and sociability that renders every place charming. In this pleasing society we have passed the winter; but a rapid change, that has within a few days taken place, warns us that our departure is not very distant. The snow has disappeared; the fields, clothed with the richest verdure, bear the appearance of spring; and the trees already display a beautiful foliage of rich tints.

Montreal is the grand mart for the fur trade; the skins of various animals, collected by the Indians, being brought thither from a vast distance, along rivers and lakes, and then are transported to Europe. I have bespoke a fine black bear-skin, to make a muff for my mother, which I hope she will wear for my sake. The skins of beavers, otters, martins, and wild cats, are called fine peltry; but those cargoes are termed mixed peltry, when, with the finer sorts, are packed wolves, foxes, buffaloes, deer, and bears.

One of our rides was to the river Montmorenci, that unites with the St. Lawrence, about seven miles below Quebec. The country through which
it

it passes is wild, and thickly wooded; and its course lies over a bed of broken rocks, till it comes to the brink of a precipice, down which it descends in one uninterrupted fall of two hundred and forty feet: the water seems to reach the bottom slowly, and has the appearance of snow, as it is received in a natural bason of rock; and the spray, when the sun shines, reflects the most vivid tints. The cataract of La Chandeere has a very different aspect, but is not less beautiful. It is not half the height of that of Montmorenci, but it is two hundred and fifty feet wide; and the banks are covered with the grandest forest trees, and form, amidst the piles of broken rocks that lie scattered around, some of the most romantic views imaginable.

My letter is already too long, yet it will not be complete, unless I add a few particulars of our journey from Quebec to Montreal. At the first post-house, our driver, with his hair in a queue, bound up with an eel-skin, announced our arrival by a loud crack of his whip, which brought out the post-master and all his family to the door to welcome us. The old lady was very stylish, in a close French cap. She gave us a good breakfast, of which we stood greatly in need. The road runs mostly along the banks of the St. Lawrence, presenting the same views of neat little towns and villages, we so much admired from the water, in our passage to Quebec. In the first forty miles we were often gratified with prospects of great sublimity.

limity. In some places the immense river, like a lake confined between ranges of mountains, seemed to roll under our feet; and the largest merchantmen, as we looked down from the steep banks, appeared no bigger than fishing boats. We took refreshment at a town called Trois Rivières, from its situation on the shore of the St. Lawrence, close to the mouth of the river St. Maurice, the largest of thirty rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence, on the north-west side alone, between Quebec and Montreal. This river is divided into three streams, by two large islands, just before it is lost in the mighty St. Lawrence. The town is not large; the streets are narrow, and many of the houses are built only of wood: but we were so well amused at the convent of St. Ursule, that we disregarded the meanness of the town. We first entered the chapel, the doors of which open to the street, under a porch. It is very lofty, but not extensive. Opposite to the entrance is the altar, which is richly ornamented; on each side of it is a lattice, the one leading to an apartment allotted for sick nuns, the other connected with the chœur of the chapel. Here we were desired to ring a bell. Upon this the curtain within the lattice was drawn back, and we discovered an apartment surrounded with nuns, and furnished with an altar, near which kneeled several nuns, dressed in black stuff gowns, with white handkerchiefs spread over their shoulders, and drawn close up to the throat; to these

were

were joined a kind of hood of white linen, that covers half the forehead, the temples, and ears. Each of them had, besides, a flowing veil of black gauze; and a silver cross hung from the breast. The works of these sisters, in birch bark, embroidered with elk hair, dyed of the most brilliant colours, are very ingenious: of these materials they make pocket-books, work-bags, dressing-boxes, models of Indian canoes, and a variety of the warlike weapons used by the Indians. Strangers are expected to purchase some of them, which I did willingly, and shall send them by the first opportunity to Catherine and Louisa, as specimens of the art. Besides works of fancy, these good sisters employ themselves in attending on the sick in the hospital, which is close to the convent.

Here I will close this long epistle, and for the present bid you adieu.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXXV.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Kingston.

MY DEAR BOY,

IT is said, "the eye is not satisfied with seeing," which may be truly applied to us; for after the vast extent we have traversed, and the variety that has occurred in the course of our peregrinations, I could not behold a party of Montreal dealers in furs, set off for an expedition to the distant lakes that lie towards the Pacific Ocean, without an ardent desire to share their adventures, whatever difficulties they might encounter. Mr. Franklin was not long in yielding to my importunities; but choosing to visit the celebrated Falls of Niagara, we took a different course, and agreed to meet them at Machillimackinack. We accordingly embarked at Chine, a small, pleasant village about nine miles higher up on the island, to avoid the strong rapids just above Montreal. Here are very extensive store-houses, belonging to the king of England, where the presents for the Indians are deposited. On the opposite side of the river stands the village of the Cockenonaga Indians, chiefly consisting of a few log-houses,

log-houses, and a Roman Catholic church, gaily adorned with pictures, lamps, and other finery, to attract the attention of these people. When the wind was favourable, we used our sails; when otherwise, the boatmen were obliged to take to their oars; a labour that they always cheer with a song, in which every man of them joins, whether his voice be melodious or not. A strong current, at times, obliged them to keep as close as possible to the shore, and push the bateau along with light poles, headed with iron. They are often obliged to rest from this exertion, when they seldom fail to fill their pipes, which they keep constantly in their mouths; for a French Canadian without it, is a rare sight. On one part of the river, called the Lake of St. Louis, our vessels were covered with swarms of little white insects, rather larger than a gnat, but of such a delicate texture, that they crumble to powder with a touch. We passed the first night on a small island named Perot, at the mouth of the Utawas river. Here I enjoyed a novel scene. After our boatmen had secured the little fleet of bateaux, they divided themselves into small parties, and kindled fires along the shore, that they might cook their victuals for the next day, and keep themselves warm during the night. These men are so hardy, that in fine weather they sleep on the bare grass, with no other covering than a short blanket; and when it is stormy they shelter themselves with a sail, or a blanket spread against
the

the wind, over a few poles stuck into the ground. I envied their independence, and tried, one night, to imitate it, but I got a trimming cold. The next day we crossed the Utawas, in order to gain the mouth of the south-west branch of the St. Lawrence. The river at this place rushes down into the lake over immense rocks, with such impetuosity, and the breakers run so high, that I fully expected our bateaux would be upset, or filled with water. The dexterity of our boatmen, however, got us safe through these rapids, as they are properly named, for boats are carried down the stream at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. Ascending the stream was, on the contrary, so tedious, that our party were put on shore, determining to proceed on foot, till the bateaux had passed this difficult navigation. We got a comfortable dinner in the English style, at a neat tavern, kept by an English woman, in the pretty village of the Hill of Cedars. This evening the bateaux were drawn up for the night, at the foot of the hill of the lake, and we pitched our tent on the edge of a wood, at a little distance from the river. I was fatigued, and slept as soundly as if I had been on a bed of down. The next morning we entered the Lake St. Francis, about twenty-five miles long; and landed on the Isle aux Raisins, named so from the abundance of wild vines that grow upon it. The Indians, who possess it, were very friendly, and sold us some wild ducks and fresh-caught fish, for a trifle.

Night

Night after night we passed much in the same manner, under the shelter of our tent, which did not secure us from the effects of a dreadful hurricane, attended with torrents of rain that drenched us to the skin.

Some of our friends were excellent shots: when we went on shore to avoid the rapids, of which we passed several, they mostly carried their guns, and killed a number of wood-pigeons, except being smaller, very much like those we have in England. Having passed the last rapid below the mouth of the Oswegatchee, the most considerable of those rivers within the territory that falls into the St. Lawrence, the current became gentle, and we entered the Lake of a Thousand Islands. The multiplicity of small islets that cover its surface gives it this name. They vary in size, from several miles round to a spot not bigger than our boat. All of them are covered with wood; and many of them are guarded by rocks, and crags of fantastic shapes, that rise to a considerable height above the water.

Nothing can exceed the beauty and variety of prospects this lake affords. In some parts, our bateaux seemed to be hemmed in by islands, whose rich foliage hung over the water. Between the trees were the hunting encampments of the Indians, when, on a sudden, a narrow passage led us into the open lake. After enjoying these ever-changing views, we were landed at Kingston, a garrison town of great

great trade, situated at the mouth of a deep bay, at the north-eastern extremity of Lake Ontario. Before I proceed, I must entreat you to cast your eye on the map, and trace the course of the mighty St. Lawrence. At its mouth, it is ninety miles wide; and it is navigable, for ships of the line, as far as Quebec, a distance of four hundred miles from the sea. If we consider that immense body of water that flows from Lake Winnipic, through the Lake of the Woods, Lakes Superior, Erie, Huron, and Ontario, down to the sea, as one continued stream, it must excite our wonder and admiration.

After introducing to your attention an object so sublime and noble, which must naturally raise your mind to the omnipotence of its great Author, I shall conclude; as all common topics must, after this, appear trifling and insignificant.

Adieu, my dear brother. Yours, &c.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXXVI.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Niagara.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

WE took a few days' rest at Kingston: the ground near the city rises with a gentle swell, and forms, near the lake, a sort of amphitheatre of lands, cleared, but not yet cultivated. A few of the houses are built of stone and brick, but the generality are only of wood. The barracks are a stone edifice, surrounded with palisadoes. Kingston is a kind of mart for the goods brought up the St. Lawrence, for the supply of the upper country: here they are deposited in stores, (the American name for warehouses,) till they can be exported across the lakes. A great number of furs also are collected in this town from the country beyond the lakes; and some are brought in by the Indians who hunt in the neighbourhood.

Having taken a full survey of this town, Mr. Franklin bargained with the captain of a large vessel bound for Niagara, for the use of the cabin; and, on the signal of a fair wind, we embarked for crossing Lake Ontario, the most easterly of the four lakes, through which the boundary line passes, that

that separates the United States from the province of Upper Canada. It is two hundred and twenty miles in length, and, in the broadest part, seventy wide. Our voyage was exactly the same as if we had been on the ocean, for the shores being generally flat and sandy, we were mostly out of sight of land; and this lake being less subject to storms than the others that are near it, the passage was calm and prosperous. As we approached the town of Niagara, often called Newach, we admired the handsome appearance of the fort. Here we were put ashore, and soon entered the town, which is one of the principal of Upper Canada, and the centre of the gentility of the province. The houses for the common people are mostly of wood, but those designed for the residence of the officers of government are very handsome buildings. It stands on the western bank of the river of the same name, in a very pleasant situation; but it is miserably unhealthy, the inhabitants being very subject to the ague, as I have unfortunately experienced during the last three days. I have had two violent fits of it. I am now swallowing doses of bark every two hours, in hopes of preventing a return of it. Agues and intermittents are very prevalent in many parts of America, particularly where the land has been lately cleared of wood; which is attributed to the vapours that rise from the earth when first turned up, which has never before been cultivated. I hope I shall soon

soon recover my health, as in many of our wanderings I am obliged to fast as well as feast, and have no opportunity for indulgence. Though there is no regular market at this place, we fare well: yesterday we had a haunch of venison, and salmon, for dinner; both purchased from an Indian, who gladly exchanged them for a bottle of rum and a loaf of bread. Lake Ontario, and all the rivers that fall into it, abound with excellent salmon, and many different kinds of salt-water fish, which come up the river St. Lawrence; as well as a great variety of those kinds that live in fresh water, its own natural inhabitants. The Indians, whose chief occupation, besides war, is fishing and hunting, have a curious method of taking the fish in this lake. Two men go at night on these expeditions, in a canoe: the one sits in the stern, and paddles the boat along; and the other stands with a spear in his hand, over a flambeau placed in the head of the canoe. The light attracts the fish; they crowd on all sides of the canoe; and the spearsman, accustomed to the business, strikes them with such dexterity, that he seldom misses his aim.

The day and hour being fixed for our visit to the famous falls, we mounted our horses early, and set out on our expedition. I must confess, my impatience was so great, I was often ready to leave the company and advance before them. Though good manners restrained me from this indulgence to my
own

own feelings, my attention was entirely engrossed with watching for the first glimpse of the white column of mist that rises over the cataract, and listening to the roar of the impetuous torrent; but I could perceive neither, till we approached within a mile of the place, though Captain Toddrel, a gentleman in our company, assured us that he had himself heard the tremendous sound, at the distance of forty miles, and seen the white cloud hovering in the air, still further off. These appearances depend upon the state of the atmosphere, which at this time was unfavourable to our wishes. At length we attained the point so earnestly desired: the grand spectacle appeared before us in all its majesty. The river, closely hemmed in by the rocks on the right, encroaching upon its channel, branches into two arms; one of which flows along the bank formed by these rocks; and the other arm, which is far the most considerable, being separated by a small island, runs straight on to the left, and sweeps through a capacious natural bason of stone, which it fills with much foam and noise. Its course being obstructed by other rocks, it makes a turn, and with redoubled violence meets the other branch: and their united force rushes down a perpendicular ledge of rocks, one hundred and sixty feet high, partly hollowed out by the incessant impetuosity of the falling current. Its width is nearly equal to that of the channel of the river, the uniformity of which is only interrupted

interrupted by the island I mentioned before, which separates the two arms, rests unshaken on its rocky basis, and seems, as it were, to swim between the two streams, which rush at once into this stupendous chasm. Picture to yourselves what a mighty torrent that must be which proceeds from the united waters of the Lakes Erie, Michigan, St. Clair, Huron, and Superior, and the numerous rivers that empty themselves into these lakes, and you will form some faint idea of the vast body of waters that incessantly supplies this astonishing cataract, which tumbles down perpendicularly on the rocks.

The colour of the water is at times a dark green, at others a foaming white; brilliant in all parts, and displaying a thousand hues, according to the effects of the rays of the sun, the time of day, the state of the air, the force of the wind, and the colour of the sky. The water that reaches the bottom, obstructed in its fall by fragments of rock, is in violent agitation, continually spouting, and foaming, and throwing on shore logs of wood, bodies of trees, boats, and wrecks, which the stream has swept away in its course. The noise, agitation, irregularity, and rapid descent of the stream, continues seven or eight miles; nor can the river be safely passed in a boat till it reaches Queenstown, nine miles from the falls.—But to proceed. Captain Toddrel, who is well acquainted with every part of these stupendous falls, led us first to the brink of a deep, hollow place, surrounded

with large trees, from the bottom of which rise thick volumes of whitish mist, resembling the smoke of burning weeds. Here we followed him down a steep bank, for fifty yards, which led us to a marshy piece of ground covered with bushes; thence he conducted us to the Table Rock, which stands to the front of the great fall, and rises forty feet above it. How shall I express my sensations when arrived at this spot! For some time I was lost in wonder; but collecting my thoughts, the sublime images before me excited a sort of devotional awe, and raised emotions of adoration to that Infinite Power, by whom the mighty torrent was created. Mr. Franklin felt the same impressions; nor was he ashamed to confess them before all the company. From this point we enjoyed an uninterrupted view of the tremendous rapids above the falls; and of the surrounding shores, covered with thick woods, composed of trees of various shades. A few yards below our feet rolled the Horse-shoe Fall, dashing its waters with frightful impetuosity: at a distance, on our left hand, we beheld the fall of Foot Schloper; and if we got courage to cast our eyes beneath, we looked perpendicularly down into the frightful gulph, agitated by the tremendous whirlpool occasioned by the tumbling cataract. Here we remained some hours; for how could we bid adieu, for the last time, to such a spectacle? The day was far spent; hunger and fatigue induced us to return to an indifferent tavern in the neighbourhood,

hood, determined to repair again to the falls, at an early hour in the morning, when our friendly guide took us to another point of view, whence we had a most beautiful and sublime prospect of the whole cataract at once. After which, with inexpressible fatigue, danger, and difficulty, we scrambled to the bottom of the cataract, by means of perpendicular steps, cut out of trees, caverns, and projecting rocks, the scattered fragments of which warned us to take heed to our steps. When we reached the bottom, a new and awful scene was presented before us: huge piles of misshapen rocks, overgrown with pines and cedars, projected from the cliff over our heads, and seemed to threaten us with instant destruction. Many of the large trees grow with their heads downwards, being suspended by the roots, from the crags which had given way.

Having reached the margin of the river, we proceeded along the strand, towards the Great Fall. Here we saw vast numbers of dead bodies of different animals, thrown to the surface of the water;—fishes, squirrels, foxes, &c. that had been carried away by the violence of the current above the falls, and precipitated into the gulph beneath. Birds of prey hover on the shore, and feast on these carcasses. With cautious steps we followed our conductor over rugged crags, made slippery by the continual moisture from the spray; sometimes we were obliged to creep on hands and knees, through long, dark holes, where there are passages

between the torn up rocks and trees; at last, we approached the very foot of the Great Fall, which rushes like a water-spout, from the edge of a projecting rock. Behind it are large, hollow caverns, worn away by the continual force of the waters. Emboldened, as I became familiarized with the scene, I ventured behind this amazing sheet of water, but I was near paying for my rashness with my life: the whirlwind that always rages at the bottom of the cataract, deprived me of breath. I was stunned with the tremendous roar, and was on the point of falling senseless into the awful chasm, when Mr. Franklin, with great resolution and presence of mind, made one instantaneous effort to snatch me from the threatened destruction, and fortunately succeeded in catching hold of the flap of my coat, by which he dragged me from my situation. I was some time before I came to myself. This happy escape will teach me not to expose myself so carelessly in future. I was tolerably recovered by half a glass of brandy; though I could not divest myself, the whole day, from a degree of horror, as if I was still falling into the gulph. At the bottom of the Horse-shoe Fall we observed a white substance adhering to the rocks, exactly like froth petrified. I put several pieces of it into my pocket, to add to our collection of natural curiosities. Neither the cataract, nor the river above it, are frozen in the severest winters; but as the lakes that contribute their waters to it are, enormous flakes of ice rush constantly

constantly down the falls, when the thaw sets in, and are piled at the bottom to a great height, in huge irregular masses, resembling the columns of a palace; which must greatly add to the grandeur of the scene, particularly when the sun shining on them reflects a thousand colours, and causes them to glitter like diamonds. Having brought some refreshments in a basket, we did not think of ascending the cliff till the sun was going down, when we had the unexpected gratification of beholding one of the most perfect and brilliant rainbows displayed in the spray that was rising from the fall.

The river from which this sublime cataract takes its name, connects the two lakes, Erie and Ontario, together, by a course of thirty-six miles, which it runs partly over a bed of rock between them. Being extremely exhausted by the fatigues of the day, and our minds deeply impressed by the stupendous objects we had been viewing, we retired to rest, full of the most sublime ideas of the power, wisdom, and goodness, of the Deity. Adieu.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXXVII.

*Arthur Middleton to his Sisters, Catherine and
Louisa.*

Fort Erie.

MY DEAR SISTERS,

WHILST we remained in the neighbourhood of the falls, we made several pleasant excursions through different parts of the adjacent country; and as we had fine weather, enjoyed the wild, romantic prospects, afforded by the variety of mountains, valleys, and woods. In our walks, we met with many large snakes, of different sorts: some were basking in the sun, displaying their variegated colours, and twisting themselves into an hundred elegant forms; others climbing the highest trees, in pursuit of birds and squirrels, upon which they principally feed. These climbers are several feet long, and the upper part of the body is black and scaly. Wherever they appear, they carry terror with them; even to the winged inhabitants of high trees, who seem to have no power to escape from their devouring jaws. I have watched them several times: after they have fixed their eyes on an animal, they become motionless, except turning their head sometimes to the right,
and

and sometimes to the left, but still keep their eye invariably directed to the object. The distracted victim, conscious of its danger, instead of flying from its enemy, seems to be held by some invincible power; it screams, draws nigh, then goes to a little distance, and after skipping about with unaccountable agitation, actually rushes into the jaws of the snake, who swallows it up, after having covered it with a slimy glue, to make it slide more easily down his throat. In one of our rambles we were struck by a strange sort of rustling noise; and, on examining whence it proceeded, we beheld two large snakes, one pursuing the other across the field. The pursuer was a black snake, and the runaway a water-snake. These soon met, and, in the fury of their first encounter, were in an instant firmly twisted together; and whilst their united tails beat the ground, they tried with open jaws to wound each other. How malignant they looked! Their heads were diminished to a small size; their eyes seemed to flash fire. After they had struggled thus for five minutes, the water-snake disengaged himself from its enemy, and hurried toward the ditch. Its antagonist instantly assumed a new posture; and, half-creeping, half-erect, like some proud warrior sure of victory, overtook and attacked the other again, which placed itself in the same attitude, and prepared to resist. My curiosity was uncommonly excited by this extraordinary battle. Thus opposed, they fought with their

jaws, biting each other with the utmost rage. Whether from a consciousness of inferior strength, or the confidence of security in his natural element, the water-snake still seemed desirous of retreating toward the ditch. The keen-eyed black one no sooner perceived his drift, than, twisting his tail twice round the stalk of a strong shrub, he seized his adversary by the throat, not by his jaws, but by twisting his own neck round that of the water-snake, and so prevented him from reaching the ditch. The latter, to guard against a defeat, likewise fastened himself to a stalk on the bank, and by that means became a match for its fierce antagonist. Thus twisted together, and stretched at their full length, they pulled against each other; and when they exerted themselves the most, that part of their bodies which was entwined looked extremely small, whilst the other appeared swelled, and convulsed with strong writhings and turnings: their eyes looked on fire, and ready to start out of their heads. Victory was long doubtful, till at last the stalk, by which the water-snake held, gave way, and down they both plunged into the ditch. Some of our companions are very expert in shooting, hunting, and sporting of every kind. When they go out with the gun, I generally join the party. Sometimes we shoot wood pigeons, or hunt squirrels. In the midst of these wilds we saw many parties of the Lewka Indians, who were amusing themselves in killing squirrels with the blow-

blow-gun. The first time I saw an arrow transfixed through the head of a large black squirrel, by one of these instruments, it seemed like magic; for I did not hear the slightest noise, nor did I see the arrow pass, so swiftly did it fly. All I perceived was an Indian put a small tube to his mouth, and fix his eye on the squirrel; and, in an instant, the poor animal fell lifeless to the ground. Determined to know the secret, I soon made acquaintance with the Indians; and in answer to my enquiry, how he killed the squirrel? he gave me a narrow tube, about six feet long, made of a cane reed. I examined it carefully, but could not perceive its power of destruction, till the Indian took it from me, and showed me a short, slender arrow, not much thicker than a string, headed with little triangular pieces of tin, and at the other end were fastened tufts of the down of thistles. Having lifted the tube to his mouth, he placed the arrow within it, took aim at a pigeon, blew with a smart puff, and brought down the poor bird, though at a great distance. It seemed so very easy, that I thought I could use it to as much purpose as he did, but it was not till after many trials that I could touch a feather: so necessary is practice to the simplest arts. This Indian was a warrior, and a famous hunter in his tribe. He gloried in his skill in taking animals of all kinds, and proud of displaying his talents before us, he invited us to join a party to a bear

hunting, in which he was to be a principal leader. I accepted the invitation joyfully, and Mr. Franklin, though averse from all scenes of destruction, as he calls sporting, willingly united in the proposal, from curiosity.

Early in the morning, we were roused to the chase; a numerous company of Indians being assembled, attended by large dogs, of a breed between the blood-hound and the mastiff. We entered the woods together, and after walking some miles, my new acquaintance first perceived the track of a bear, amongst the scattered leaves; a discovery in which he was a great adept, being able to tell, with a glance of his eye, how many of these animals had passed that way, and whether they were cubs or old ones. The hunters immediately formed a circle, and advanced further into the forest; pursuing the scent, as they were directed by the dogs, till they roused the bear, which proved to be a female, followed by two cubs. The best marksman immediately took aim, and lodged several balls in her body. Full of rage at this assault, and alarmed for the safety of her young, she turned fiercely upon her enemies, whilst the cubs instantly ascended a tree. The dogs, with open mouths, kept her at bay till she fell, overpowered by repeated wounds, and the cubs afterwards became the prey of the hunters. The Indians had furnished themselves with knives and tomahawks; with the first they presently stripped off the skins, and

and with the last, cut up the carcasses; the parts of preference, such as the paws and haunches, they carried home, and the remainder was left in the wood. The haunch of one of the cubs was dressed for dinner, and proved extremely good.

In some of our forest excursions we saw coveys of birds, larger, but otherwise much resembling the English partridge, called by the country people, spruce pheasants. These birds are delicate food, the flesh being flavoured very much like our pheasants; and they are so stupidly tame, that it requires but little art to shoot them in numbers: especially if the sportsman begins his attack on the bird that sits lowest on the tree, and so proceeds as they ascend; the survivors seeming insensible to the fate of their companions.

In order to pursue our journey, we proceeded to Fort Chippeway: it stands on a creek near the shore of the Niagara river. The fort consists of a small block-house, enclosed by a stockade of cedar-posts, which is merely sufficient to defend the garrison against musket shot. A few farm-houses, and some large stone repositories for goods, form the rest of the village. Block-houses are so commonly used here as fortifications, and so different from any thing in England, I must describe one to you. Their walls are formed of thick, square pieces of timber; the upper story projects above the lower, and loop-holes are left round the edge of the floor; so that if an attempt were made to storm the house, the

garrison could fire directly on the assailants. But should their resistance be overpowered, and half the building be shot away, the other half would stand as firm as before, each piece of timber in the roof and walls being so fixed, as to be independent of the rest. So that if a piece of artillery were played upon the block-house, that part alone, against which the ball struck, would be displaced, and every other remain uninjured. From Fort Chipeway we followed the course of the river to Fort Erie. In the latter part of our ride we observed that the land is rich, and well cultivated with Indian corn, gourds, and squashes; melons are also planted between the rows, and attain great perfection. Our inn at Fort Erie is a wretched log-house, with scarcely a whole pane of glass in any of the windows. Unfortunately for us a heavy rain fell last night, that beat in upon us, as we lay asleep on the floor, folded in our buffalo skins; but our greatest hardship is want of food, and the little we get is so bad, that nothing but hunger can make it go down. We wait only for a fair wind to set sail across Lake Erie; and I am so tired of our quarters, I do little but watch the weather-cock. Present my affectionate duty to my mother, and think often of your absent

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Mr. Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

District of Malden.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

FROM the account your brother gave of our accommodations at Fort Erie, you may believe we willingly obeyed the summons of our captain to embark. We had not been two hours on board before the signal gun was fired, and the vessel scudded before the wind. Evening approached. The vast body of water, bounded only by the horizon, glowed with the rich tints reflected from the western sky. The tall trees of the forest, that adorned the shore, seemed tipt with gold, by the last beams of the setting sun. All was hushed and tranquil, as if nature were at rest. The moment was favourable to reflection. My mind wandered across the Atlantic with satisfaction, in the consideration that the same Power under whose protection I had been preserved in safety through so many changes of climate, watched over my friends at home. I sunk to sleep under a strong impression of the goodness of the Universal Father. In the morning, the face of nature presented images of his

his power. The surface of the water, which before was smooth and clear, became agitated with swelling waves, that tossed the vessel about furiously. The wind blew a hurricane, and the sky was obscured with black clouds, that reflected their sombre hue on the bosom of the lake. Several hours our frail bark had to contend with this war of elements. The scene was awful, and excited the most reverent ideas of the majesty and omnipotence of the Author of Nature. The wind subsided towards the close of day, and the appearance of the lake resumed its former harmony. During the rest of the voyage, a moderate gale filled the sails, and we advanced as fast as we could desire. We were several days on the passage, the lake being nearly three hundred miles from the western to the eastern extremity; and so deep, that, in calm weather, vessels may securely ride at anchor in any part of it; but when stormy, the anchorage in the open part is not to be trusted, because the sands at bottom are loose, and give way. The height of the land is very variable. In some places, long ranges of steep mountains rise from the very edge of the water; in others, the shores are so flat, that when a strong wind drives the water towards the land, the country is inundated for miles. As we approached the western side of the lake, we observed several clusters of islands, which present very pleasing scenery, being all adorned with wood, even to the very smallest;

smallest; and the water near the banks is covered with the beautiful flowers of the water lily. The larger islands produce various kinds of fine timber; amongst which are oaks, hiccory trees, and red cedars, of such extraordinary size, that they are often carried forty miles distant, to the British settlement on Detroit river. None of these islands are diversified with rising ground; and in the interior parts of some of the largest are extensive ponds and marshes. From the moisture and richness of the soil, probably, arises the vast number of different kinds of serpents that abound in them; so that, in summer, it is dangerous to walk among the long grass. Raccoons and squirrels inhabit the woods in multitudes; and when the lake is frozen between the main land and the islands, bears are occasional visitors. Ducks and wild-fowl haunt these ponds and marshes; and the shores swarm with gulls. The same wind that carried us across the lake not being favourable for entering Detroit river, we were obliged to lie at anchor under Middle Island till it changed, and taking the advantage of this circumstance, we went on shore. After amusing ourselves with a walk, we were hospitably invited to partake of an entertainment, prepared of their greatest delicacies, for us, as strangers. Amongst other novelties, there was a rattle-snake, said to be of excellent flavour, and the flesh was of a beautiful white; but we Europeans could not sufficiently overcome our prejudices to taste

taste it. The signal-gun again summoned us on board; and in a few hours we entered Detroit river, which does not exceed five miles in width. The shores are thickly wooded, and, towards the new British port, enlivened by Indian encampments and villages; and beyond them are seen the British settlements. The river was crowded with Indian canoes and bateaux; and several pleasure-boats were cruising backwards and forwards, in the expectation of meeting our vessel, which was freighted with presents for the Indians, sent annually by the British government, to secure their attachment and friendship. At length our vessel moored opposite to the house of the superintendant of the Indian department, to whom we were introduced by letters of recommendation. He welcomed us with the greatest politeness; and here we have taken up our abode, till some friends from Montreal have transacted their business, which is likely to detain them some time. The neighbourhood that extends along the eastern side of Detroit river, is called the District of Malden. The houses towards the lower end are widely scattered asunder; but at the upper end the inhabitants have formed a small town, that has not yet received a name.

Some of the farms are of considerable size: that of our friend the superintendant, is one of the best cultivated. The house stands pleasantly in view of the river, which is often picturesquely adorned with Indian canoes. A pretty lawn, planted with clumps

clumps of trees, is spread before it, at the bottom of which stands a large wig-wam, or council-house, where the Indians assemble whenever they transact any affairs of importance with the officers in the Indian department. During our stay at the house of this gentleman, I had the pleasure of seeing the ceremony of distributing the presents. Previously to the day appointed, a number of chiefs, of different tribes, brought each a bundle of little bits of cedar wood, containing the exact number of his tribe, who expected to share the bounty of their Great Father, as they style the king of England. The longest sticks represented the warriors; the next in size the women; and the shortest, the children. This contrivance gave us exact information of what was necessary to prepare, as if the notice had been sent in writing. Early in the morning of the day they were to receive the gifts, a number of large stakes were first fixed in the lawn, to each of which was fastened a label, with the name of the tribe, and the number of warriors, women, and children, in it, to whom presents were to be given. Presently the whole place appeared like a country fair. Bales of thick blankets; blue, scarlet, and brown cloth, and coarse figured cottons; with large rolls of tobacco, guns, flints, powder, balls, shot, case-knives, ivory and horn combs, looking-glasses, pipe-tomahawks, hatchets, scissars, needles, bags of vermilion, pots and kettles, were displayed in order. The bales of goods were opened, and the
blankets,

blankets, cloths, and cottons, divided into pieces of sufficient length to make a wrapper, shirt, or other article of dress for a single person. The allotment of the whole for each tribe was afterwards thrown in a heap, at the foot of the stake inscribed with its name.

After this preparation, the chiefs were ordered to assemble their warriors, who were loitering about the grounds at the outside of the lawn. They soon obeyed the summons; and, having formed a circle, listened attentively to a speech delivered to them by the superintendant. "Chiefs and warriors," said he, "your great and good father, (meaning the king of England,) who lives on the opposite side of the Big Lake, (as they term the Atlantic.) being ever attentive to the happiness of his faithful people, has, with his accustomed bounty, sent the presents you see spread on the grass, for his good children the Indians. The guns, the hatchets, and the ammunition, are for the young men; but I hope that the hatchet of war will long lie dormant, and that it will only be applied to the purposes of hunting. For the comfort of the aged, the women, and children, he has supplied you with blankets, clothing, and kitchen utensils. Young men, (continued he,) be attentive to the wants of your aged parents, and divide the spoils you take in the chase between them and your wives and children. May the Great Spirit grant you bright suns, clear skies, and a favourable season for hunting; and when
another

another year shall be passed, if you continue peaceable, obedient, faithful children, your good father will again send a vessel across the Big Lake, laden with tokens of his friendship."

Interpreters were present, who repeated this speech in the different languages of each tribe, who expressed their approbation by loud exclamations, "Hoah! Hoah!"

After this address the chiefs were called forward, and their respective portions committed to their care. The chiefs received them with gratitude and satisfaction, and beckoning to their warriors, a number of young men quickly started from the crowd, and in a few minutes the presents were conveyed from the lawn, and stowed on board the canoes, which were waiting to carry them to an island in the river, called Bois Blanc, where many of the Indians reside.

Your brother enjoys the most perfect health, and desires to unite his love to you, and the rest of your family circle, with that of your attached

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

Arthur Middleton to Mrs. Middleton.

Detroit.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

WE are now at Detroit, on the side of the river opposite to Malden. Many settlements are to be seen on both shores, adorned with the most tempting orchards of peaches, apples, and cherries. The last were ripe; and for a few pence the owners were willing we should take as many as we chose. The apples were green, and of many different kinds. They boasted particularly of that called *pomme caille*, as of exquisite flavour. It is of a very large size, and deep red colour to the core. The manners of the people are much like those of Lower Canada. Almost every body speaks French; and the generality retain traces of their French descent. The town of Detroit is the largest in the western country. It is surrounded by a strong stockade, through which there are four gates, each defended by a blockhouse. It is situated in a land of plenty, being well supplied with all kinds of provisions. Fish, in particular, is excellent, and abounds in the river and neighbouring

bouring lakes. A large species of trout, called here the Michillimakinack white fish, is a dainty morsel; but you know I am not attached to good eating, and can make a hearty meal on the plainest fare.

The streets of the town are always crowded with Indians; and I already fancy I am in the midst of their country. They appear a harmless race, did not their wiser neighbours, the white people, teach them to drink spirits, which makes them, at times, almost mad; and excite them to revenge, by trespassing upon their territory; and injure them, in many respects, by imposing upon their ignorance.

When the States purchase lands of them, the chiefs sign the deeds by the token that distinguishes their tribe, which is generally the figure of some animal. Many individuals are likewise honoured with peculiar titles, that express the qualities for which they are famed. One of my acquaintance is called the Blue Snake; another the Little Turkey; his father the Big Bear; and a nimble fellow, that is well known at Detroit, has received the name of the Active Squirrel. Their ingenuity is charming, as you would acknowledge were you to see the carving on some of their wooden bowls, dishes, and other household furniture. But they bestow the greatest pains in decorating the handles of their tomahawks, powder-horns, and the bowls of their pipes, which are carved very neatly, considering they have no other tool than a knife and a hatchet.

The

The women are equally ingenious in the embroidery of their moccasins, a kind of buskin they wear on their legs. Their porcupine-quill work is elegant, and would not disgrace my Catherine. They dye the soft, new quills of this animal of the most brilliant colours; for their knowledge of the uses of plants enables them to excel in the arts of dyeing, and in curing wounds and some diseases with astonishing success. But of all their attainments, I am most pleased with their expertness in geography. They have no maps or books to explain to them the situation of rivers or provinces; nor are their children tormented with long lessons of the latitude and longitude of places; yet they can find their way through a country they have never seen before, to a place at a hundred miles distance, without a guide, or sign-post, or any other direction than what is furnished by their own observation. I heard a story of a party of the Creek nation, that proves them capable of this quality. They were travelling from Staunton, a town situated behind the Blue Mountains in Virginia, to Philadelphia. Some of them set out before their companions. When the rest followed, they were attended by a few of the townsmen, who kindly offered to escort them on their way. They proceeded together, for some miles, along the high road, when the Indians suddenly turned into the woods. Their companions in vain persuaded them to return to the beaten tract. They persisted that they were going

going the direct way towards Philadelphia, and should presently overtake their friends, who, they were sure, had chosen the same route. Nor were they mistaken. The others had made their way, in the same place, through these pathless woods; and it was afterwards found that they had taken the way to the place of their destination, as direct as if a crow had flown before them.

I cannot resist relating an anecdote of a young Seneka warrior, who came accidentally into a room where Mr. Franklin and I were examining a map of the state of New York. As soon as he looked at the map, he comprehended its design; but being unable to read, he could not discover what part of the country it described, till I gave him a clue, by putting my finger on the spot where we then were, and showing him the situation of Buffalo Creek, where his village stood. In a moment he saw the connection of one part with another, and, sitting down, presently ran over the whole map, and pointed out, by name, every lake and river for more than two hundred miles from the village where he lived.

Some few years ago a treaty of peace was concluded between the Indians and Americans, with the ceremony of burying the war-hatchet, which was related to us by an Englishman who happened to be present. On this occasion, one of the chiefs arose, and after lamenting that the peace had continued so short a time, proposed that a large oak

in view should be torn up by the roots, and that the hatchet should be buried under it, where it might remain for ever. A second, who was greatly revered, began to speak after the first was silent: "Trees (said he) are liable to be overthrown by storms, and in course of time will certainly decay; therefore I advise, that the hatchet may for ever be at rest, that it be buried under the high mountain which rears its proud head behind yonder forest." This proposal pleased the whole assembly, till an aged chief, distinguished for his wisdom, arose and delivered his opinion to the following effect: "I am but a poor, feeble old man, (said he,) and have not the irresistible power of the Great Spirit, to tear up the trees of the forests by the roots, or to overthrow mountains, that the hatchet may be concealed beneath them; but that it may be obscured for ever from our sight, I propose that it should be thrown into the Great Lake, where no man can find it and bring it forth to raise enmity between us and our white brethren." A general murmur of applause ran through the assembly; and the hatchet was cast accordingly, with great solemnity, into the ocean.

My inclination for seeing the world is not abated by indulgence. When I have concluded the tour of America, and had the pleasure of spending a few months with you, I hope you will permit me to go on a voyage of discovery, where I shall endeavour to distinguish myself to your satisfaction,
by

by my good conduct. Be assured, my dear mother, that wherever I am, I can never forget the duty and affection I owe you, and with which I subscribe myself.

ARTHIUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XL.

Mr. Franklin to his Brother.

Michillimakinack.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

WE left Detroit in a small vessel, which conveyed us, in a northerly direction, across Lake Huron, to Michillimakinack, the grand rendezvous of the dealers in furs from all parts. Lake Huron is next in size to Lake Superior, and has a communication with another vast body of water, called Lake Michigan. The Chippaway Indians have many villages scattered around Lake Huron; and amongst the natural productions of its shores are vast quantities of the sand cherry. Some appearances of unfavourable weather drove us into a large bay on the south-west side of the lake, known by the name of Saganaum Bay; but a clear sky soon enabled us to pursue our voyage. The captain pointed out another bay, remarkable for continued thunder, a

phenomenon not easily explained. To the northwest lies the narrow chain of the Manatoulin Isles, believed by the Indians to be the abode of departed spirits. The port of Machillimakinack stands on an island, in a strait which unites the Lakes Michigan and Huron. Such a busy scene could scarcely be expected in so remote a situation. All is bustle and activity. There are not less than a thousand persons assembled, each interested in making bargains, packing and unpacking bales of furs, and trafficking with the Indians. Arthur is highly amused, and is by no means an idle spectator, being ready to give his assistance to any one who wants it.

When the Europeans first settled in Canada, the Indians hunted only for food and clothing; but their new neighbours soon taught them to put another value on the furs they took, by exchanging for them rum and other articles, in the way of trade. In these early times, some of the Canadians accompanied the Indians on their hunting expeditions, adopted their savage mode of life, and became a sort of pedlars in furs. These people were called *Coueurs des Bois*, and were guilty of many great irregularities; which produced such ill consequences, that it became necessary to establish military posts, for the regulation of the trade, at the confluence of the large lakes of Canada.

The Indians, finding themselves often cheated and abused by the random adventurers that penetrated

trated their territory, seem to have determined to extirpate the traders; but the small-pox having been communicated to them, by some accident, proved such a desolating misfortune, as to deprive them of the power of resistance. So destructive was this disease, that the wolves and the dogs dragged the dead bodies from the huts, which were left without inhabitants; and many instances are related of the father of a family calling his children around him, and urging them to avoid the miseries inflicted on their race, by some evil spirit, as they believed, by plunging their poinards into their bosoms; and if their courage failed, offering to perform the act of mercy with their own hand, and to follow them himself to the abode of the departed. This was a great check to the trade, as whole families and tribes were swept off; and in many places there were none left, either to buy or to sell. This pestilential disease having abated, there happened many struggles and contests between individuals, for a share in this lucrative trade, till the north-west company was established, by a union of the contending parties, in 1787. A variety of articles are purchased in England by this company, to exchange with the Indians for their furs. They are chiefly woollen cloths, blankets, arms and ammunition, tobacco, linen, cottons, thread, twine, hardware, cutlery and ironmongery, kettles, hats, shoes, stockings, &c. Provisions and spirituous liquors are bought in Canada. The latter are not

allowed to be sold to the Indians; but this law is eluded by making them a gift: and a pernicious one it is to these people, whose manners it corrupts; whose health it injures; and it has too often been made the means of imposing upon them.

Our friends the traders, who mean to pursue their journey a vast way to the north-west, for the sake of trading with the distant tribes, arrived at this place a little before us. They followed the course of the Utawas river, and consequently passed a very different route from that we have described in our letters, since we left Montreal. The particulars of their journey have been related to me by the leader of the expedition, who is an intelligent man, named Roseberry, for whom I have contracted a friendship.

They embarked at La Chine in a fleet of canoes, each manned with eight or ten men; with their baggage, consisting of sixty-five packets of goods, six hundred weight of biscuit, two hundred weight of pork, three baskets of peas, two oil-cloths to cover the goods, a sail, &c.; an axe, a towing line, a kettle, and a sponge to bail out the water; with a quantity of gum, bark, and watape, to repair the vessel.

What European would undertake such a voyage in so slender a vessel, thus laden, with her gun-whale within six inches of the water? Yet the Canadians are so expert, that few accidents happen. At the end of the Lake of the Two Mountains, the
water

water contracts into Utawas River, which, after a course of fifteen miles, is interrupted by a succession of rapids and cascades, for ten more, where terminate the Canadian Seigniories. I ought to have told you, that the company is composed of clerks, interpreters, canoe-men, and guides. They are frequently obliged to unload their canoes at difficult passages, and carry the goods upon their backs, or, rather, suspended in slings from their heads. Some men will carry three packages; others but two. The canoe, in this case, is towed by a strong line. They had already passed three carrying-places, when they reached a regular current of sixty miles, to the Portage de Chaudiere, where the body of water falls twenty-five feet, over cragged, hollow rocks, in a most wild, romantic manner. At a small distance below is the river Rideau, falling like a curtain, in one vast sheet, over perpendicular rocks. At this portage the canoe is obliged to be taken out of the water, and is carried, with difficulty, over the steep rocks. They now entered Lac des Chaudieres, which reaches about thirty miles in length. At the end of this is the Portage des Chats. The river is here barred by a ridge of black rocks, rising in pinnacles, and covered with low, stunted wood. The stream finds its way over and through these rocks, in numerous channels, making a considerable fall. From hence a serpentine channel is formed by the rocks for several miles, when the current slackens,

and receives the name of the Lake des Chats. At the channels of the Grand Calumet, the current recovers its strength, and the men are obliged to renew their labour of carrying the goods over several *portages* and *decharges*: which differ in this, that, where it is necessary to convey the goods alone over land, it is called a portage; but where the canoes also must be taken out of the water, it is a decharge. The Grand Calumet is the longest carrying place in this river, and is about two thousand and thirty-five paces, over a high hill. A few leagues beyond, the current forms Lake Coulonge, and from thence proceeds through the channels of the Allumettes, to the portage of the same name. A great part of the country through which they had passed is a fine deer-hunting tract; and the land, in many places, fit for cultivation. From hence the river spreads wide, and is full of islands to the beginning of Riviere Creuse, or Deep River, which runs in the form of a canal, above a mile wide, for nearly thirty-six miles; the north side bounded by very high rocks, with a low, sandy shore on the south. It is intercepted by falls and cataracts, which occasion two more portages. A steady current carried them hence to the River du Moine, where there has generally been a trading house. A succession of rapids and portages occurred till they reached the place where the Petite Riviere falls into the Utawas. The Lake Nepisingui is a few miles beyond it, and is bounded by rocks, which

which are inhabited by the remainder of a numerous converted tribe of the Algonquin nation. Out of this lake flows the Riviere des François, over rocks of a considerable height. This river is very irregular, both as to its breadth and form; and so interspersed with islands, that in its whole course the banks are seldom seen. They are chiefly hills of entire rock, without the shallowest covering of soil. In about twenty-five leagues more, the trading company entered Lake Huron, and passed the island of St. Joseph, where is the most westerly military establishment in the country. Nothing now obstructed their arrival at Michillimakinack, to which they proceeded.

Every thing is prepared for our departure tomorrow. We shall soon be beyond every trace of European civilization, roads, posts, or towns. I shall keep a narrative of the most striking occurrences, with remarks on the wild country and people we are going to visit, which I shall transmit to you, by the first conveyance that offers. In the mean time, feel no uneasiness for my safety; but rely upon that Providence which watches, with an equal eye, over all the nations of the globe. Adieu.

H. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLI.

Mr. Henry Franklin to his Brother.

Fort Chepewyan.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

YOU must not consider this as a letter, but rather as a journal of our travels through the wilds of the north-west parts of America. After embarking at Michillimakinack, we proceeded to the Fall of St. Mary, where is a village that was formerly a place of great resort for the inhabitants of Lake Superior; but the trade is now dwindled to nothing, and the people reduced to about thirty families of the Algonquin nation, and a few Canadians who have settled amongst them. The great quantity of white-fish that are to be taken near the falls, especially in autumn, is their attraction to this spot. At that season, this fish leaves the lakes, and comes to the running shallow waters to spawn. The natives live chiefly on this fish, which they hang up by the tail, and preserve them throughout the winter with salt, when they can get it. Leaving St. Mary's, we now entered Lake Superior, which I think may be pronounced the largest and most magnificent body of fresh water

water in the world. It is clear, of vast depth, and abounds in a great variety of fish, which are the most excellent of their kind. There are three sorts of trout, weighing from five to fifty pounds; sturgeon, pickerel, pike, red and white carp, black bass, herrings, &c. and the last and best of all, the ticamang, or white-fish, which is found from four to sixteen pounds weight. The north shore is a continued mountainous embankment of rock, from three hundred to one thousand five hundred feet in height; and is broken by numerous coves and sandy bays, which are frequently sheltered by islands, from the swell of the lake. Many of the islands are composed of lava, intermixed with round stones of the size of a pigeon's egg. This vast collection of water is often covered with fog, which, driving against the high rocks, dissolves in torrents of rain. The inhabitants of the coasts are all of the Algonquin nation, and are very few. Fish is their principal support; for the rocks, bearing a volcanic appearance, and being destitute of shelter, do not abound in animals. Between the stunted timber, that has fallen in many places, grow briars, hurtleberry, gooseberry, and raspberry bushes, which invite the bears into the neighbourhood. The Grande Portage, where we landed, is situated on a pleasant bay, on the north side of Lake Superior. The fort is picketed in with pallisadoes, and encloses houses built with wood and covered with shingles. These are for the accommodation of the merchants

and their clerks, during their short stay there. The north men live under tents; but the more frugal pork eater, or canoe man, lodges beneath his canoe.

The portage here is nine miles over hills and mountains; but the men are so inured to the business, that, for an extra reward, some of them, after having carried two packages of ninety pounds each, returned with two others of the same weight. The goods being safely conveyed over the portage, Mr. Roseberry and his partners have selected from the pork-eaters a proper number of men to manage the north canoes, that are to proceed to the interior parts of the country. Those men who went last year to the north, are also arrived at the Grande Portage, where they receive their wages, and often send part of them to their friends in Canada.

We mess at the first table, with the merchants, clerks, guides, and interpreters; and fare well, on fresh meat, salt pork, fish, and venison; but the poor canoe-men are obliged to be satisfied with a pudding of hominee.

The necessary arrangements being made, our leader ordered us to embark again on the north side of the portage, on the river Au Tourt. It would be uninteresting to mention all the portages and decharges we passed, between this place and Lake de la Pluie; suffice it to say, the poor fellows were often obliged to unload their canoes, and endure the excessive labour of carrying their goods, some-
times

times over rocks and precipices that were difficult to pass even without a load. At the further end of the Outard Portage is a very considerable hill to descend, over which hangs a rock, seven hundred feet high. The face of the country, during this part of our route, is generally a wild scene of huge hills and rocks, separated by stony valleys, lakes, and ponds: the latter often covered with water-lilies, and the ground, where there is any soil, sheltered with trees. In one or two places, I observed a strange property of the current to attract the canoes towards the bottom, so that it is difficult to paddle over it; and we were told of loaded canoes being in danger of being swallowed up.

Before the small-pox desolated this country, and completed the destruction of the inhabitants, who had been previously much thinned by a war with the Nodowasis, it was very populous. They are particularly attached to the part near the Lake de Sagnigan, and make their canoes there: the lake abounding with fish, the country around it being plentifully supplied with game, and the rocky ridges that form the boundaries of the water, covered with a variety of berries.

Near Lake de la Pluie, the natives find a soft red stone, of which they make their pipes. Here the people from Montreal meet those who come from the Athabaska country, and exchange lading with them. It is the residence of the first chief,

or Sachem, of all the Algonquin tribes. Here also the elders meet in council, to treat of peace or war. The discharge of this lake is called de la Pluie River, and is one of the finest streams in the north-west, running a course of eighty miles. Its banks are covered with a rich soil, and are often clothed with open groves of oak, maple, pine, and cedar. Its waters abound in fish; particularly sturgeon, which the natives either spear or take with drag-nets. The French had formerly many settlements near Lake du Bois; a body of water remarkable for a cluster of islands, some of which are of such extent that they may be taken for the main land. This part of the country is so broken by lakes and rivers, that a man in a canoe may direct his course whichever way he pleases.

The Indians have a curious custom of crowning stones, laid in a circle on the highest rock of a portage, called Galet du Bonnet, with wreaths of branches and shrubs.

Wild rice grows very abundantly throughout the country; and the fruits spontaneously produced are strawberries, hurtleberries, plums, cherries, hazel-nuts, currents, gooseberries, raspberries, and pears. Lake Winnipic is the great reservoir of several large rivers, and discharges itself by the River Nelson into Hudson's Bay. The Red River runs into the lake from an almost opposite direction. There are two trading establishments on it. The country, on either side, consists of plains, where herds

herds of the buffalo and the elk graze at full liberty. The eastern side abounds in beavers, bears, moose-deer, fallow-deer, &c. The Red River divides into two branches, that bound a considerable district inhabited chiefly by the Assiniboins. They confine themselves to hunting the buffalo and trapping wolves. The remainder of the former, which they do not want immediately for food or clothing, they pound into pemican, something like potted meat; and melt the fat, and prepare the skins in the hair, for winter. They never eat the wolves; but they make tallow from their fat, and dress their skins, which they exchange with the traders for arms, ammunition, rum, tobacco, knives, and trinkets. There are in this country three principal forts for trade; one on the river Dauphin, one on Red-deer River, and the last on Swan River. The inhabitants are chiefly wandering hunters, of the Knisteneaux and Algonquin tribes. The passage of our canoes was interrupted in the Saskatchewan river by a rapid, in which the waters tumble over ridges of rocks that cross the river. At the foot of this cascade there is an excellent sturgeon fishery, frequented by vast numbers of pelicans and cormorants, which watch for an opportunity of seizing the fish that may be killed or disabled by the force of the waters. From the Saskatchewan a succession of small lakes, interrupted by falls and rapids, and varied with rocky islands, extends to the Great Churchill River. The Portage de Trait  received
its

its name from Mr. Joseph Frobisher, who penetrated into this part of the country from Canada, as early as the year 1774, where he met the Indians in the spring, on their way to Churchill, according to annual custom, with their canoes full of valuable furs. They traded with him, for as many of them as his canoes would carry; and in consequence of this transaction, its present name was given to the portage. The country is inhabited by several tribes: those who live to the north-west are beaver-hunters; the others deal in provisions, and wolf, buffalo, and fox skins. The Picaneaux and Stone Indians, in their war parties, wander on the confines of Mexico, where they contrive to possess themselves of horses; some of which they employ to carry loads, and the others are used in the chase of the buffalo. A dreadful monument remains of the mortality occasioned by the small-pox, at the Portage des Morts, where there is a promontory covered with human bones. On a certain rock where the Indians were used to make an offering, we observed sketches of figures painted red, and on a small island in the Lake des Pouris, a very large stone in the form of a bear, on which the natives had painted the head and snout of that animal.

The numerous lakes, falls, rapids, islands, and bays, in the course of our navigation, cannot be particularized; I shall therefore only draw your attention to the principal, or such places as are

on any account remarkable. There is a fort on a low isthmus, in Isle à la Crosse, which has taken its name from the game of the cross, which is a favourite amusement amongst the natives. The situation of Lake à la Crosse; the abundance of the finest fish to be found in its waters; the richness of its surrounding banks and forests, in moose and fallow deer; with the multitudes of the smaller tribes of animals, whose kinds are precious; and the numerous flocks of wild-fowl, that frequent it in the spring and autumn—make it a most desirable spot, either for the residence or occasional resort of the natives.

At Portage la Loche the navigation ceases, and the canoes, with their lading, are carried over land for thirteen miles. This portage is formed by the ridge that divides the waters which discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay, from those that flow into the northern ocean. The Portage la Loche is covered with the cypress, the pine, and the spruce fir, and is of a level surface till within a mile of its termination; when we descended a very steep precipice, that seemed equally impracticable to climb up or down, as it consists of eight hills, some of which are almost perpendicular; nevertheless, the activity of our Canadians surmounted all these difficulties, even with their canoes and lading. When we reached the top of the precipice, which rises upwards of a thousand feet above the plain, every one was charmed; but

Arthur stood enraptured with the extensive, romantic, and ravishing prospect. Mr. Roseberry, Arthur, and myself, indulged ourselves with contemplating the vast expanse. Beneath us flowed the Swan River, beautifully meandering for thirty miles. The valley, which is at once refreshed and adorned by it, is about three miles in breadth, and is confined by two lofty ridges of equal height, displaying a most delightful intermixture of wood and lawn, and stretching on till the blue mist obscures the prospect. Some parts of the inclining heights are covered with stately forests, relieved by promontories of the finest verdure, where the elk and buffalo find pasture. These are contrasted by spots where fire has destroyed the woods, and left a dreary void behind it. Amidst this sublime display of uncultivated nature, the moving scenery of human occupation completed the prospect.

From this elevated situation we looked down upon our fellow travellers, who appeared like pigmies, employed in pitching their tents in a charming meadow, amidst their canoes; which, being turned upon their sides, presented their reddened bottoms, in contrast with the surrounding verdure.

We were again frequently interrupted in our progress by carrying places; but after surmounting many difficulties, we reached Fort Chepewyan, standing on a point, on the southern side of the Lake of the Hills.

The season being now so far advanced as the beginning

beginning of October, I have resolved to take up our winter quarters at this fort, with Mr. Roseberry and others; though some of the people are dispatched up the Peace River, to trade with the Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians; and others, for the same purpose, to the Slave River and Lake.

Mr. Roseberry, who is very attentive to provide for the wants of those under his command, having no dependence for winter stock, but the produce of the lake and the fishery, has ordered the nets to be prepared. These nets are sixty fathom long: a small stone and wooden buoy are fastened to the side line, opposite to each other, at the distance of two fathoms. When the net is carefully thrown into the water the stone sinks it to the bottom, while the buoy keeps it at its full extent; and it is secured in this position by a stone at either end. The nets are visited every day, and frequently taken out to be cleaned and dried. This is easily performed at present; but it will be a difficult task when the water is frozen five feet deep, which it generally is in the winter. Then the men are obliged to cut holes in the ice, at the distance of thirty feet from each other, to the full length of the net. By means of these openings, and with the assistance of poles, the nets are placed in, and drawn out of the water. Hooks and lines are also daily employed to provide a winter store. The white-fish are the principal objects of pursuit: they

they spawn in the autumn, and towards the beginning of the hard frost crowd in shoals to the shallow water; when as many as possible are taken, and preserved perfectly good, till April, in a frozen state.

In spring and fall great numbers of wild-fowl frequent this country, which I suppose we shall consider a great treat, after having so long subsisted on fish alone, even without the addition of vegetables.

In the fall of the year, the natives meet the traders at the forts, where they barter such furs or provisions as they have to sell; they then obtain credit, and proceed to hunt beavers: whence they do not return till the beginning of the year, when they are again fitted out in the same manner, and come back the latter end of March or the beginning of April. The greater part of the Chepewyans resort to the barren grounds, and live, during the summer, with their relations, in the enjoyment of that plenty which they derive from numerous herds of deer. But those who are the most attached to these deserts, cannot remain there in winter; but are obliged, with the deer, to take shelter in the woods during the rigour of the season. Sometimes they contrive to kill a few beavers, which they send by young men to exchange for iron utensils and ammunition.

Arthur's active mind is never at a loss for amusement; but the unvaried solitude of our present situation,

situation, will not bear a comparison with the cheerful society we enjoyed last winter at Quebec and Montreal. Mr. Roseberry has travelled a vast deal in this part of the country, and is well acquainted with the language and peculiar customs of different tribes, which makes him a very entertaining companion, and enables him to amuse many a dreary hour.

This letter will be dispatched to Canada, by the first company that returns thither with furs.

Present my kindest remembrances to all my European friends and connexions; and be assured that I am your affectionate brother.

HENRY FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Chepewyan.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

THE rigours of winter are past, and our long confinement at this Fort ended, which is matter of rejoicing to me, for I am quite weary of the uniformity of our lives. We are to embark presently in a canoe, made of birch bark, on the south side of the Lake of the Hills, for a very distant country northwards. Our crew will consist of

of Mr. Franklin, Mr. Roseberry, and four Canadians, with their two wives; and in another canoe will follow us an Indian chief, attended with two of his wives, besides two young Indians, who are his relations. Mr. Roseberry has engaged them to hunt for us, and to serve as interpreters with the natives. A third canoe is laden with our ammunition, provision, and clothes; besides a proper assortment of merchandise, as presents, to conciliate the favour of the savage tribes. Mr. Franklin, though determined, says we must prepare ourselves to encounter many dangers and hardships. I foresee nothing but pleasure, and feel not the least anxiety for the future. As pens, ink, and paper, form part of our stores, I shall keep a kind of journal, of which this is the beginning, though it cannot be forwarded to you till our return to the fort from whence it is dated.

Following a north-westerly direction, we entered Peace River, which at this spot exceeds a mile in breadth, and assumes the name of Slave River, on account of the Slave Indians, who were so called as a reproach, because they were driven from their own country by the Knisteneaux. At the mouth of the Dog River we landed and refreshed ourselves, whilst the canoes were gummed. Several rapids obliged the men to unload the canoes, and convey the goods overland, which fatigued them extremely; but the skill of the hunters prepared them a luxurious repast, of seven geese, a beaver, and

and four ducks. Rainy weather coming on, we were obliged to land and encamp, in order to secure ourselves and our goods from the wet. After two days the weather cleared, and we pursued our course to the Great Slave Lake, which, though the beginning of June, was entirely covered with ice. The cold of this climate freed us from the musquitoes and gnats, that had been very troublesome during our passage along the river. The Indians told us, that at no great distance are very extensive plains on both sides of the river, frequented by large herds of buffaloes; and that the woods which border them are inhabited by moose and reindeer. Beavers abound: they build their curious habitations in the small lakes and rivers, and the mud banks are covered with wild-fowl; so we have only to use our guns for a plentiful supply for our table.

Being obliged to pitch our tents till the lake was sufficiently open for our passage across it, we set the nets, and caught carp, *poisson inconnu*, whitefish, and trout. The Indians were sent on a hunting expedition; and the women employed in gathering berries of different kinds, and collecting the eggs of swans, geese, and wild-fowl. We watched the breaking of the ice with impatience: a heavy rain, attended with thunder and lightning, hastened its dissolution, and, as soon as it was practicable, we ventured to one of the largest islands, but were stopped by shoals of ice from proceeding further.

Observing

Observing several rein-deer on the island, the hunters killed five of them. Some days were spent in going from island to island: during this time we lived upon fish, and the wild-fowl killed by the hunters. The main body of ice veered according to the direction of the wind; so that sometimes we coasted round its edge, amidst several islands of different sizes. At length we came to a large bay, which receives a considerable river at the bottom of it. The north-west side of the bay was covered with many small islands, that were surrounded with ice: but our steersman managed to clear a passage within them, and to put us ashore on the main land at three lodges of Red-knife Indians, so named from using copper knives. They told us that several of their countrymen were within a little distance, but that they did not visit the lake till the swans moult their feathers.

Since we had entered the bay, we observed a continued view of high hills, and islands of solid rock; the surface occasionally varied with moss, shrubs, and a few scattered trees, stunted for want of soil to bring them to perfection. Unfertile as this situation appeared, berries of various kinds abound: we often gathered cranberries; juniper-berries; raspberries; partridge-berries; gooseberries; and the pathagomenan, which grows on a small stalk about a foot and a half high, in wet, mossy spots, and the fruit resembles a raspberry. We continued to coast the lake, sometimes crossing
 deep

deep bays, and frequently landing on the islands. Wherever we went on shore, we saw lodges that had been deserted by the Indians, and tracks of the moose and rein-deer, which seem to be numerous in this country: white partridges are also plentiful, and at this season they become of a grey colour, like that of the moor-fowl. Notwithstanding the cold, our nights were again disturbed by the stings of the musquitoes. We now sailed under the direction of a Red-knife Indian, whom Mr. Roseberry had engaged as a guide, and coming to a bay, which he mistook for a river, we steered down it, till we were involved in a field of broken ice, and with great difficulty secured ourselves on an island before the approach of night. Our Indian guide misled us a second time, which had nearly occasioned a serious quarrel between him and the Indian chief who accompanied us from Chepewyan; but Mr. Franklin reconciled them, by enforcing the necessity of union; and the greater the difficulty, the more need there was of their mutual exertions to discover the passage we wanted. After several efforts we doubled the point of a very long island, and fell into a branch of the river we had been so long endeavouring to find. Here the water appeared to abound in fish, and was covered with swans, geese, black ducks, and other wild-fowl. The mouth of the river where it discharges its waters into the Slave Lake is ten miles wide,

wide; but it narrows, gradually, to the breadth of half a mile. The southern shore is the highest land: both are covered with trees, part of which have been burned, and lie scattered on the ground. Mr. Roseberry, who has traversed this country before, assured us, that land laid waste by fire, which produced spruce-pine and white birch, yields afterwards nothing but poplars, though none previously grew there. The Horn Mountain now appeared in sight, which is in the country of the Beaver Indians. Our guides being apprehensive of rough weather, we landed, and pitched our tents just in time to shelter us from a violent thunder-storm, attended with torrents of rain.

We continued our course, often amongst islands, and at times with a strong current: the weather for some days was stormy, and lightning and thunder frequent. Our canoes passed the mouths of several rivers, which discharge their waters into the main stream. In order to provide for the future necessities, on our return we concealed in an island two bags of pemican, which is meat sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded. Early one morning we observed a very high mountain at a distance; on our nearer approach, the summit appeared bare and rocky, but the sides were clothed with wood, interspersed with spots of brilliant white, that sparkled in the sun. It was some time before we discovered that they were only patches of snow. Our hunters occasionally supplied us with swans, geese,

geese, white partridges, and once they brought us a grey crane.

Having encamped one evening at the foot of a high hill, a few of us ascended it, in order to explore the country. As it was very steep and craggy, the sight of an Indian encampment on its summit surprised us; but our Indian attendants explained the motive for choosing such an inconvenient situation, by telling us, that those tribes who have no arms, prefer it, by way of defence against their enemies.

Our prospect from this elevated spot was obstructed by a circular range of hills; between these were small lakes, where great numbers of majestic swans were swimming about in a most graceful manner. The swarms of musquitoes that annoyed us in this spot, compelled us to return hastily to our tents.

The next evening the curling smoke from some Indian fires invited us on shore; but we were no sooner perceived, than the whole band divided in great confusion, each providing for his own safety: some hiding in the woods, others retreating to their canoes. The assurances of our Indians, that our intentions were friendly, were not immediately believed. Some of the boldest at last ventured to our camp, and were so agreeably welcomed by presents of small value, that their companions soon followed. They proved to be five families of the Slave and Dog-rib Indians, and as they differ

widely from the tribes we saw in the United States and Canada, I shall describe their persons and dress.

They are a meagre, ugly, ill-made race, with very clumsy legs, and appear to be unhealthy, which probably arises from their want of cleanliness. Some of them wear their hair extremely long, while others suffer a long tress only to fall behind, and the rest is cut so short as to expose their ears. There were old men with long beards, and others who had pulled them out by the roots. The men have two double lines tattooed upon each cheek, from the ear to the nose; and a hole is made through the gristle of the nose, large enough to receive a goose-quill, or a small piece of wood: a strange notion of finery, but not more absurd than an European lady's ear-rings. Their clothes are made of the dressed skins of the rein or moose deer. For the sake of warmth, their winter vestments are prepared in the hair. Some of them are decorated with a very neat embroidery, of porcupine quills and the hair of the moose deer, coloured red, black, yellow, and white. They wear shirts made of skins; their upper garments are sufficiently large to cover the whole body, with a fringe round the bottom: these are worn night and day. Their leggins reach half way up the thigh, and are embroidered on the seams and the ankle. Both sexes dress nearly alike. To complete their attire they adorn themselves with gorgets; bracelets of wood, horn,

horn, or bone, on the arms and wrists; and a band of leather round the head, wrought with porcupine quills, and stuck round with claws of bears and wild-fowl, to which they hang short thongs of the skin of an animal resembling the ermine, in the form of a tassel. Bands, garters, &c. are formed of the quills of the porcupine, woven together with sinews in a very neat manner, and fringed with strings of leather, worked round with dyed hair of various colours. You can hardly conceive any thing more grotesque than their whole appearance.

A few poles supported by a fork, fixed in a semicircular form, and covered with branches or bark, serve them for a lodge. They build two of these opposite to one another, and make the fire between them. Their furniture consists chiefly of a few dishes of wood, bark, or horn: their cooking vessels are shaped like a gourd, narrow at top and wide at bottom; and are made of watape, which is the roots of the spruce fir-tree split, and wove so close as to hold liquids: but as they would burn on the fire, they make them boil by putting red-hot stones into them. They have, besides, a number of small leather bags, to hold their embroidery, lines, and nets. Of the fibres of the willow bark they make thread, and fishing-lines of the sinews of the rein-deer. They hunt with bows and arrows, spears, daggers, and clubs. The daggers are short, flat, and sharp pointed, and are made

of horn or bone. Their axes are composed of a piece of grey or brown stone; and their canoes are so light as to be carried with ease on a man's back. They urged every argument they could use to dissuade us from proceeding on our voyage, assuring us that it would take years to reach the sea, and that our heads would be silvered with age before our return. They also related ridiculous traditions of monsters of frightful shapes, that would encounter, if not devour us by the way. You may believe this had no effect on such men as Mr. Franklin or Mr. Roseberry; but our poor Indians looked very grave at these wonderful accounts, and were not easily encouraged to lay aside their fears.

Notwithstanding these dreadful prognostics, we re-embarked, and soon passed the Great Bear Lake river. We met with numerous islands, and had a ridge of snowy mountains always in sight. Great numbers of bears and small white buffaloes frequent those mountains, which are also inhabited by Indians. Soon after we came to the termination of the mountains, the rapid appeared which the Indians had described as so extremely dangerous; but we found their accounts greatly exaggerated, and passed it without difficulty. Pursuing our course to the north-west, we came to a river that flowed from the eastward. Here an encampment of four fires invited us to land: a measure which terrified these poor people, who took us for enemies. They all fled different ways, except an old man, who

who approached us with the full expectation of being put to death. He said, his few remaining days were not worth preserving; but, with the most affecting earnestness, pulled off his venerable grey locks by handfulls, and distributed them amongst us, imploring our favour for himself and his relations. Our Indians assured him of our friendly intentions, which Mr. Roseberry confirmed by presents of such trifles as he knew would be acceptable to the people. The old man, having gained confidence, recalled the scattered fugitives; and one of them, though reluctantly, was persuaded to accompany us as a guide in our expedition. We re-embarked, and found the river grow narrower, and bounded by lofty, perpendicular, white rocks. We exchanged a few trinkets with another party of Indians, for a parcel of excellent fish. Amongst them was some unknown to us, of a round form and greenish colour.

From an encampment of three or four families, a little beyond, we received hares, partridges, and a grey crane. Our new guide endeavoured to persuade us to return, telling us that he was afraid of the Esquimaux, who, he said, were a very wicked, malignant people, and but two summers ago came up this river and killed many of his relations. Our appearance mostly terrified the scattered parties of Indians that we saw encamped on the banks of the river; but our guides, by assurances of friendship, and Mr. Roseberry by

presents, generally allayed their fears, and brought them to a degree of familiarity. One party was clad in hare skins, and belong to a tribe called Hare Indians, from living principally on that animal and fish; rein-deer and beaver being very scarce in this part of the country. We continued to see different parties encamped on the banks of the river, who differed but little from those I have described. As we had advanced far beyond the knowledge of any of our guides, by bribes and presents Mr. Roseberry prevailed with a native of this country to go with us. He told us that we should sleep ten nights before we came to the sea, and that we were near the Esquimaux, with whom his nation was now at peace. Having never heard the sound of a gun, he was extremely startled when some of the hunters discharged their fowling pieces, and, had they not assured him it was a token of friendship, would have left us. Mr. Roseberry's making some memorandums in his pocket-book, was another cause of alarm, as he could not comprehend the design of writing, but imagined he was a conjuror, and that it was a charm, by which he might be injured. Two of his brothers followed us in their canoes, and amused us, not only with their native songs, but with others, in imitation of the Esquimaux; which so animated our new associate, who was also in his own small canoe, that he jumped and capered to keep time with the singing, till we were terrified lest he should

should upset his light bark. A smoke on the western shore induced us to land. The natives made a most terrible uproar, talking very loud, and running about as if they were out of their senses; while the greater part of the women and children fled away, a sure sign of hostile intentions; but we were too numerous to be afraid of them. A few blue beads made them our friends. They are called the Quarrellers. The river was now divided into several channels, and it was difficult which to choose. Mr. Roseberry determined on the middle one.

We were now in such high northern regions, that the sun was above the horizon all night. Mr. Franklin and I resigned one night's rest to enjoy a spectacle to us so extraordinary, and that we were never likely to see again when we left this country. Traces of the Esquimaux were observed in several places. Near the spots where they had made their fires, were scattered pieces of whalebone, thick burned leather, and marks where they had spilled train oil. In one place we saw three of their huts, for I cannot dignify them with the name of house. The ground plot is of an oval form, about fifteen feet long; the whole of it is dug about twelve inches below the surface of the ground, and one half of it is covered with branches of willow, which probably serves the whole family for a bed. A space in the middle of the other half, about four feet wide, is deeper than the rest,

and is the only part of the house where a grown person can stand upright. One side of it is the hearth, or fire-place; but they do not appear to make much use of it, for the wall, though close to it, did not seem to be burned. The door is in the middle of one of the ends, and opens into a covered way, so low, that we were obliged to creep on all-fours to enter this curious habitation. On the top is a hole, of about eighteen inches square, which serves for a window, an occasional door, and a chimney. The under-ground part of the floor is lined with split wood. Six or eight stumps of small trees driven into the earth, with the root upwards, on which are laid some cross pieces of timber, support the roof of the building. The whole is made of drift wood, covered with branches and dry grass, over which is laid a foot deep of earth. On each side of these houses are square holes dug in the ground, covered, except in the middle, with split wood and earth; these were supposed to be storehouses, for the winter stock of provisions. Before each hut were stumps of trees fixed in the ground, probably for the purpose of hanging their fish upon to dry.

As we advanced, trees became very scarce, except a few dwarf willows. A violent rain forced us to land again, and shelter ourselves under four houses, similar to those I have just described. The high lands adjacent were covered with short grass and flowers, whilst the valleys presented a sheet of

snow and ice. Being come to the entrance of a large lake, which, from the shallowness of the water, and the thickness of the ice before us, we could not traverse, we were obliged to relinquish our intention of proceeding further; though the whole company had cherished the idea of reaching the ocean before they turned their faces homewards. We pitched our tents on an island, from the highest part of which we could discern a solid field of ice, extending from the south-west to the eastward. A chain of mountains were dimly perceived on the south, stretching out as far as the eye could reach; and to the eastward, we saw many islands. White partridges, now turned brown, were rather plentiful: flocks of beautiful plovers were also common; as were white owls, and gulls of the same colour.

As I was rambling about in search of a plover's nest, I discovered the grave of one of the natives: by it lay a bow, a paddle, and a spear—articles that, doubtless, belonged to the deceased; but the arms that had wielded them were unstrung: they remained as tokens, perhaps, to perpetuate the remembrance of his expertness in the chace, or the management of his canoe.

Our provisions running rather short, the nets were put down, and we halted a day or two, in hopes of supplying ourselves with fish. During our stay, we had clear proofs of the rising of the tide, which made us conclude that the lake communicated with the sea; and as a confirmation of that

opinion, some of our men descried, as they imagined, huge pieces of ice advancing towards us; but on a closer inspection they were whales, whose white sides rising above the water, might at first be easily mistaken for shoals of ice. Our guide told us, that the Esquimaux chiefly lived upon these prodigious fish, and that they were often seen as large as our canoe.

Mr. Roseberry caused a post to be erected, in remembrance of our having reached this spot, and inscribed on it $69^{\circ} 7'$ north latitude, our names, and the date of our arrival. We now reluctantly determined to steer our course back again towards Chepewyan Fort; and as we returned by the way we came, I shall not trouble you with a repetition of what I have already described, but only mention such particulars as I think will be interesting to you. The cold, which had been very great, diminished after we entered the river: a circumstance that would have been very agreeable, if it had not been for our old tormentors, the mosquitoes, whose numbers increased with the warmth. We landed upon a small round island, close to the eastern shore, which seemed to be sacred to the dead, there being a place of sepulture, crowded with numerous graves: amongst these were scattered the implements that formerly belonged to those who were interred there. We frequently observed a kind of fence along the hills, made with branches, where the natives had set snares to

to catch white partridges. This leads me to mention the method the northern Indians use to catch deer in a pound. They first search for a path frequented by those animals; and if it crosses a lake, a wide river, or a barren plain, it is the more favourable for their purpose; especially if woods are near, to supply them with materials for their work. The pound is then built with a strong fence, made of brushy trees, perhaps a mile in circumference. The entrance is not wider than a common gate, and the inside is filled with hedges, in the manner of a labyrinth; in every opening is set a snare, made with thongs of parchment deer-skins, well twisted together, which are extremely strong. These snares are generally fastened by one end to a pole, to prevent the deer from dragging the snare from its situation. When the pound is thus prepared, a row of small brush-wood is stuck up in the snow that covers the frozen lake or plain, where neither stick nor stump besides is to be seen, which makes them a more striking object. These bushes diverge from the entrance of the pound, sometimes for two or three miles, on each side of the deer's path. As soon as the deer are perceived going that way, men, women, and children contrive, by making a circuit, to get, unobserved, behind them. Then they form themselves into a semicircle. The poor timorous deer, finding themselves pursued, run straight forwards into the pound, when the entrance is stopped up with bushes. The men lose no time in following

them into the enclosure; where those that are entangled in the snares are speared, and those that are loose, shot with bows and arrows.

It happened one morning that I had taken a walk with the hunters in pursuit of some deer, when we perceived the track of an uncommon snow shoe. We followed it to a considerable distance, till we were led to a little hut, where a young woman was sitting alone. My companions knew enough of her language to comprehend her story: she told them that she belonged to the tribe of Dog-ribbed Indians, and had been taken prisoner by a party of their enemies; who, though they had adopted her, and treated her with kindness, could never win her affections, as she could not banish from her mind their cruelty in slaughtering her aged father and mother, with the rest of their companions, whom they surprised in the night: therefore, she had taken the first opportunity of making her escape, with the hope of returning to her own country; but that, having been carried away in a canoe, the turnings and windings of the rivers and lakes had so bewildered her, she could not find her way, and had therefore been obliged to build this hut, as a defence against the weather. She said, that she eloped in the month when the birds begin to lay their eggs, and that she had supported herself ever since, which was several months, by snaring partridges, rabbits, and squirrels: she had also contrived to kill two or three beavers, and
some

some porcupines. Fortunately, she had been able to bring with her a few deer sinews, with which she had made her first snares; and afterwards she was obliged to substitute the sinews of the rabbits' legs she had caught, twisted together. The rabbits not only afforded her food, but a neat, warm suit of clothes, that she had made very ingeniously. It was happy for her that necessity obliged her to employ herself in solitude, or she would probably have sunk a victim to despair and melancholy. When she was not engaged in hunting for food, she amused the tedious hours with twisting the inner rind of willows into small lines, like net-twine, of which she intended to have made a fishing net.

Five or six inches of an iron hoop made into a knife, and the shank of an iron arrow head, were the only tools she had; but she was far better qualified to support herself, under such disastrous circumstances, than an European woman, because the Indians not only make their wives and daughters assist them in snaring animals, but they compel them also to perform the most laborious tasks. She was very glad to leave her retreat, and accompany us to our camp. As she had a fine figure, and, with the singularity of her dress, made a striking appearance, she drew general attention; and having given decisive proofs of her cleverness, each of the Indians wished to have her for a wife. A wrestling match took place on the occasion, as it is usual amongst the northern Indians, when two men like
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the same woman, to decide the matter by a contest of this kind; and the poor woman, whose inclination is never consulted, is allotted to the strongest man.

The Indian who first discovered her gained the prize; and whether her preference arose from love or gratitude is difficult to determine, but she seemed perfectly contented with her husband, and highly pleased with her change of situation.

Whilst we were in the extreme high north latitudes, our appetites increased to an astonishing degree; so that we no longer felt surprise at the eagerness for food shown by the northern tribes. During the whole of our course, to the entrance of the Slave Lake, we saw tokens of Indian encampments; but on our approach, the people generally retreated with precipitation to the woods. They were mostly employed in drying fish for the winter, and were often attended with dogs. The weather varied extremely. One day we were pinched with cold; and, probably, the next, overpowered with the heat. Storms of lightning and thunder were frequent; and on one occasion we were obliged to screen ourselves from the stones hurled in the air like sand, by lying flat on the ground. For a considerable time the nights were so light, that the stars could not be perceived, even after the sun descended below the horizon, which, during our stay amongst the islands in the most northern lake, never happened; consequently, it was perpetual day-light. Our fare was varied by fish of different kinds,

kinds, swans, geese, wild-fowl, partridges, hares, and venison, according to our situation; and we always had plenty of berries of different sorts. We crossed the Slave Lake without any material accident; though the weather was very stormy, and we were frequently obliged to land and gum our canoes.

We fell in, one evening, with a lodge of Knisteneaux Indians. Amongst them one man was very much indisposed, from a superstitious idea that his enemies had thrown medicine at him, which he was firmly persuaded would cause his death. Mr. Franklin assumed the character of physician, and professed to have an antidote that would effectually cure him. He made him a harmless mixture, that had such a good effect upon his spirits, that he perfectly recovered.

After so long a voyage, and so many fatigues, we joyfully entered the Lake of the Hills, across which we were speedily wafted by a fair wind to Chepewyan, where we found our former acquaintance in good health, and well pleased at our return. Our voyage being concluded, my journal closes, with the assurance that I ever am, most affectionately, yours,

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER

LETTER XLIII.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Chepewyan Fort.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I ONCE more begin my journal at this place, though I shall probably finish it at a great distance; as Mr. Franklin and I are setting off again, with Mr. Roseberry, for a distant expedition to the south-westward. Mr. Roseberry is attracted thither by the hopes of establishing a profitable trade with the tribes that inhabit those parts, and of discovering a passage, westward, to the Pacific Ocean; and we are drawn by the motive that has already led us so long a dance—curiosity. Mr. Franklin says, that though we have seen the principal parts of the United States and Canada, with some of the Indian nations, yet he wishes to have a better acquaintance with those whose manners have not been changed by a communication with Europeans.

I shall write as opportunity and matter invite me: what follows, therefore, will be a recital of our voyage. We proceeded up the Peace River, along a chain of lakes, the largest of which is the Athabasca, and passed by Peace Point, which

which received its name by a treaty of peace being held there between the Knisteneaux and Beaver Indians; as did the Slave River, from the conquests of the Knisteneaux, who drove the inhabitants near Portage la Loche to a distance, and then called them slaves. A fall of twenty feet obliged us to unload our canoes, and carry them and our luggage across a carrying place. The country we had hitherto passed was low, swampy ground, well clothed with wood. The banks of the river, between this place and Mr. Mackenzie's establishment, were generally lofty, and produce cypress, arrow-wood, and thorn trees. On either side of the river, though not within sight of it, are extensive plains, which abound in buffaloes, elks, wolves, foxes, and bears. The Deer Mountain stretches out to the westward; and opposite to the establishment are beautiful meadows, adorned with irregular groves of poplar, and enlivened by herds of various animals. At this place our ears were frequently regaled with the sweet notes of a small bird, not so large as a robin; the neck, breast, and belly of the cock, are of a deep scarlet; part of the body is of a delicate fawn colour; the wings are black, edged with fawn, and have two white stripes running across them; the tail is variegated, and the head crowned with a tuft. The hen is of a simple fawn colour, except a tippet of glossy yellow.

The Establishment, or Fort, as these trading houses are called, consists of plain boarded houses,
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for the accommodation of the traders in winter; and is provided with a garden, that grows turnips, carrots, parsnips, potatoes, and cabbages. It being now the month of December, and the frost so severe that the workmen's axes became as brittle as glass, determined us to halt here for a few weeks. The weather was sometimes extremely stormy: hurricanes of wind, snow, rain, and hail, frequently confined us within the house; a restraint that I found very disagreeable. Several of the natives took up their abode with us, which gave us an opportunity of observing their customs on particular occasions. A young man, called the Swan, lost his father by an accident. He immediately retired in silence to his lodge, and fired his gun several times, as a notice to his friends not to intrude upon his retirement, because, from his misfortune, he was grown careless of life. The wife of the deceased expressed her grief by cries and tears, and cutting off her hair. She then took a sharp instrument, and, with determined resolution, separated the nail from one of her fingers, and forced back the flesh beyond the first joint, which she cut off. On expressing my astonishment, she showed me that she had lost the first joint of her two other fingers, as tokens of grief for the death of two of her sons. The men consider it a disgrace to shed tears when they are sober; therefore, they sometimes drink till they are intoxicated, that they may indulge freely in lamentations. The

women

women are the slaves of their husbands. They carry heavy loads, and perform the most laborious tasks, whilst their imperious masters walk by their sides with nothing but a gun in their hands. If a spot be chosen for an encampment, the men sit quietly down and enjoy their pipes, leaving the women to fix the poles in circles, that meet at top like a tent, and then cover them with dressed moose-deer skins, sewed together. During the winter, they wear snow shoes, to enable them to traverse the surface of the country, which is a continued sheet of snow at that season. The frames of these shoes are made of birch-wood; and the nettings, of thongs of deer-skin. A very sudden alteration in the season, from the severest inclemency of winter to the delightful beauties of spring, gave us notice it was time to put ourselves again in march. Though the river was still covered with ice, the plains were of a verdant colour; the trees and shrubs in bud, and some of them in flower. This was the middle of April. All things being ready, we set out in our canoes, and encamped where groves of poplars, in every shape, vary the scene; and the open plains between them are enlivened with vast herds of elks and buffaloes. These pleasing scenes, which continued for miles, were succeeded by high white cliffs. As we advanced, a river falls in from the north. There are also several islands and small streams on both sides. We perceived, along the shore, tracks of large

large bears. I was gratified by the sight of the den, or winter quarters, of one of these animals. They are a fierce species, and called the Grizzly Bear. The den was ten feet deep, five feet high, and six feet wide.

We saw some straggling parties of Rocky Mountain Indians. Mr. Roseberry prevailed, by presents and promises, with one of them, to accompany us as a guide; but it was with great reluctance that his father consented to it. "My son, (said he,) your departure makes my heart painful. The white people may be said to rob us of our children. They are going to lead you into the midst of our enemies; and perhaps you will never more return to us. Were you not with the chief, (by which he meant Mr. Roseberry,) I know not what I should do: but he requires your attendance, and you must follow him."

The banks of the river were diversified with woods, clay, rocky cliffs, and earths of red, green, and yellow colours, which I think might be used in the composition of paints. In some places, rivers fall into the main stream; and in others are numerous islands. Poplar and white birch-trees are common; and the country is so thronged with animals, as to recal the idea of a stall-yard. The rocky mountains, with their snow-capped summits, now became visible. After toiling against a strong current, we landed on an island, on which there were eight deserted lodges. The natives
had

had prepared bark for several canoes ; and we perceived traces of a road, along the hills where they had passed. Near it we saw a ground-hog ; and in some places the earth had been turned up by the bears, in search of roots : and over the shore hovered two cormorants, which were probably watching for fish in the river. Soon after this, we had great difficulties to encounter, from eddies, currents, cascades, and rapids, in the river, which was bounded, particularly on one side, by a range of steep, over-hanging rocks, beneath which the current drove our canoe, with almost irresistible impetuosity. Here are several islands of solid rocks, covered with a small portion of verdure, which has been worn away by the constant force of the current. The under part of these islands is so much diminished, probably by the friction of ice at the water's edge, that they have the appearance of large tables, supported by a pedestal. Their principal inhabitants are wild geese, which were, at this time, breeding and rearing their young.

Our Indian guide alarmed us so much by his account of the dangers of the navigation, that Mr. Roseberry, myself, and two of the people, ascended the bank, which was very high, that we might reconnoitre the country before us. As we passed through the woods, we came to an enclosure, which had been formed by the natives for snaring the elk, which was so large, we could not discover

its extent. After travelling for some hours through the forest, which consisted of the spruce, birch, and the largest poplars we had ever seen, we sunk down upon the river, where the bank is low, and near the foot of a mountain, between which and a high ridge, the river flows in a stream of about a hundred yards broad; though, at a small distance below, it rushes on between perpendicular rocks, which confine it within half that breadth. Here we anxiously waited for the arrival of the canoe. After exploring the shore, both ways, we met it at the entrance of the narrow channel, which our people had reached, after inexpressible fatigue and danger. An Indian was then sent forward on shore, to examine the passage, who returned, at the close of evening, with an alarming account of the obstacles before us. Our difficulties increased every mile. In passing the foot of a rock, we were obliged to cut steps in it, for the distance of twenty feet, from which Mr. Franklin, at the hazard of his life, leaped on a small rock beneath, and received four of the men on his shoulders, who, with great labour, dragged up the canoe, and in the attempt injured her. With the branches of a dry tree that had fallen from the upper part of the rock, we made a fire, and repaired our bark, which we towed along the rocks to the next point; though not without risking the safety of the men, who were obliged to pass on the outside of trees that grew on the edge of the precipice. It now became necessary to cross
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the stream, where the water was so rapid, that some of the people prepared themselves for swimming for their lives, by stripping to their shirts. Often were we compelled to unload and carry every thing but the canoe over the rocks; and indeed it required great exertion to prevent her from being dashed to pieces against them, by the violence of the eddies. At length, the agitation of the water was so great, that a wave, striking on the bow of the canoe, broke the line, and filled me, (who was on shore, assisting the men in towing,) with inexpressible terror, when I saw the vessel on the point of being dashed to shivers, and my friends, particularly my revered and beloved Mr. Franklin, in danger of perishing. No words can describe my feelings at that alarming moment; but another wave tranquillized my fears, by driving her out of the tumbling water, when, by the united efforts of the men, she was brought on shore, where we pitched our tents, to give time for consideration on the course we should pursue; for as far as the eye could reach, the river appeared one white sheet of foaming water. Finding the succession of rapids and cascades impassable, Mr. Roseberry determined to attempt ascending the mountain with the baggage and canoe: an undertaking that must have been impracticable, but for the united courage and perseverance of Mr. Roseberry and Mr. Franklin, who encouraged the men by their example and firmness, to perform what many would
have

have deemed impossible. At break of day we all started, and every man took an active part in cutting a road up the mountain. To accomplish this they were obliged to fell the trees that stood in the way, which they generally contrived should fall parallel with the road, without separating them entirely from the roots; so that they formed a kind of railing on each side. The steep shelving rocks increased the difficulty of bringing the baggage from the side of the river to the encampment, as the first man who made a false step must have fallen headlong into the water. The canoe was dragged up the precipice, by having the line doubled, and fastened to the stumps as they advanced. Before afternoon the whole was safely lodged, with indefatigable labour, on the summit, where we perceived ourselves surrounded by mountains still higher, whose tops were covered with snow. We took up our abode for the night, near a rivulet that issues from a large mass of ice or snow. In this unpleasant march, we saw spruce, red pine, cypress, poplar, red birch, willow, alder, arrow-wood, red-wood, liard, service-tree; and bois-picant, which rises about nine feet high, grows in joints, without branches, and is tufted at the end. The stem is small, and of equal thickness from top to bottom, and is covered with small prickles. There were also gooseberry and current trees, and several kinds of briars. Our descent led us down some steep hills, and through a wood of tall pines.

After

After all this toil and trouble, we reached the river above the rapids, without any material accident, and once more entrusted ourselves to the watery element. There were mountains on all sides of us; one, especially, of a very great height. The river became extremely wide, and full of islands, which again changed to more confined bounds, and a smooth, strong current. With some variations we proceeded to a beautiful sheet of water, which was seen to advantage from the rays of a brilliant sun sparkling on its surface. At the termination of this prospect, the river was barred with rocks, forming cascades and small islands. There was likewise a chain of mountains running south and north, as far as we could see. We at length arrived at a fort, where the river separates into two branches. By the advice of our guide, we took that which inclined to the east. In the course of this day's voyage, we observed a vast number of beaver lodges. In some places these active, sagacious animals had cut down several acres of large poplars; and we saw a great number of them. The time which these wonderful creatures allot for their labours, either in erecting their curious habitations, or providing food, is the whole interval between the rising and the setting sun. Of late, the weather had been extremely cold: it now suddenly changed to a degree of heat that we found overpowering. This alteration brought back our old tormentors, the gnats and musquitoes;

and we were frequently incommoded with heavy rains and thunder-storms.

Having already passed beyond the knowledge of our guide, we were anxious to meet with some of the natives, who could give us further information of the course we should pursue to come to the sea, the object we had in view. A smell of fire, and the noise of people in the woods, appeared favourable to our wishes; but they were shy, and for some time concealed themselves. A length, two men ventured to an eminence opposite to us, brandishing their spears; displaying their bows and arrows; and, with loud shouts, expressing a hostile disposition. Our interpreter was some time before he could persuade them we were friends, who visited their country only from curiosity. As soon as we landed, Mr. Roseberry took each of them by the hand. One of the two, as a token of submission, drew a knife from his sleeve, and presented it to him, shaking with fear at the same time. Their party consisted only of three men, three women, and a few boys and girls. They examined us, and every thing about us, with the most minute and suspicious attention, doubting yet whether we were friends or enemies. They had heard, indeed, of white men, but had never seen any before, which readily accounts for their alarm on our appearance. The tallest of them did not exceed five feet six or seven inches in height. They had meagre countenances, though their faces were

were round, which might be attributed to the hardness and uncertainty of their fare. They had high cheek-bones, and small dark brown eyes, with hair of a dingy black, hanging in loose disorder over their shoulders; and their complexion was of a swarthy yellow. Their dress consisted of robes, made of the skins of the beaver, the ground hog, and the rein-deer, dressed in the hair; and of the moose-skin, without it. All of them were ornamented with a fringe, and some of them had tassels hanging down the seams. The tails of the animal were left hanging on those made of the skin of the ground-hog, which served instead of tassels. They tie these robes over the shoulders, and fasten them round the middle with a belt of green skin, as stiff as horn. Their leggins and shoes resemble those of the other tribes. The women's dress is much the same, except the addition of an apron that reaches to the knees. Their hair is divided from the forehead to the crown, and drawn back in long plaits behind the ears. As destitute as these people are of every thing we Europeans call comfort, they wear bracelets of horn and bone; and the men only have the privilege of being adorned with necklaces, made of the claws of the grisly or white bear. Their arms are spears, and bows and arrows, which, with their knives and tools, are partly made of iron; a circumstance that convinced Mr. Roseberry they had communication with some of the tribes that border the sea-coast; though they either

could not, or were unwilling to direct our course thither. Bribes at length prevailed with one of them to join our party, as a guide. They showed us snares made of green skin, cut to the size of sturgeon twine; and though, when a number of them are twisted together, they do not exceed the thickness of a cod-line, yet they are strong enough to hold a moose-deer. Their nets and fishing lines are made of willow-bark and nettles. We parted in a friendly manner, which was mutually expressed by presents. They gave us some trout, and two quivers of excellent arrows, which we repaid in beads and pemican. We again embarked, with our new guide, who regarded Mr. Roseberry as a being of a superior nature, whom he was bound to obey; an idea that was very convenient, as his attendance was essentially necessary. We passed a river on the left, at the foot of a mountain, which, from its cone-like form, we named the Beaver Lodge Mountain. As we advanced, this mountain changed its appearance to that of a succession of round hills, covered with woods almost to their summits, which were white with snow, and crowned with withered trees. By the direction of our guide, we now quitted the main branch, as he assured us it would soon terminate. The stream we pursued led us through a succession of small lakes. We saw great numbers of swans, geese, and ducks; and gathered plenty of wild parsnips. Blue jays, yellow birds, and one beautiful

tiful humming bird, sported amongst the trees, which were principally spruce, white birch, willow, and alder. Here we reached the source of Unjigah, or Peace River, which, after a winding course through a vast extent of country, receiving many large rivers in its progress, and passing through the Slave Lake, discharges its waters into the Frozen Ocean. Having perceived a beaten path, we landed and unloaded where the natives had formerly encamped. They had left baskets hanging on the trees, in which we found a net, some hooks, a goat's horn, and a wooden trap for taking the ground-hog. Here two streams tumble down the rocks into the lake we had left; whilst two others fall from the opposite heights, and glide into the lake, to which we now committed ourselves, without an apprehension of the dangers and sufferings that awaited us. In the midst of a rapid current, our canoe struck, and notwithstanding all our exertions, the violence of the stream drove her sideways down the river, and broke her by the first bar. We all instantly jumped into the water; but before we could, with our united force, either set her straight, or stop her, we came to such a depth of water, that we were obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. We were scarcely seated, when she drove against a rock; which shattered the stern in such a manner, that the steersman could no longer keep his place. The violence of this shock drove us to the opposite

side of the river, when the bow met with the same fate as the stern. At this moment the foreman seized on some branches of a small tree, in hopes of bringing up the canoe; but such was their elasticity, that, to our great surprise, he was jerked on shore in an instant, with a degree of violence that endangered his life. But our own danger was too great to leave us at leisure to enquire into his fate; for, in a few moments, we came across a cascade, that broke several large holes in the bottom of the canoe. The wreck becoming flat on the water, we all jumped out, and held fast to it. In this situation we were forced several hundred yards, with the constant expectation of being overwhelmed. When our strength was nearly exhausted, and every one began to think death inevitable, we came to shallow water and a small eddy, where, from the weight of the canoe resting on the stones, we were enabled to stop its further progress; and calling to the people on shore for assistance, amongst whom we espied the foreman unhurt, we were rescued from this imminent danger. The joy of escape was so great, that we scarcely considered our misfortune as it really deserved; our whole stock of balls, and some other useful articles, being irretrievably lost by this accident, and our canoe so shattered as to be unfit for service. In this deplorable condition, most men would have thought of nothing but the speediest means of return. The resolution of Mr. Franklin and Mr.

Roseberry

Roseberry was not to be shaken. They both were determined to overcome every obstacle within the power of man to subdue. They consoled the people, who were ready to despair, with kind attentions; and alleviated their fatigue with rest, and the best refreshments they could provide. When they were well recruited, they animated their drooping courage by exhortations, and well-timed praises of their past courage, which, with the prospect of soon reaching a smoother river, had such an effect, that they declared they were ready to follow wherever they would lead them. Our first employment was to seek for bark to repair our canoe; a task not effected without difficulty. Several falls in the river, and the obstruction of trees that lay across it, rendered a passage impracticable for miles; and every man was obliged to assist in carrying the canoe and the lading through a low, swampy country, their feet frequently sticking in quagmires of mud. Wearied with this laborious exertion, we sometimes ventured to put the canoe into the water; but her progress was soon interrupted by the drift wood and prostrate trees, which compelled us to advance alternately by land and water, according to circumstances, till we joyfully arrived on the bank of a navigable river, on the west side of the first great range of mountains.

Here I will close this part of my narrative, thinking it will be more convenient to you to

divide it. In another letter, I shall relate the future events of our journey. Adieu. Ever your affectionate

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XLIV.

Arthur Middleton to his Brother Edwin.

Tacoutche Tesse, or Columbia.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

THE excessive fatigues we had lately undergone made it necessary to halt, to recruit the strength and spirits of our men. Mr. Roseberry was, however, anxious to re-embark as soon as possible. The country, for some time, was rather low, and our view confined by woods, at a small distance from the banks. A little beyond, the river divided into two branches. We followed the most westerly course, and had not proceeded far before clouds of thick smoke rose from the woods, accompanied with a strong odour of the gum of cypress and the spruce fir; but notwithstanding that, we saw none of the natives. The banks here are composed of high, white cliffs, crowned with pinnacles in very grotesque shapes, that, with the assistance of a lively imagination, might

might be compared to a succession of Gothic towers, whilst the river at their base tumbled in cascades and impetuous whirlpools, that complete the romantic scenery. This irregularity in the river once more obliged us to convey our crazy bark on the men's shoulders for more than half a mile, over a most rugged, rocky hill. After this fatigue, we partook, with our brave fellows, of a refreshing meal of pemican, rendered savory with wild onions, that grew plentifully on the banks, which were overshadowed by lofty firs and wide-spreading cedars. Our Indians shot the largest of two red deer, which came to the edge of the water to drink; and, from the number of their tracks, we suppose that they abound in this country. Many of the spruce trees had been stripped of their bark, probably by the natives, to make coverings for their cabins. The shores now became of a moderate height, covered with poplars and cypresses. We passed a comfortable night under the shelter of an Indian house, deserted by its inhabitants. It was of considerable size, and had accommodations for three families. Behind the beds was a narrow space, a little raised, for the purpose of keeping fish. The walls were formed of very straight spruce timbers, and the roof was of bark, supported by spars, resting on a ridge pole, fastened together by the fibres of the cedar. Along the upper part of the building were fixed large rods, on which they hang their fish to dry. The most extraordinary piece of furniture

left in this dwelling was a machine to catch large fish, of such unwieldy dimensions, that the house must have been unroofed to let it in. It somewhat resembled an eel-basket in form, and was made of long pieces of split wood, placed an inch asunder, on six hoops. A boat of the same material was added to it, into which the fish may be driven, when they are to be taken out of the machine. On a point, at a little distance, we discovered an oblong heap, neatly walled and covered with bark, which we conjectured to be a tomb. Near it was fixed a pole, ten or twelve feet high, with a piece of bark hanging to it, which might express some memorial of the deceased. Several rivers, from different quarters, occasionally joined the main stream; and many islands appeared, on some of which we observed Indian houses, like that I have just described. The cliffs are of various colours and shapes. In one place they rose like ancient castles, of white and red clay; and in another, the forms were equally grotesque, but of blue and yellow.

We perceived a canoe with one man in it, who, on seeing us, immediately gave the whoop, to alarm his friends on shore, who obeyed his summons, by their hostile appearance on the bank; being armed with bows and arrows, and spears, which they brandished, by way of defiance. According to our interpreters, they threatened us with instant death, if we should offer to land; and,

as

as a confirmation of that threat, discharged a volley of arrows at us, which, however, passed over the boat without hurting us. As we stood greatly in need of information for our future course, Mr. Franklin offered to go alone to the beach opposite to where they were, hoping they would consider it as a mark of confidence, and an offer of friendship. His scheme succeeded. Two of them put off in a canoe, but had not courage to land, till he had invited them by a display of looking-glasses, beads, and other alluring trinkets. At length they ventured to land; and were persuaded to sit down, and suffer our interpreters to approach, who assured them of our friendly intentions. We were now admitted to join their friends on the opposite shore, amongst whom Mr. Roseberry distributed presents, and treated their children with sugar. In reply to his questions concerning the country before us, they told him that the river runs a vast way towards the mid-day sun; and, at its mouth, as they had heard, white people, who came in canoes as big as islands, were building houses: that, besides the difficulties of the navigation, which in many parts were great, we should suffer from the hostile disposition of the natives, who were of a ferocious character. This unwelcome intelligence did not deter our leader from continuing his design. He persuaded two of their people to go with us as conductors, and prepared for our departure. I should remark, that this was

a fishing party, but just arrived from a distance, intending to pass the summer here, for the sake of providing a store of fish against the winter. They were busy in making machines of the same kind as that we had seen in the deserted house. They were clad in leather, and had some beaver and rabbit skin blankets. Their manners and appearance nearly resemble those of the Rocky Mountain Indians. It was not long before we were again tempted to land, by the appearance of a subterranean house, the roof of which only could be seen above ground. The fear of us had driven the inhabitants away. They, however, appeared on a neighbouring mountain, in a menacing posture, making the most frantic gestures, and holding their bows and arrows ready to shoot. Their robes were fastened round the neck, but the right arm was left free, and beneath it hung a blanket, or leather covering, which might be used as a kind of shield. After some efforts, we found means to gain their confidence and friendship. An elderly man, who seemed to be a person of authority, stretched out something like a map of the country, for our guidance, on a piece of bark; though he could not help expressing his astonishment at Mr. Roseberry's enquiries, as he said he thought white men knew every thing. Mr. Roseberry, desirous of maintaining this idea of superiority, replied, that they certainly were acquainted with the principal circumstances of every part of the world, but

but that he did not know the obstructions he might meet with in passing down that river, as well as those who lived on its banks. Being assured from the reports of this people, who are called the Atnak tribe, that the navigation would be long and difficult, if not impracticable, Mr. Roseberry determined to return up the river, as far as the Nagailers, or Carrier Indians, the last nation we had seen, and then endeavour to penetrate to the sea over land.

Our canoe was in such a crazy condition, that it was scarcely safe for service. A young man, who had promised to go with us to introduce us as friends to the next tribes, chose to go by land, and engaged to meet us at the subterranean house: on seeing him again, he assured us that there was a plot to destroy us, or prevent our progress. Accordingly, wherever we landed, the houses were deserted, and every thing left to our mercy, in such haste had the inhabitants abandoned them. A general terror seemed to have possessed them and our men equally, who were earnest to return home; but the firm composure of Mr. Roseberry, seconded by Mr. Franklin, deterred them from their project. We passed a painful night under the remains of a broken shed, two of us watching whilst the rest slept. Towards morning, as it was my turn to keep on the look out, I was surprised by a rustling in the woods, and incessant barking of our faithful dog. I kept my eye fixed on the part
whence

whence the noise proceeded, when I observed something like a man, creeping on all-fours. I called up Mr. Roseberry without delay, and it proved to be an old, grey-headed, blind man, who had been driven by extreme hunger to leave his hiding-place. From him we learned that the people regarded us as enemies; especially as we had returned by the river, contrary to our declared intention, and, from a motive of self-defence, had abandoned their habitations, and dispersed themselves in the woods, to such distance that a considerable time must pass before they could rally again. This intelligence was most unwelcome to all our party, who wished to pursue the object that first drew us into the uncultivated wilds; as we well knew it would be impossible to proceed without a guide, and our young man had fled with the rest. Our situation was now every way alarming; our men were in ill humour, approaching to rebellion; our provisions and ammunition ran short; and the natives were not only jealous of our designs, but determined to prevent us from putting them in execution. We occasionally saw a few stragglers, either in canoes or on the shore: our entreaties to them were unavailing: they fled from us as if they were afraid of a pestilential infection.

The canoe was become so leaky, that we were under the necessity of building a new one. The blind man, whom we fed and won by kind treatment, directed us to a place where we might get plenty of cedar:

cedar and bark. Every man had his part assigned him; and in a day or two the work was finished, much to Mr. Roseberry's satisfaction. This gave the men fresh spirits; especially as we perceived two men in a canoe, who landed on the island where we then were, and one of them was our guide, who declared he never intended to desert us, but that he had been all this time seeking for his relations, who had been seized with the general panic. He was covered with a painted beaver robe, so that we scarcely knew him in this new garb. During our stay on this island, we were inexpressibly teased by the sand-fly, and were obliged to be put on the short allowance of two meals a day. One of our repasts was composed of the dried rows of fish, pounded and boiled in water, thickened with a small quantity of flour and a little fat. You may smile at our cookery; but use and necessity reconciled us to it, and gave us, at least, the advantage of the habit of moderation, and contentment with plain fare, which is valuable in every situation of life.

We had some difficulty in repassing the rapids, but not so great as before. We fell in with a party of the Nascud Denee Indians, whose friendship was secured by our guide, who, as a reward for his fidelity, was dressed by Mr. Roseberry in a jacket, trowsers, and European hat.

Here we were obliged to leave our canoe, with such things as were too bulky to carry on our backs.

backs. In order to preserve them against our return, we erected a sort of stage, on which the canoe was placed, bottom upwards, and defended from the sun by branches of trees. Near it was built a long square of logs, to contain the rest of our treasure. Having taken these precautions, we set out on our perilous journey by land, each man carrying a load of pemican on his shoulders, and an equal weight of ammunition, besides his gun. The first day we marched twelve miles, through woods, along a rugged path, and were glad to repose our weary limbs at an Indian camp of three fires. A party from the westward joined us, and raised our hopes by the assurance that it was not more than eight days' journey to the sea. They proposed to send two young men before us, to prepare the natives for our approach, and ensure us a favourable reception, which was thankfully accepted.

We followed our guides along the edge of a lake, through thick woods, and without any path for some distance. We then crossed a creek, and entered upon a beaten track, through an open country, sprinkled with cypress trees. At noon the sky became black, and a heavy gust, with rain, succeeded, attended with a violent hail-storm. The ground was covered with hail-stones of an enormous size, such as we had never seen before; and as the rain continued, we fixed up a thin, light, oil-cloth, to shelter us from it, and under this covering we passed the night.

night. The next day we travelled along a level country, embellished with fir-trees; but as we had seen no water, we suffered from intolerable thirst.

The natives that we now fell in with, bore a different appearance from any we had yet seen. Amongst them was a woman, who had come from the sea-coast: she was rather corpulent, of low stature, had grey eyes, and a flattish nose. She was dressed out in various finery, such as large blue beads, either hanging from her ears, braided in her hair, or encircling her neck. She also wore bracelets of brass, copper, and horn. Her under dress was a kind of tunic, covered with a robe of matted bark, fringed round the bottom with sea-otter skin. These people appear to treat age with the greatest reverence and affection; for we observed an old woman, who from extreme age was quite blind and unable to walk, whom they carried by turns on their backs. They are equally attentive to the memory of their deceased relations, as appeared from a middle-aged woman, whom we saw earnestly weeding a circular spot; and on enquiring the cause of this care, from which our approach did not in the least disturb her, the by-standers informed us, that the ashes of her husband and her son were buried there; and that she never passed that way without paying this tribute of her regard.

As we advanced, the country became more
thickly

thickly inhabited. By the good offices of our couriers, we had generally a hospitable reception, and were sometimes regaled with a few dried fish. We frequently changed our guides, few being willing to go with us a great way from home; but when they reached the extent that suited their convenience, they transferred us to others, who in their turn escorted us as far as they chose, or perhaps as long as they had any personal acquaintance with the inhabitants.

The West-road river crossed our path: we forded it about knee deep and a hundred yards wide. Twelve dreary miles we passed over an extensive swamp, in which we were often over the ankles: an evil that was increased by rainy weather. In this part of the road we were struck with the singular appearance of several regular basins: some were filled with water, and others were empty; but whether they were natural or artificial, could not be ascertained. We arrived at the banks of another considerable river, abounding with fish, which afforded us an agreeable change of food; game of all kinds having been unaccountably scarce. We proceeded beneath a range of beautiful hills; and beyond them, to the south, we discovered the tops of mountains covered with snow. The river being too deep to ford, we crossed it on a raft, and then marched till we reached two houses pleasantly situated. We entered them, and found them without inhabitants; but as the furniture was not removed,

we

we supposed the owners were at no great distance. Near them were several graves or monuments of the dead, which the natives greatly revere, and never suffer any weeds or grass to grow upon them. A little beyond we fell in with a party of Red-fish men, who appeared more healthy, cleanly, and agreeable, than any of the natives we had yet seen. They told us there were but a few days' journey to the sea. They showed no signs of alarm at our appearance; nor did they express more than surprise at the sound of our fire-arms, though one of our hunters killed an eagle in their presence. A most uncomfortable succession of rainy weather increased the difficulties of our journey: we were often drenched to the skin, and obliged to halt to dry our clothes. This part of the country is intersected with rivulets, lakes, and swamps.

All our guides having deserted us, we were at a loss which way to proceed; and under great apprehensions from the natives, who, unapprised of our approach, or the design of our journey, might mistake us for enemies, and treat us as if we were so. In this state of uneasiness and doubt, we suddenly came to a house built in a verdant plain, near the side of the river. Mr. Roseberry, with his usual courage, entered it alone. The women and children, on beholding him, uttered the most horrid shrieks, believing that they were attacked by enemies, and that they should be all immediately massacred. A
man

man that was with them fled out at a back door, before Mr. Roseberry could prevent his flight.

A display of beads and trinkets, with gentleness of manners, gradually allayed their apprehensions, and prevailed with the women to bring back the man, who, after repeated efforts, returned with a companion, who harangued us in a very loud tone of voice. The purport of his address was, that he trusted in our mercy, and we might kill him if it was our pleasure; though he hoped for our friendship, rather than our enmity. Having conciliated them by gifts, the first man and his son agreed to accompany us; and, that they might not be burdensome, they supported themselves by fishing, and the inner bark of trees, that they stripped off with a thin piece of bone. This food is very agreeable to them, and is of a glutinous quality, with a clammy, sweet taste.

Our path now wound over the mountains; sometimes climbing the steep ascents, then descending their rugged sides. The fatigue of this laborious march was alleviated by the assurance of our guides, that, at the termination of this high range, we should reach the ocean. We passed a number of houses, but never saw one in this country without a tomb belonging to it. Our present guides were very communicative; from them we learned that they sometimes burned their dead, except the larger bones, which are rolled up in bark, and hung on poles near the tomb. On other occasions they bury the corpse, and when the same family

family loses another relation, the remains of the person last interred are taken out of the grave and burned: so that the individuals of the same family make room for each other, and one tomb serves a whole race through succeeding generations.

The face of the country continued much as I last described it. We met with several rivers of different magnitudes: some we forded, and others we crossed on rafts; though, if the current was not too strong, I generally preferred swimming, an exercise in which I am become very expert.

We were joined by a numerous party of men, women, and children, of a most friendly disposition, who said they were going on a fishing expedition; and as their road was the same as ours, they offered to travel in company, which was very agreeable to us. Their aspect was very pleasing, and their complexion fairer than the tribes we had hitherto seen; perhaps because their skins were in a more cleanly condition. The women wore their hair tied in large loose knots over the ears, and neatly plaited from the division of the head. These tresses were intermingled with beads, disposed with some degree of taste. The men were dressed in leather, and their hair nicely combed. Every man, woman, and child, carried a load of beaver-coating and parchment, skins of the otter, marten, bear, lynx, and dressed moose-skins, in proportion to their strength, which they intended to barter with the people of the sea-coast, who sell them to
white

white men that visit these parts, as they told us, in canoes like floating houses. At noon we sat down on a pleasant green spot, to partake of our allowance of pemican, with wild parsnips for our sauce. Whilst we were thus employed, the leader of the party and one of his companions engaged in a sort of game. They had each a bundle of about fifty small sticks, neatly polished, of the size of a quill, and five inches long : some of these sticks had red lines round them, and as many of these as one of the players chose, were curiously rolled up in dry grass, and his antagonist lost or won, according as he guessed their number and marks. The loser parted with a bow and arrows, and several other articles. A sudden caprice determined our new companions to change their route, and transfer us to other guides; though not till they had increased our exhausted store of provisions, by a kettle of boiled fish roes, mixed, to the thickness of a pudding, with strong, rancid oil. These strangers led us through woods to the banks of another river that flowed from the mountain: the country beyond it was swampy, and encumbered with a multitude of fallen trees.

Having passed this tract, we began to ascend; and though surrounded by mountains covered with snow, we were much teased with musquitoes. In one of the valleys, at the foot of a mountain, we saw a great number of moles; and presently afterwards perceived many ground hogs, and heard them whistle in every direction. We now gained a barren

barren summit, unenlivened with verdure or shrubs. Here we were attacked by a violent hurricane of wind, hail, rain, and snow, and could find no other shelter than the leeward side of a huge rock. A stupendous mountain rose before us, whose snow-clad summit was lost in the clouds; but the river to which our course was directed rolled between us and it. As we proceeded, we seemed to leave the mountains and descend into the level country; and, in our way, saw larger and loftier elder and cedar trees than we had ever seen in any country.

We followed the tract of our guides, who had gone before us, to a village, where we arrived late in the evening. Mr. Roseberry, with his accustomed courage, entered the first house, without waiting for an invitation. The people were busy in cooking fish: they directed us by signs to go to a large house, erected on upright posts, at some distance from the ground. A broad piece of timber, with steps cut in it, formed the entrance, by which we ascended, and passed three fires, at equal distances, in the middle of the building. Several people, seated upon a very wide board, at the upper end of it, received us kindly, and directed a mat to be placed before Mr. Roseberry, Mr. Franklin, and myself; and then brought a roasted salmon for each of us, distinguishing us from our people, to whom they gave only half our portion. Our meal was finished by two large dishes of salmon roes, pounded
fine;

fine; one beat up with water to a fine cream, the other flavoured with gooseberries, and an herb that we took for sorrel. In the morning they regaled us again with roasted salmon, and small fruits, such as gooseberries, whirtieberries, and raspberries; and, instead of bread, the dried roes of fish. The river abounds with salmon, which seems to form the chief riches of the people, as well as to supply them with the principal part of their food. In order to secure a quantity of this fish, they have contrived an embankment or weir, constructed with great ingenuity across the river, near which they place their machines, both above and below the weir. The water of this river resembles ass's milk, which Mr. Franklin attributed to the limestone through which it passes. There is another species of fish found here, called dilly: it is broader than the salmon, its colour is inclined to grey, and it has a hunch on its back: the flesh is white, but not well flavoured. The jaw and teeth of this animal resemble that of a dog; and the teeth bend inward, like the claws of a bird of prey. The tribe that inhabit the Friendly Village, (for so we named it,) seem to hold all kinds of animal food, except fish, in abhorrence; nay, so far do they carry their superstitious ideas on this point, that they were not willing to permit us to depart by water, lest we should drive the fish from the river, by the smell of venison in the canoe. As they supplied us liberally with salmon, we left our venison, in
order

order to give them satisfaction, and took our leave in a canoe procured from the natives.

I cannot relate the progress of our journey, without first describing the dress of our hospitable friends, which consists of a single robe, tied over the shoulders, reaching behind to the heels, and before only to the knees, with a deep fringe round the bottom. These robes are generally made of the bark of the cedar tree, which is prepared as fine as hemp: some of them are interwoven with strips of the sea-otter skin, that gives them the appearance of a fur on one side. In addition to this robe, the women wear a close fringe, hanging down before in the shape of an apron. The men smear their hair, which is worn in plaits, with oil and red earth, which renders it impracticable to use a comb; they have, therefore, a small stick, tied by a string to one lock, to scratch their heads when they are troublesome. They carry their children in a cradle slung over one shoulder, which is made of a frame fixed to a board, and lined with moss. In rainy weather, instead of a great coat, the men defend themselves from the wet by a garment, something like a smock-frock, made of matting, that throws off the water.

With no small reluctance we left these benevolent strangers, who deputed seven of their countrymen to navigate our canoe, and attend us to the next village, which was situated at the distance of some miles. Their skill in managing the canoe

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exceeded

exceeded that of our Canadians, who are thought to excel most other nations in that art.

Our guides, as on former occasions, went before, to give notice of our approach to the inhabitants of the village near which we landed. The expectation of our arrival put them into extreme confusion; and when we entered, they were running, armed, from house to house, as if preparing to receive an enemy.

Mr. Roseberry, as our chief, walked up to them with undaunted resolution, which quieted their apprehensions: they laid down their weapons, and crowded round us with the most curious attention. Whilst we were thus pressed on all sides, an elderly man broke from the multitude, and took Mr. Roseberry in his arms, which rather alarmed us who were behind him: but we ourselves were presently treated in the same manner by others, when we discovered that these embraces were designed as a welcome; and, as a further token of good will, a young man pulled off a handsome robe of sea-otter skin, and placed it on Mr. Roseberry. The chief, by his authority, delivered us from the troublesome curiosity of the populace, and conducted us to his own house, which was larger, and formed of better materials, than the rest. He directed mats to be spread before it, upon which we were desired to sit; whilst he and his counsellors placed themselves opposite to us, and the people kept a respectful distance. In the space between us, mats of very neat quality were laid, which

which served us for a table-cloth ; and we had a small roasted salmon put before each of us. We were next treated with cakes made of the inner rind of the hemlock-tree sprinkled with oil, which are esteemed a great delicacy by the natives. At close of day we were permitted to retire to a lodge erected for us.

Salmon is their principal food, and abundantly supplied from the river, where we saw thousands of them strung on cords, and fastened to stakes fixed in the water. They are as superstitious as their neighbours with respect to the river, and would not suffer us to dip our kettle in it, lest the smell of iron should drive away the fish. It is likely that we often misunderstood their meaning, as none of our interpreters understood their language; consequently, we could have no means of conveying our thoughts to each other but by signs.

The whole village contained only four elevated houses, and seven built on the ground ; besides a great many sheds, which served for kitchens and for curing their fish. The four houses that were raised on posts were of great length and breadth. In the middle were several hearths ; which not only warm the apartment, but are used for cooking the fish. The whole length of the building is divided by cedar planks into small apartments. On poles that run along the beams, hang roasted fish ; and the roof is covered with boards and bark, except a few

open spaces on each side of the ridge pole, left to admit the light and let the smoke escape.

Near the dwelling of the chief were several oblong squares, built of thick cedar boards, and painted with hieroglyphics and figures of different animals, appropriated, as we supposed, to acts of devotion, such as sacrifices, &c. There was also, in the middle of the village, a large, open building, that I should call a temple, though rudely built, supported by posts cut out into human figures in different attitudes. At one time we observed four heaps of salmon, each consisting of several hundred fish, piled up before the door of the chief's house. Sixteen women were employed in preparing and cleaning them. After the head is cut off, it is boiled, and the flesh is partly cut from the back bone, which is immediately roasted. The rest of the flesh is also roasted and kept for future use.

As the last act of hospitality, the chief ordered out his own large canoe, to convey us on our voyage. In this vessel, he told us, he formerly went a vast way, with forty of his people, towards the mid-day sun, where he saw two huge vessels full of white men. This canoe was black, and adorned with representations of different kinds of fish, painted white: the gunwhale was inlaid with the teeth of the sea-otter. We embarked in it, with several of the natives, and proceeded by a very rapid current, interrupted by some cascades. We passed a few villages and detached houses, at which

we

we occasionally landed. The inhabitants of one of them were engaged in different employments. Some of the women were beating the inner rind of the cedar bark, to a state resembling flax; others were spinning with a distaff and a spindle. One of them was weaving a robe of this material, intermixed with stripes of the sea-otter, on a frame placed against the side of the house. The men were fishing with drag-nets between two canoes. These nets are forced by poles to the bottom, the current driving them before it. Thus the salmon are intercepted by their nets, and by their struggles give notice when they are caught.

Here the river is divided into numerous channels, which discharge into an arm of the sea. Porpoises, seals, and sea-otters, were sporting in the water; and one of our hunters shot a white-headed eagle. Our stock of provisions running very low, and the natives we had lately seen not offering us a share of theirs, we were obliged to make a meal upon a porcupine, boiled in small pieces. The coast is intersected with bays and inlets, and appeared to be tolerably inhabited, by the number of canoes that we saw paddling near the shore.

We took our station on a projecting rock, sheltered from the weather by one above it, and defended from any attack from the natives, by the difficulty of getting to it; which seemed a necessary precaution, as they did not appear well inclined towards us, from the misrepresentations of

a quarrelsome fellow, and two or three of his comrades, who inhabited the islands, and carried on a trade in cedar bark, fish spawn, copper, iron, and beads, which they barter for roasted salmon, hemlock-bark cakes, and cakes made of salmon roes, sorrel, and bitter berries.

Having conducted you to the ocean, I must also bring this long epistle to a conclusion, and leave it to Mr. Franklin to relate the events that befel us at this place, with some further remarks on the inhabitants. Farewell.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

LETTER XLV.

Mr. Franklin to Edwin Middleton.

Mackenzie's Outlet.

MY DEAR EDWIN,

IN order to complete our narrative, I must continue Arthur's account of our reception amongst the inhabitants of the coast of the Pacific Ocean, who are a very different people from the Indians in the interior parts of the country. Their complexion is between the olive and the copper. Their small grey eyes have a tinge of red; and

their

their heads are formed like a wedge, which arises from the custom of enclosing the heads of infants in boards covered with leather, till they attain that shape. Many of their habits and modes of life differ also much from the interior tribes, as you must have observed by your brother's account. One morning, as we were consulting on the plan of our return to Fort Chepewyan, a young chief, who had accompanied us as a guide, approached our encampment, with joy and astonishment in his countenance, telling us that some of our countrymen had arrived in a huge canoe, which lay behind a point of land in the channel to the south-west of us; and, as a proof of the truth of this story, he showed us an English halfpenny, which he had received for some small fruit. You may believe this intelligence was very agreeable to all our party. The idea of meeting, in this remote part of the world, people whose manners resembled our own, and whose interests were the same, was an inexpressible pleasure.

We soon followed the young chief to the shore, where we saw a boat full of white men, attempting to land; and amongst the busiest of the crew, a negro, in whom Arthur soon recognized his faithful Sancho. The vessel was an American trader, from the port of Salem; and the object of the voyage, the skins of the sea-otter, which they purposed to dispose of at Canton in China. Sancho had invested his little capital in a share of the cargo: and in order to traffic with it to the best advantage,

made the voyage in person. The interchange of expressions of regard and satisfaction, between Arthur and Sancho, I leave you to imagine.

They had no sooner landed, than the natives flocked about them; and, from our united numbers, treated us with more respect than they had done before their arrival. A traffic now took place between these strangers and the natives. The former collected a considerable number of sea-otter skins, to which they added those of some other animals; whilst the ship's crew displayed an assortment of knives, scissars, looking-glasses, guns, iron pots and kettles, and other utensils for domestic purposes, besides trinkets and beads. Whilst they were making their bargains, it occurred to me, that if, by the good offices of Sancho, Arthur and I could procure a passage to Canton, it was likely we should meet there with an Indiaman, that would convey us to our native country; as we had now explored the principal civilized parts of North America, and I had no inclination to return through the same uncultivated tract that we had lately passed from Fort Chepewyan. I felt a reluctance in leaving Mr. Roseberry to struggle with the difficulties of such a journey alone; but he was so well convinced of the propriety of the measure, that he over-ruled my scruples. The captain is a well-disposed man, and readily agrees with our proposal. If the wind be fair, we shall sail in a few days, and leave this continent, which has presented us with such a suc-
cession

cession of different scenes, perhaps for ever. A recapitulation of the leading features of the chief districts of the country, may not be amiss, after the minute recitals you have received of our travels, in this long and varied excursion.

The southern states are rich in vegetable productions, and abound in animals of various kinds. They are inhabited by cultivators of tobacco, rice, and corn, who enjoy, in a luxurious mode of life, the produce of the labour of the wretched negro slave. The newly established settlements to the westward are furnished liberally with natural productions. They possess a warm climate, immense forests, and magnificent rivers. The staple commodity is cotton, which is easily raised by the inhabitants, whose manners are simple and laborious, and who feel an independence from the equality of their condition. Vast tracts of this country are occupied by Indian nations, who are supported by the labours of the chase.

The middle provinces are in a high state of cultivation, and present many large, populous towns, grown rich by trade, manufactures, and commerce. The useful arts of life, in great variety, occupy and enrich the people; who are more polished and luxurious than those who live to the westward of the Allegany Mountains, but less so than the wealthy planters of the southern states.

The eastern coast is a woody, fertile tract, yielding pasture to numerous herds of cattle, which, with the
timber

timber of the forests, and the fish of the ocean, form the treasures and occupation of a hardy race of men, who are either graziers, wood-cutters, or sailors.

The lakes, rivers, and cataracts of Canada, are on the grandest scale. The extremes of winter and summer are felt in this climate, but no middle season. The manners of the people, like their descent, are of French origin, and retain strong marks of their ancient customs. A happy, social, lively disposition is their characteristic, and appears in all ranks, from the merchant in furs, (the great article of their commerce,) to the men who row the boats on the mighty St. Lawrence. The numerous tribes of Indians that live in the neighbourhood of the settlements, supply the Canadians with the furs of different animals, which they often procure from vast distances, in the interior parts of the country.

The northern portion of the continent, that extends to Hudson's Bay, and reaches westward to the Pacific Ocean, is inhabited by wandering tribes of Indians, who do not cultivate the earth, but procure a precarious subsistence from the chase of wild animals, the fish of the rivers, fruits that grow spontaneously, bark of trees, &c. Nor would the soil repay the labour of the farmer; for so ungenial is the climate, that the ground is never thawed at the depth of a few feet below the surface; not even in the height of the short summer that enlivens the dreariness of this barren region.

The wind is changed in our favour, and to-morrow

is

is fixed for our departure. Our friends expect the remainder of our time, which compels me to say adieu.

II. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Franklin and his young companion took an affectionate leave of Mr. Roseberry, and, with a degree of regret, departed from a country, where, in the course of their excursions, they had received many instances of hospitality, and had formed a friendship with persons of worth and intelligence.

Nothing remarkable happened in their voyage to Canton, except an accident that gave Sancho an opportunity of testifying his gratitude and attachment to his young master and benefactor. Arthur, being an excellent swimmer, was accustomed frequently to indulge himself with a plunge into the sea. On one of these occasions he was alarmed with the approach of a voracious shark, from whose attack there seemed no possibility of escape. Sancho, hearing his shrieks, jumped into the water, and, fearless of danger, rescued his terrified friend, by his superior dexterity, and brought him on his back in safety to the ship. This fortunate deliverance strengthened the mutual regard of Arthur and Sancho, as each had received from the other the most signal benefit, and rendered their obligations equal; though there was still a disparity in their circumstances, which Sancho never forgot, observing

observing the most respectful conduct towards his liberator; who, on his side, endeavoured, by every condescending attention, to diminish the distinction between them. They had both warm hearts, disposed to the impressions of gratitude, and were never satisfied with discharging the obligations they had received.

Our travellers found an English vessel at Canton, ready to sail, in which they embarked, and had a favourable voyage to England, where they had the satisfaction of meeting their friends in good health, delighted with their return, and testifying their joy by the tenderest marks of affection.

Mrs. Middleton viewed the growth and improvement of her son, who was nearly become a man, with unspeakable pleasure. His sisters and brother gathered round him, each asking numberless questions, in too quick succession to wait for a reply. After the first transports were over, a calm succeeded, that gave Arthur an opportunity of fully satisfying their curiosity. The events of his journey furnished topics of conversation for a very long time, and afforded a variety to the amusements of this happy family.

ITINERARY.

PHILADELPHIA	Hampton—James River
New Jersey and Delaware	Norfolk—James River
Trenton	Dismal Swamp
Burlington	North Carolina
Dover	Newbern
Wilmington	South Carolina
Schuylkill, crossed	Charlestown—Ashley and
Chester	Cooper Rivers
Wilmington	East Florida
Havre de Grace—Susque-	Savanna
hannah	Sunbury
Baltimore	South Carolina Islands
Washington—Patowmac	Alatamaha River
George Town	Fort Barrington
Alexandria	St. Mary's River
Falls of the Patowmac	St. John's River
Mount Vernon, the seat of	St. Augustine
General Washington.	Lake George
Monticello, the seat of Mr.	Taskawila
Jefferson.	Territories of the Seminole
Rock Bridge	and Muskogee Indians
Maddison's Cave	Talahasochte—St. Juan
Passage of the Patowmac,	Apalachuela
across the Blue Ridge	Talassee
Washington	West Florida
Hoe's Ferry	River Schambe
Virginia	Taensa
Richmond—James River	Mobile
Williamsburg	Pensacola
York	Pearl River

ITINERARY.

Pearl Island	Pittsburg — Confluence of
New Orleans	the Monangahela and
Mississippi River	Allegany.
Manchac	Greensburgh
The Natches	Ligonier's Valley
River Tennessee	Laurel Hill
Nashville—River Cumber-	Bedford
land	R. Juniata
State of Tennessee	Shippensburgh
Roaring River	Carlisle
Territory of the Cherokees	York
Kingston	Lancaster
Knoxville	Harrisburgh
Fort Blount	Sunbury—Susquehannah
Greenville	Northumberland
Jonesborough	Bethlehem, a Moravian Set-
Allegany Mountains	tlement.
Blue Ridge	Nazareth
Mountains of Linneville	Easton—Confluence of Le-
Morgantown	high and Delaware.
State of Kentucky	State of New Jersey
Harrodsburgh	Hatchetstown
Lexington	Morristown—R. Rariton
Paris	Fall of the Posaick
Millesburgh	New York
Washington, near Ohio.	Long Island
Voyage on the Ohio	Stamford
Point Pleasant, above the	Fairfield
Mouth of the Great Ken-	Newhaven
haway.	Middleton
Alexandria and Gallipoli, on	Harford
the Ohio.	Norwich
Marietta, Wheeling, West	Connecticut
Liberty Town—Conflu-	New London
ence of the Ohio and the	Rhode Island
Muskingham.	Providence

ITINERARY.

Kingham	Crown Point
Boston—Capital of New England	Canada
Salem	St. John's
Marblehead	La Prairie
Gloucester	Montreal
Cape Ann	Sorelle
Newbury Port	Quebec
R. Merrimack	Trois Rivieres
Portsmouth	R. St. Lawrence
Dover	La Chine
Exeter	Cochanonaga Village
Derham	R. Attawas
R. Piscataqua	Lake of a Thousand Islands
Portland	Kingston
Brunswick	Lake of Ontario
Wiscasset	Newark, or Niagara
R. Kennebeck	Falls of Niagara
Penobscot	Fort Chippeway
Boston	Fort Erie
Marlborough	Lake Erie
R. Connecticut	Middle Island
Northampton	Detroit River
Green Mountains	District of Malden
Pittsfield	Detroit
Hancock Mountain	Lake Huron—Saganaum
New Lebanon	Bay—Manatoulin Isles
Albany	Michillimackinack
Coboz	Course of the Traders from La Chine to Michillimac- kinack
Hudson, or N. River	Portage de Chaudiere
Saratoga	R. Rideau
Fort Edward	Lac des Chaudieres
Fort Anne	Portage des Chats
Skeenesborough	Grand Calumet
Lake Champlain	Lake Coulonge
Ticonderago	

ININERARY.

Riviere Creuse	Fort Chippewyan
R. du Moine	Peace River
Lake Nepisingui	Slave River
R. des ançois	Great Slave Lake
Lake Huron	Red-knife Indians
Michillimackinack	Horn Mountain
Falls of St. Mary	Great Bear Lake River
Lake Superior	Hare Indians
Grande Portage	Quarrelers
Lake de la Pluie	River full of Islands, dis-
Outarde Portage	charging its waters into
Lake de la Sagaigan	the Ocean.
Galet du Bonnet	Return to Chippewyan
Lake Winnipeg	Peace River
Red River	Peace Point
Portage de Traité	Beaver Lodge Mountain
Portage des Morts	Progress westward
Isle à la Crosse	Ocean.
Portage la Loche	

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