THE TRIBES AND THE STATES

W. J. Sidis

Unpublished manuscript, 620 pages, by John W. Shattuck (pseud.), ca.1935

CHAPTER I

RED RACE PRE-HISTORY

1. ***Source of the Red Race***. No explanation has as yet been generally agreed on as to whence came the original American race, although, ever since there has been regular communication between the two sides of the ocean, numerous explanations have been suggested. Most of the explanations have been by way of reconciling the existence of an American race with the whites' rather conceited assumption that the human species must have come from their own side of the ocean. Examples of such theories are William Penn's hypothesis (adopted by the Mormons) that the reds are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, or the theory championed by many modern anthropologists, to the effect that the ancestors of the red race came to America from Asia, by way of the Bering Strait or the Aleutian Islands. Some anthropologists have placed this migration as late as the fourteenth century!

Why should it be any more necessary to explain the presence of a red race in America than that of a white race in Europe, or of a black one in Africa? True, all races are probably of a common origin; but that origin may have been in the western hemisphere just as easily as the eastern, or it may even have been in some place that has since been submerged under the ocean, which could explain some people going to America and some to Europe.

Probably the Eskimos came across the Bering Strait, since they are of a different race than the red tribes of America, but much more closely allied to the Mongolian peoples of the opposite side of the Arctic Ocean. Also, there are some peculiarities of the Pacific coast dwellers of America, which might be explained by some sort of Mongolian immigration into America which mixed with red tribes already here. But the red race itself, which has no resemblance to anything on the Asiatic side, could hardly be explained by a Mongolian migration; for only a few superficial resemblances can be found between the red and yellow races.

So, since it would take more than present location of races to serve as a basis, all we can say concerning the origin of the of the red race is that they are hardly to be derived from straying members of other races from other parts of the earth. An origin as a race in some specific place is more probable—most likely, in some region now under the Atlantic Ocean.

2. ***The Cro-Magnons***. In connection with the pre-history of the red peoples, an important fact is that there were red men at one time in Europe as well as in America. The most persistent of

Europe's cave-dwelling races were the Cro-Magnons, who were physically very much like the red race, and are even shown by some cave paintings in Western Europe as colored red and wearing the same sort of top-feathers as were common among the eastern Algonquins of North America. The Cro-Magnons were mainly located near the Atlantic regions of Europe, though found over most of Europe and northern Africa. The densest Cro-Magnon population appears to have been around the head of the Bay of Biscay, where there is still spoken a language called Basque, which is totally unrelated to any language on earth, but whose general structure resembles only the red-race languages of America. That this type of language must have once been general through most of Europe is indicated by European place-names; so that, apparently, the language spoken in Europe before the advent of the Aryans must have been one of red-race structure.

Of all the pre-historic peoples who came into Europe, the only ones who showed any signs of progress were the Cro-Magnons. Other races came and went, and each race acquired the arts and civilization of the Cro-Magnons at that particular time, and has remained at that particular stage ever since; only the Cro-Magnons kept progressing, building up slowly a civilization which their white successors took over and adopted as their own, but which ultimately became stagnant until progress was renewed by contact with the red men in America.

When the Cro-Magnons came to Europe, the earth's climate was warmer than now, and there were between America and Europe two land connections, one by way of Greenland and Iceland, and the other near the tropics, connecting North Africa with the West Indies and South America. The northern land connection appears to have been occupied by the Cro-Magnons at a very early period, and may, indeed, have been the original home of the red race, though, of course, nothing definite can be said as to this. The subsequent sinking of these land junctions, and the coming of the Ice Age, separated the red peoples of Europe and America for many thousands of years, so that each developed separately, but with noticeably common characteristics. It is, however, doubtful whether communication across the Atlantic between these two divisions of the red race was ever completely broken off at any time.

When the Cro-Magnons reached the side of the inland sea that is now the North Atlantic, they found the place inhabited by certain sub-human beings known as the Neanderthal man. These are probably the same as the dwarfs and gnomes of European legends, as their general appearance—hunched back and all—was of that description. The caves in which these "Neanderthals" lived were taken over and adapted to human habitation, while the dwarfs themselves were at first driven into subterranean abodes, and later became extinct. (It is to be noted that the dwarfs and gnomes of the legends of Western Europe usually live far underground, and later on became associated with mines.) It is extremely doubtful whether any mixture of such different species (not merely different races of the human species) was possible.

This was about a hundred thousand years ago. Later on, other races of human beings entered the same region, associating with the Cro-Magnons, both as friends and as enemies, and probably with some intermixture of races. Each invading race acquired such knowledge as the Cro-Magnons had at the time. First came the blacks, who, when the climate cooled before the Ice Age, retreated southward into Africa. Then, at the height of the Ice Age, came the Eskimo population which had already spread around the Arctic, and who had been driven south by the advancing ice; they again retreated north when the ice sheet began to break up, as they apparently lived best on the edge of the ice. After the ice sheet had gone, and the Cro-Magnons had begun to develop a small civilization

around the flint mines of France and England, there came out of the east the most destructive invasion of all.

An immense inland sea was formed during the Ice Age between Europe and Asia, leaving on its eastern side a large region enclosed by sea, mountains, and ice, and isolated from the rest of the earth for many thousands of years. Here were isolated a few human beings and a number of animals. An albino type became the standard human race in this region; this type is found as an occasional freak in all races, but, under this peculiar isolation, it became a white race. And, this freak race being isolated together with certain varieties of animals resulted in their taming the animals, and incidentally infected the people with those animals' diseases and parasites. In the course of generations, the white race gradually acquired a certain amount of immunity to those diseases, which, however, they always carried with them and which proved to be their greatest weapon in their fight against other races. When the great ice sheet retreated on the north and on the mountains, and the inland sea was drained, this original white men's country became desert, forcing both human beings and animals elsewhere, first south over the mountain passes (into India and Persia), then in a succession of waves westward into Europe, bringing a heavy crop of highly destructive diseases.

It is quite possible that the first few waves of white invasion of Europe were absorbed by intermarriage, and the white men adopted the red civilization; but, since the red race had not the same immunity as the whites to the numerous germs the latter brought in with them, the newer waves of invasion gradually wiped the red men off the eastern hemisphere, though slowly enough to enable the whites to take over the civilization.

In the west of Europe, which was the last stand of the red people of the eastern hemisphere, traces of Cro-Magnon characteristics are still to be found among some of the inhabitants, even those of the purest white complexion. Also, the folk tales referring to "giants" are probably remnants of traditions of fight with a taller and heavier-built race; the name "giant" itself having no special meaning from the point of view of Aryan origin, while if, as seems probable, Basque is a remnant of pre-Aryan speech in Europe, that word might be derived from the Basque "gizon," meaning "man." But the whites still retain in Europe many place-names, and even a few survivals of the language structure and words, as traces of the red men conquered many thousands of years ago.

3. ***Atlantis***. During the Ice Age, it appears that the northern land-connection across the Atlantic had sunk, but the southern connection remained, not as a continuous body of land, but as a mid-Atlantic continent connected by a chain of islands with Africa on the east, and with America on the west. Traditions of this island continent of "Atlantis" have been preserved on both sides of the Atlantic. A red-race civilization certainly developed around the north central Atlantic region on both sides of the ocean, and the geographical center of this was in what is now the Sargasso sea, in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, but where tradition on both sides of the ocean places the lost continent of Atlantis.

According to both Mexican and Mediterranean traditions, a great civilization existed on this continent, which was apparently the original center of red-race civilization. The legend states that the continent was occupied by ten nations unified under a common ruler and controlling an extensive empire extending far into the continents on both sides of the ocean. This great empire worked both the flint mines of France and the copper mines of Michigan. These ten nations under a single ruler were probably merely provinces of a single empire under centralized, possibly absolute,

rule; but doubtless the tradition of such union had an indirect effect on the rise of the idea of federation, a plan of government developed entirely by the Red Man, and still flourishing mainly on American soil.

The pressure in that region being much greater from the east than in the west, on account of the numerous peoples of the eastern hemisphere, it is probable that Atlantis was colonized by red men from western Europe and Africa—that the colonization proceeded westward through Atlantis to the Antillies Islands (the so-called West Indies) and through there back to America, the red man's own home. During the Ice Age, Atlantis furnished almost the only favorable climate for a civilization, and there the red race founded the first great civilization on earth.

Later on, this continent became submerged, thus destroying this important red-race center, and leaving its outposts in Europe and America to follow their isolated courses of development. Tradition has it that Atlantis was sunk by an earthquake, or a series of earthquakes, at about 9600 B.C.

Atlantis' colonization westward had resulted in the Atlantean empire extending into Mexico, and into the North American prairies as far north as the Great Lakes, and to the mountains, both east and west. In the meantime, when the northern land-connection between Europe and America (possibly the original home of the red race) was submerged, the peoples who lived there were forced to the American side, and had to push further down the Atlantic coast, and into the same prairie region when the great ice sheet began to advance southward. These included the Iroquois nations, as well as the Algonquin stock, of which the Penacook nations are a prominent example.

This produced a constant pressure opposing the waves of Atlantean colonization coming up from the southward, so that the peoples coming from the northeastward were driven back into the north, and to the Atlantic coast region, the Appalachian mountain range forming a barrier against the invasion of the coastal region. But, with the submergence of Atlantis itself, the main strength was gone from the spread of prairie colonization, and the "Mound Builder" civilization which occupied most of North America several thousand years ago was now beset on all sides by the Atlantic peoples. The retreat was very slow, but eventually the Algonquins spread all over North America, while the Iroquois, the Waskoki, and others established themselves in various parts of the continent. Probably the Natchez, defeated and driven into the Mississippi River in 1732, represented the last remnants of the Mound Builders, the former lords of the American prairies.

CHAPTER II

THE RED MAN IN AMERICA

4. ***The Different Red Stocks***. America before the invasion by the whites was entirely inhabited by the red race, but it would be a mistake to suppose that that meant they were all of one language, stock, or nationality. Differences in nationality and characteristics were as pronounced as among the whites, if not more so. The mere fact that their white conquerors have lumped them all together under the incorrect heading of "Indians" does not make them all alike, and it is important to understand that pronounced national and language differences were to be found among the aboriginal inhabitants of America, and that therefore any statements about customs, forms of

government, etc., applying to one red nation would be likely to be false as applied to their neighbors. There were many language groups among the red people which showed no relation to one another, beyond the common characteristics which will be mentioned in this chapter.

Whether these language groups are of separate origin or of long isolation, it is hard to say; but it is certain that nations among the reds spoke sufficiently different languages that no connection between their speech can be recognized. The numerous unrelated language groups of California, for instance, can probably be explained by long isolation; for that region is divided into numbers of small valleys, which even yet maintain a certain isolation from one another, and whose mountain barriers are so easily defended that isolation between red-race nationalities might easily have lasted thousands of years, enough to obliterate any recognizable resemblance in speech. It is doubtful whether that would account, for instance, for the differences between Algonquin and Iroquois languages, as their peoples lived in the same general part of America, and were in constant communication with one another, both in peace and in war.

The only point all red-race languages held in common was what is known as the holophrastic structure, which was found in all native American languages from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, excepting the Eskimo language, which is not a red-race tongue. This structure is an arrangement, otherwise called "polysynthesis," whereby inflections of words (prefixes, suffixes, insertions, and assimilations of sound) are made to express enough attendant circumstances to incorporate into the single word what, in other than American languages, requires whole phrases or sentences ("holophrastic" meaning "whole phrase"). Some of this characteristic has seeped into the modern speech of the United States and Canada, though to nowhere near the extent to which it was used by the red peoples of the same region. These long holophrastic words explain the length of names of Red origin; which are "portmanteau" words, packing into small space a quantity of meaning which other kinds of language could not store so conveniently. It is this holophrastic feature which made red-race languages, of whatever group, into instruments for expressing more shades of meaning than could be found in other parts of the world; the expressiveness of modern American speech, as compared to the literary English language imported from Europe, is probably in great part due to the same circumstance. It is safe to say that the languages of America's original inhabitants were a more highly developed type of expression than any other part of the world can show.

These language groups form the most convenient mode of classification for the red-race stocks in America. The greatest stock of all these in North America was the Algonquins, who occupied the entire Northern Atlantic coast region, and most of the prairie region as far west as the Rocky Mountains. This is the stock to which belong the Penacook peoples, who will play an important part in this history. Within the wide territory occupied by the Algonquins were "islands" of other different stocks, speaking languages bearing no resemblance to the Algonquin languages; chief among these people were the Iroquois, who centered about what is now central New York State. The southeastern part of the continent (the southern Atlantic coast and the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico) was occupied by the Maskoki; and, as an island in Maskoki territory, there were the Natchez, occupying a small territory on the east side of the Mississippi River, and who were probably the remnants of a race formerly inhabiting a much larger territory, possibly the entire prairie region. In Mexico were the Nahua peoples, most important of whom were the Aztecs; the tribes of the North Pacific coast were probably related distantly to the Nahuas, and quite possibly this may have been the case also with the Natchez.

There were many other branches of the red race in North America, not to mention Central and South America; but this is mainly a history dealing with the influence of the institutions of the Penacook peoples in modern America, so we are more directly concerned with the eastern Algonquins and their neighbors, especially the Penacook tribes and the Iroquois.

5. ***Tribe, Phratry, and Gens***. Another fairly general characteristic of the red race was their form of tribal organization. This is not as characteristic as the language classification, since similar forms of organization were found in most parts of the world. Also, in America, the gens form of organization was poorly developed in many nations, and was never introduced into some regions, such as California. But, over most of North America, the nations of the red race were generally organized on this particular plan, and, indeed, developed it as a form of government to a higher degree than was the case in other parts of the world, where forms arising out of some form of property-institution displaced gens organization without giving the latter an opportunity to attain its full development.

Each tribe of the red race was an independent nation, usually at war with most of its neighbors. The American people did not feel themselves to be a separate race until considerable numbers of invaders came to America from across the ocean, and furnished the red men with something with which to contrast themselves, and then the red men had to use the misnomer "Indian" given them by the whites, originally under the false impression that America was India, instead of a continent the whites had never before settled. The red men, of course, are not actually Indian, but American; but, since "American" now has come to mean the white settlers in America, the most satisfactory plan is to use some other name to denote the red peoples of America. This history will speak of them as the "tribes", or the "red people;" but it is felt that the best title for the race is the name Ganowanians, a name of Iroquoian origin, meaning "people of the bow and arrow," thus supplying a true American name for a true American people.

Although there was a lack of a general racial name, each tribe, an independent nation, had a national name of its own, and very often there were other names used by their neighbors. (Even in Europe it was not unknown for a nation to be called different names by their neighbors; thus, the nation calling itself Deutsch was called Germans by the English, Allemand by the French, Tedeschi by the Italians, and Niemcy by the Poles.) Each red tribe was divided into two or three major parts, which we designate as phratries, and these being again divided into genses or clans. The tribes were governed by a council of sachems, the elected representatives of these subsidiary divisions; the eastern Algonquins also had representatives of higher rank, the Sagamores (usually representatives of phratries) and the Bashaba (equivalent to Governor or President), who was the general head of the council.

Each gens was theoretically a large family, and usually bore the name of an animal, occasionally that of a vegetable or fruit; and the animal or thing after which the gens was named was the "totem" or emblem of the gens. The totem was revered like a national flag, and must not be harmed by those who owed allegiance to it. (Members of a gens, for example, must not eat their totem, or use articles made from it.) They believed that the animal itself was their natural aid. Only inter-gens marriages were allowed, because all members of a gens theoretically belonged to the same family; inter-tribal marriages, however, were disapproved, though not absolutely forbidden. Phratries and tribes sometimes also had their totems, and sometimes even individuals adopted one, according to their names; though normally names of persons indicated some attribute or variety of the gens totem.

Every person belonged to his mother's gens, the father being, in the nations of eastern North America, merely a tolerated guest subject to quick ejection at any time, but sometimes acting as a representative for his wife and children. The raising of children was supervised by the gens, and the parents were considered as the gens' administrative officers for that purpose.

Thus the gens and phratry were units subsidiary to the tribe, but independent within their own spheres of activity. It is probably the experience of the red people, particularly the eastern tribes, in this type of organization in its most developed form, with its carefully worked-out balance of jurisdiction between smaller and larger units, that prepared them for being able to conceive and carry out such a complex and intricate idea as federation, before any other part of the world was able to grasp such an advanced conception.

Further subdivision was also created by the fact that genses and phratries had a tendency to operate separately in each town; but the gens and the phratry was nevertheless a single unit, and a member of a tribe in northeastern North America could move freely from town to town, and find himself at each place a member of the local organizations. Even in a strange tribe, similarity of totems might cause a visitor to find himself a member of a local organization almost immediately upon his arrival.

The power of the sachems and other officials varied greatly in different parts of America. There was some tendency, since sachems represented a gens, for sachems to succeed to office by heredity, the succession ordinarily from uncle to nephew (a sachem's son belonged to a different gens, and Ganowanian laws usually did not recognize a father as being even very definitely a relative). There was usually some form of election for new sachems; but, the more definitely hereditary sachemship was established, the more arbitrary the sachem's powers were. Among the Iroquois, heredity represented merely a first preference, which the voters (in the Iroquois case, the women of the gens) might set aside if the first choice was considered an unfit man for the post; but even then, the tradition was to select some other nephew of the former occupant of the sachemship. Among the Penacook peoples, however, there were no rules or traditions of heredity, and the people of the gens (both men and women were voters) could choose as their sachem anyone from the entire gens whom they considered best fitted for the post, but left him comparatively little actual authority, and would not hesitate to demand his resignation whenever he proved unsatisfactory. Among these people, the voters of each town also met, both as a whole, and by genses or phratries, not merely to keep check on their representatives, but to settle important public questions directly, and over the representatives' heads; this furnished a prototype for the "town meeting" which was and still is the chief form of local government among the white settlers in the same part of America, and which had a prominent place in the development of democracy in America.

6. ***Equality and Democracy***. Thus the eastern tribes of red men enjoyed a degree of democracy that the white invaders of their country were never able to understand. In the Penacook country, the tribes were all truly democratic nations, where the sachems, sagamores, and bashabas were not rulers but merely the trusted advisors and councillors of the people. Among the Iroquois, the heredity tradition interfered to some extent with complete democracy, so that they were an actual oligarchy with democratic forms. The same was true to a lesser extent among the Algonquins farther south and west, where the sachems had more extensive power, being more nearly the "chiefs" that their white enemies considered them to be. Also, farther west, a priesthood had developed into a more or less privileged class; and, on the North Pacific coast and in Mexico, this had begun to develop into a real class rule such as had been the custom in Europe for centuries.

Among the Natchez, and all through Mexico, there was a strong despotism, and a highly graded system of castes. But, among the Penacook peoples, there was nothing known which could even remotely correspond to, or give an inkling of, any division of caste, class, or rank—probably the only completely democratic governments that ever existed in the history of the world. This was a true democracy and equality which might well prepare their country (now known as New England) for being, at all times down to the present, the cradle of the spirit of liberty.

Paralleling the development of democracy is the degree of tribalization, as opposed to individualization, of property. It would appear that the existence of individual property in itself forms a barrier to the development of complete democracy and equality. In some cases, as in Mexico, and, to a more limited extent, in the Natchez and Maskoki nations, slavery became an established institution, and the connection between property and lack of democracy was direct; this was also true on the north Pacific coast. Both in Mexico and on the north Pacific coast, slavery was closely associated with cannibalism, and it seems quite likely that in most cases cannibalism was an origin of both slavery and private property. We may also note that, on the Atlantic coast, especially, and generally in the eastern part of the continent, the division between the slave-holding tribes in the south, and the more democratic tribes of the north, corresponds roughly to the later division between "slave states" and "free states" of the whites.

The Algonquins and Iroquois never had more than the haziest notion of property, excepting as to property of tribes and their subsidiary units. Where the whites thought they had run into traces of individual property, articles were described as belonging to "a family," which was really a gens. What the whites interpreted as deeds of land from the reds, the tribes themselves understood to be merely invitations to the whites to be friendly neighbors, ratified like all tribal peace treaties with an exchange of wampums and presents; and the reds never could understand why the whites should make use of such a neighborly arrangement to oust the tribes from their own country. In the same way, the whites were hard put to it to find a medium of exchange with red people, who had no ideas corresponding to trading of goods; so that wampum (beads woven into belts and used as writing material for the red men) was used for the purpose, and the whites supposed it to be "Indian money." Even "fire-water" was pressed into service as a medium of exchange between the original Americans and the invaders of their country; but the actual idea of trading, purchase, or sale, was never quite absorbed by the eastern Algonquin and Iroquois peoples.

In the eastern tribes, equality also showed itself in the lack of an established priestcraft; this was not the case farther to the south and west, where the priesthood was a privileged class with considerable powers over the people. There certainly were traditional beliefs, which could hardly be considered as compulsory or dogmatic, and disagreement was not a serious offense in any event. The general basis for these traditional beliefs was some sort of animism (attributing personality to all objects), and, in eastern tribes, was much subject to individual interpretation.

7. ***War and Peace***. The fact that a red man was usually subject only to his tribe, phratry, and gens, left no means settling disputes between members of different tribes, or of punishing offenses against members of other tribes, excepting the "war-path." This meant, that in the absence of special agreements between tribes, there was actually full permission to do anything whatever to members of alien tribes; so that there was always a theoretical state of war between any two nations that had not made a peace treaty. But, in practice, war was considered an undesirable condition, and, no matter how serious a war might become, efforts at making peace were continually being made.

Every tribe was constantly trying to reach agreements with all its neighbors, or with anyone else from whom a war was possible.

But this passive state of what we may call "theoretical war," however, did not bar intercommunication. Even if hostilities on a national scale were actually in progress, the interchange of messages was not stopped; in fact, at such times it was considered all the more necessary to keep up communication if peace was ever to be had. When fighting went on, the armies colored themselves with a "war-paint" which served the purposes of an army uniform; but fighting was always conducted with the greatest of secrecy. Although the Europeans, who were unused to such tactics, considered this as a proof of the red men's cowardice, it still remains a fact that by now all the armies of the world have learned to remain under cover when fighting. Warfare between tribes was never so ferocious as it became after the whites taught them how to pursue a long-drawn-out, vindictive war, a thing previously unknown to the red men.

There being, in most of North America, no individual property, there could be no wars of conquest in the modern sense. Conquered tribes were not subjugated, beyond being disarmed and supervised to prevent their making weapons for battle. Combatant captives were frequently severely punished, sometimes executed, as enemies of the tribes; but those who were spared, as well as non-combatant captives, were generally adopted into the captor nation, although generally they did not attain full standing until they proved themselves able to measure up as tribal members.

Frequently also, in the case of outsiders who had proved themselves friends of a tribe, adoption ceremonies were performed, and the adoptee became as fully a citizen of the tribe as if he had been a native. Such adoptees were recognized as useful mediators between enemy nations.

On the outbreak of hostilities—often even before—the tribal councils usually assembled to make peace. The sachems ordinarily took little or no part in hostilities, their part in the war being peace-making. After a while, terms were agreed upon, and the peace treaty made, frequently including provision for punishing anyone guilty of intertribal offenses. The "smoking of the pipe of peace" signified the restoration of friendship; then the terms were written out on wampums, and the final ratification consisted in the exchange of the wampum belts.

These wampums, still supposed by many to have been "Indian money," were really the means of writing used by the red peoples of northeastern North America. The various designs of the colored beads in a wampum belt expressed ideas as definitely as any form of writing; and tribal history, minutes of meetings—even personal letters, were written by waving wampums to express the ideas intended to be conveyed.

8. ***The Penacook Peoples***. We have seen that the nations of the northeastern part of North America had attained a degree of liberty and democracy such as no other people have ever reached, and which was most irreconcilably opposed to the monarchical and aristocratic institutions brought from Europe by the white invaders. This was especially characteristic of the group of Algonquin nations living in the coastal region protected by the high barrier of the Agiochook (now White Mountains) and the Quinnitucket (Connecticut) River. These nations were fairly well isolated from attack by others who might endanger their liberties, but not so isolated that they did not have many occasions to defend their liberty. The numerous swift rivers in their country gave the people of these tribes opportunity for co-operative work on a large scale in building the fishing weirs which were then so common there. Thus they were excellently located for developing in a militant form

that spirit of liberty, equality, and democracy, as well as concerted national endeavor, for which that part of the country has always been prominent. These peoples are what we will call the Penacook tribes (named for the Penacooks, one of the mountain tribes of that region) and it is mainly of these people, and of their successors in the country they inhabited, that this history will deal.

CHAPTER III

PRE-FEDERATE EVENTS

9. ***Events in the Interior***. The Mound-Builder empire, whether or not it was an outpost of the ancient Atlantean empire, remained an established and powerful empire ruling practically the entire interior of the North American continent for thousands of years. Apparently the removal of the continent of Atlantis, the central source of the empire's power, weakened it somewhat; but still the Mound-Builder empire held its own against the Algonquin peoples who were pressing on their borders from the coast-lands to the north and northeast. This pressure was resisted as long as the Mound-Builders were able to maintain themselves united; but, after a time, for some reason, this empire deteriorated. Algonquin tradition explains it by the priestcraft among the Mound-Builders' gaining such despotic control that they were able to institute extensive sacrifices similar to those which were introduced widely into Mexico about the same time. This made most of the Mound-Builder people feel, with ample justification, that their lives would be quite as safe with the enemy as at home; so that city after city surrendered to the invading Algonquins, who finally occupied the whole northern prairie district. But, in that region, the infusion of a strain accustomed to the tyrannical institutions of the Mound-Builders' empire prevented the prairie tribes from feeling or carrying out the full spirit of freedom that was so strong among their Penacook cousins who stayed behind on the Atlantic coast.

In the meantime other peoples of the coastland started moving in on the decaying Mound-Builder empire. The Iroquoian peoples of the lower part of the Hochelaga (St. Lawrence) River marched in behind the Algonquin invaders of the prairie region, and established themselves throughout the Great lakes region, and as far west as the Mississippi River. Also, about the fourteenth century, when the Mound-Builder empire was in full retreat southward, the Maskoki peoples of the southern Atlantic coast region swept over the mountains against their old enemies, and occupied most of the southern part of the prairies, thrusting back the Mound-Builders as far as the Mississippi in the south, and at the same time holding back the advance of the Algonquins from the north. This pressure on the Algonquins forced them to retreat toward the Great Lakes, mainly along the Mississippi, pushing the Iroquois peoples eastward from there, largely into the Lake Ontario region, but some of them, separated from the main Iroquoian body, into the Carolina mountains, thus leaving most of the Iroquois in the Lake Ontario region surrounded by Algonquins, and a few of them, mainly the Cherokees and Tuscaroras, isolated in the southern Appalachian mountains. It was thus that the Iroquois came into this region south of Lake Ontario, where they were in a good position to make effective attack on the land of Penacook, becoming to the Penacook tribes the sort of enemies from whom much could be learned that could be used for the development of the ideas of liberty.

10. ***Pre-Federate Transatlantic Communication***. Even after the sinking of the continent of Atlantis which held the thread of communication between the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean, there never was a time when communication between Europe and America was completely interrupted. Slave raids on the American coast by Phoenicians and other ancient nations were fairly frequent, and "farthest Thule" (an island which, from the ancient description of locations, shape, and size, seemed to be Newfoundland) and other vaguely described transatlantic lands, were heard of continually. Similarly, fishing expeditions across the Atlantic, going to the Gaspé region, the Grand Banks, or Cape Cod, took place every summer for thousands of years from the Atlantic seaboard fishing towns of Europe, especially by the Basques, whose language, as we have seen, seems to relate them somehow to the native American races, thus making it seem probable that such fishing expeditions, in one form or another, might have been a continuous tradition handed down from the days of the Atlantean empire. The Celtic peoples later made numerous slave raids as well as fishing expeditions across the Atlantic, although the slave raids were more sporadic. The Penacook coast, being much closer to Europe than most of the American coast, naturally suffered most from these raids, and gave the Penacook peoples many centuries of experience in resisting the inroads of slavery.

The first definite invasion of the coast of North America proper was in the year 1000, when the Norse colonists in Greenland sent an expedition out westward to find new lands to conquer. The Norse people were at that time terrorizing the whole of Europe with their slave raids wherever they could reach, and it was natural for them to seek new lands to raid for their purposes. Since it was only about five hundred miles from Greenland to Labrador, it would be surprising if this sea-raiding people, once established in Greenland, should fail to sight the North American continent. But, as the coast at this point proved, to their eyes, hopelessly desolate, they followed the coast southward in the hope of reaching better regions. This led them finally to the coast of the Penacook peoples, where they made their camp on a convenient island in a large harbor. This island was Noddle's Island (now better known as East Boston) in Boston Harbor, and the camp was on a promontory facing the sea, now known as Jeffries Point. The camp was later moved to a more permanent location on the mainland, near the present Mount Auburn.

These Norse invaders in "Vinland," as they named the country, treated the native inhabitants (whom they named "Skrellings," or "skinned people") about the same way as they did in Europe—as subjects for pillage and slave-raids. They raided as far as the "Wonderstrand" (Cape Cod), and they usually made themselves enemies wherever they went, in America as in Europe.

The leaders of the expedition soon returned to Greenland, and left a strong force settled on the American coast. The Norse settlement was being constantly attacked by the various tribes whose territories met at the harbor where the Norse had landed. Many Vinland slaves were taken to Greenland, and the next year Lief Ericsson, the leader of the original expedition, returned to the Vinland camp with a number of colonists, both men and women. The year after that, another visit from the ships, and the settlement grow larger, though a few colonists went back to Greenland, some with children born in America.

In the meantime, the Penacook peoples could hardly be expected to remain idle, considering the increasing numbers of such ferocious and warlike people as they had never seen before. Finally, the tribes within raiding radius of the Norse camp—the Masadchu, Okamakammesset, Saugus, Natick, and Wampanoag—were forced to take the war-path together; and this concerted action seems to have been what laid the foundation for the later Penacook Federation. The Norse camp

could not hold out against the united attack. Some of the Norse escaped in the ships, sailed off southward in quest of new conquests, and were never heard of again; while most of the captive colonists were adopted into the tribes. It was probably this occasion that made the Okamakammessets, in whose territory the camp had been, teach their adoptees the lesson—"No slave upon our land."

The next return of ships from Greenland found no trace of their colony, and not even a hint as to what had became of it. This ended the Norse raids, although sporadic raids on the coast, especially Celtic raids, continued.

11. ***The Iroquois***. We have seen that the Iroquois, in the various migrations and counter-migrations resultant on the breakup of the Mound-Builders' empire, were forced into the region to the south of Lake Ontario. The area surrounded by Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Champlain, and the Adirondack, Alleghany, and Catskill Mountains was isolated enough to permit development of the peoples without holding them back by complete lack of communication. Five tribes took possession of this region—the Senecas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas. Of course, once they occupied the territory, the occupants started a series of fights for control of the region, and the fourteenth century saw many such wars between the various nations of Iroquoian stock, each of whom was trying to take control of the entire region.

The other Iroquoian nations, such as the Hurons, beyond the Great Lakes, and the Cherokees and Tuscaroras, isolated in the Carolina mountains, were not directly concerned in these fights; so it came about that these five nations were in constant contact, both in peace and in war, and had a common interest in defending the same land, although at the same time they were rivals for its control. Some sort of union was the only way out of it; and intercommunication between the five main Iroquois became a matter of great importance.

The Penacook peoples, in their own isolated region on the seacoast, also had their occasional internecine wars, but not as regularly as the Iroquois tribes across the hills to the west. Besides, the Norse raids had taught the Penacook people the lesson of the need of co-operation, a lesson which was repeatedly put to good use whenever the Mohawks attempted to raid across the Berkshire Hills. Since the Mohawks usually made such raids after they had been defeated and pushed eastward by the other Iroquois tribes, such temporary alliances were usually successful, and encouraged the Penacook peoples further in the lesson of concerted action; and if the Mohawks could not be held off at the Berkshire Hills, the Quinnitucket (Connecticut) River served as a second, a final line of defense where reinforcements could gather for a final effort; so that to the Penacook people the Quinnitucket became an emblem of liberty.

Here, for the same reasons as among the Iroquois people, intertribal communication became an important matter; and the weaving of wampum belts became an international means of communication, understood by Iroquois and Penacook alike. This was a sort of writing by means of belts of colored beads, in which the various designs of beads denoted different ideas according to a definitely accepted system, which could be read by anyone acquainted with wampum language, irrespective of what the spoken language was. Records and treaties were kept in this manner, and individuals could write letters to one another in this way.

As we shall see, it was the repeated peace conferences of the Iroquois tribes, and the frequent alliances of the Penacook peoples, as well as the systems of intertribal communication that both sets

of nations organized, that laid the foundation for the later Iroquois and Penacook Federations, which in turn became the prototype of all federations that were formed after them.

12. ***Lines of Communication***. Thus, as we have seen, both the Iroquois and the Penacook tribes began to feel the need of intercommunication; and not only Iroquois and Penacook tribes, but their southerly neighbors the Lenapes, began to establish regular courier services for communications between towns and between tribes, carrying messages for anyone who desired to send a letter or other news to another place within the range of the service. Since one of the purposes of this service between tribes was to make it simple to carry on peace negotiations, and to settle difficulties between members of hostile nations that might lead to open conflict, these couriers were neutrals, with the privileges of crossing the lines into the enemy's territory, and with the reciprocal duty of themselves keeping out of any war that might arise along their set route. A system of public and neutral couriers, taking no part in warfare, was considered among all the northeastern tribes to be an important factor for peace, both for ending war and for cementing a peace already made.

In those nations, in this way, a regular public system was instituted, for the first time in the world's known history, whereby anyone could send messages from place to place. Not only was a service of couriers organized for this purpose on an international basis, but the various nationalities in this part of North America co-operated in marking out a system of courier roads, that helped in bringing all these peoples closer together. This whole section of America was soon completely marked out with courier pathways used for peace purposes only, and regularly avoided by armies, which respected the neutrality of the communication service by using instead an improvised "war-path."

Many of these routes are still in use as highways. Thus, the main courier route of the Iroquois tribes still serves as the main vehicle thoroughfare across New York State, and even the railroads and canals follow it very closely. The Manhattan tribe of the Lenapes, for communication with the mainland, marked out along the length of their island a courier track which they called Wesqueqwek; and, in the city which the white invaders afterwards built on the same island, attempts were made to institute street plans doing away with this lane, but it finally became the most important street of the city—Broadway. No improvement on the Lenape route could be found. The Penacook peoples were not a bit behind their neighbors in establishing these routes, and many such roads, winding in and out among the hills of the Penacook country to avoid steep grades and difficult terrain, have become the main thoroughfares of numerous modern cities and country districts in present-day New England.

It is difficult to realize what a step in advance this courier service meant. In many other parts of the world (as in Mexico, Peru, and France, in the pre-federate period, and in ancient Persia) rulers had established private courier systems of their own, to learn what was going on in their realm, and to get commands through to their underlings. But the only way the ordinary person could send communication was to employ his own messenger, if he could, to deliver oral or written messages. Even as late as the time of the first white settlements in America, this difficulty of communication prevailed all over the eastern hemisphere; while at that time the original inhabitants of the Atlantic coast of North America had been using a regular public postal service, both for oral and recorded messages, for at least two hundred years. The first white colonies communicated with each other by means of red couriers, who could deliver letters as easily as wampums; and the whites' towns had their posts for the red couriers, which, in the case of ports, could also be used by

ships. These posts became "post offices," publicly managed (in an attempt to copy the Ganowanian model), and later imitated by the mother countries, so that the white invasion of North America introduced the idea of public postal service among the whites, not only in America but in Europe. The idea was, however, essentially one of red-race origin.

"When the Okamakammessets and the other tribes would send
Their messages, the couriers their daily way would wend
Over roads which for the purpose the tribe together made
And, with knowledge of the country, in the best location laid.

"Now these self-same roads as highways and city streets appear,
Bringing all New England's cities to one another near;
While the service which those couriers in transmitting news did give
Has become a postal system helping all the world to live."

CHAPTER IV

THE IROQUOIS FEDERATION

13. ***Daganoweda's Plan***. We have already mentioned that the Iroquoian nations located in the region southward of Lake Ontario were, during the fourteenth century, engaged in a long series of wars among themselves over the control of the region they had occupied.

In accordance with the regular habit of the eastern tribes in war time, peace conferences were convened every time a war broke out, resulting in a constant and rapid alternation of peace and war. A peace conference convened and made peace, then dissolved when its work was done; then new causes of difference arise, starting another war, to be ended in Its turn by another peace conference, and so on endlessly.

An Onondaga by the name of Daganoweda, living near where is at present located the city of Syracuse, had noticed this everlasting alternation of peace and war, and thought something ought to be done about it. His habits of dreaming and meditating, and doing nothing had resulted in his being looked down on as a dreamer, if not slightly insane; but still he persisted with his dreaming. As he meditated over the fact that the frequent peace conferences could stop wars, but that the wars returned when the peace conferences went home, he thought that those five neighboring and related nations, which should by rights be brothers instead of enemies, could possibly be kept at peace if only the peace conference could be made a permanent organization.

This Idea is a simple one after it has been in practice four hundred years; but only a visionary like Daganoweda could have originated a plan which, at the time, seemed so impossible and bizarre. And this Idea was a step in advance such as would be difficult to parallel in the entire world's history of social and civil organization. Daganoweda's plan—the permanent peace conference governing the relations of several independent units—has since come to be known as Federation, and its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It was distinctly American in origin, and America has always remained its home, attempts at imitating it elsewhere having almost invariably been unsuccessful.

But the originator of this remarkable plan was without any means of having it carried out. In the first place, with his reputation as an idle dreamer, he could hardly expect a good hearing from the Onondagas; in the second place, Daganoweda was himself a stutterer, and without any persuasive ability, so that he could not expect to get any hearing for his ideas, even apart from his general reputation.

But Daganoweda had a friend named Hayowentha (now more generally known as Hiawatha), who became interested in Daganoweda's idea, and who was resolved to find some way of getting the plan adopted. The two friends first discussed the details of such a plan, so that a complete and practicable plan of union could be presented to the Iroquois nations. The development of the plan was mainly Hiawatha's, and he based his idea of the federative plan on what he thought was its most persuasive feature, that such a union could make the Iroquois the most powerful people in the land. Hiawatha's Idea was thus the formation of a greater and stronger Iroquois nation, where the dreamer Daganoweda had been thinking of a way to prevent future wars. Hiawatha was thinking of war, and Daganoweda of peace; Hiawatha's was a super-national, and Deganoweda's an international, idea.

As the plan was finally worked out, it was the joint creation of both men, but depending on Hiawatha, the only orator of the two, for any chance it might have of adoption. As the plan was thus formed, the common council that was to result from Daganoweda's proposed permanent peace conference was not merely to preserve peace between the five nations, and to govern and arbitrate between those nations and their members, but also to make common cause against the enemies of any of the five nations, to treat with outside nations as a unit, and to supervise defeated nations to prevent their arming again for war. And, where Daganoweda would have liked his federation to be open to any nation that wanted the benefits of permanent peace, it became transformed in Hiawatha's hands into a union open only to nations of Iroquois language and race.

Both planners were working together, though, on the main principle of federation, and to prevent internecine warfare among the Iroquois nations. Thus the plan was worked out in detail, after long discussions between the two men, as a combination of the two tendencies. The hardest part of the task, that of carrying it into execution, was yet to come.

As the Onondagas doubted even Hiawatha's complete sanity on account of his association with Daganoweda, it proved useless to try to persuade them. So Hiawatha worked out a plan to campaign for the federation idea in some other Iroquois nation—it being understood that he himself would have to do all the actual campaigning, and take Daganoweda along to act as a "coach." Of course, it appeared even more difficult to get attention from perfect strangers than from their own people, especially as, in another nation, they might be regarded as enemies or plotters. But they took the chance, and left secretly one night for the Oneida country, disguised as couriers to facilitate their admission among the Oneidas as well as to give more weight to their words.

The tribal council of the Oneidas proved more willing to listen to the new idea than the Onondagas had been, and they thought the proposition was a very good one. They were willing to have the idea presented the next time a peace conference was called, and would introduce the two proponents of the idea, so that they, could present their own plan in person.

This opportunity came a few years later, when, after one of the usual wars among the five nations, a peace conference was called an usual, and all the sachems of all five nations were assembled on the shore of Lake Onondaga. There the Oneida sachems introduced the two

Onondagas, Hiawatha and Daganoweda, who had a peace plan which they hoped would make a lasting peace between the five Iroquois nations. Hiawatha presented the plan as he and Daganoweda worked it out. The Onondagas were quite surprised to see the two men they had despised coming back so prominently, but even their objections were apparently met when they found that the Onondagas were to be given first place in the new federal council.

14. ***Formation of the Federation***. Thus was formed a true federation of nations, far the first time in the history of the world. The federal council was simply a joint meeting of the sachems of all the tribes, that is to say, the five tribal councils meeting in joint session. Unanimous agreement was required before any action could be taken, although single nations might adopt a measure that had the approval of all their sachems, even if it failed to pass the entire federal body.

The delegates to the federal council were the various sachems of genses in the various nations, chosen in the old traditional way; that is, the sachemship passed from uncle to nephew, the women of the constituent gens going through the form each time of electing a new sachem, with the option of some choice among the nephews. Only men were eligible as sachems, but only women could vote in the election. Each sachem had to adopt a certain official name that went with his seat in the federal council, which replaced his former name, and which his successor adopted after him as part of the office. The two foremost sachemships were named Hiawatha and Daganoweda (reserved for the federation's founders—the despised names becoming the highest honors of all), and, in their memory, those vacancies in the federal council were never filled after the founders' deaths, but two empty places are still left at the council meetings in their honor; there are sixty federal sachemships, in the Iroquois constitution, but only 58 are actually filled.

The federation was not merely to take charge of the relations between the five Nations, but also to attend to relations between the Five Nations and outside peoples, and see that the Five Nations acted in concert in that connection. For arbitration between members of different nations of the Five, Hiawatha's plan called for a special court, to sit in an isolated village to be used only by people having court business, the judge to be a girl. This particular form of Federal Supreme Court was abandoned about fifty years later, when the judge eloped with a young defendant; after which, special arbitration committees were provided.

As the Iroquois were particularly proud of the difference between their houses and those of their Algonquin neighbors, it was this feature that determined the federation's name. The lroquois, instead of living is small tepees like their neighbors to the westward, or in single-family wooden houses like their Penacook neighbors to the east, lived in "long-houses," the prototype of the log cabins which the white peoples used in the southern mountains where an isolated section of the Iroquoian stock had gone. These long-houses were "apartment houses," long log cabins divided into numerous apartments by crosswise partitions, and the residents of apartments in the middle had to pass through all intervening apartments to get in or out. But, in spite of this noticeable lack of privacy, and the resulting crowded quarters, the Iroquois considered their mode of housing superior to the Algonquins' private wigwams, and distinguished themselves as the People of the Long House. Thus the federation formed an this occasion by the five Iroquois nations was the League of the Hodenosaunee, the federation of the people of the Long House, and it was represented on wampum writings by a design of a long-house.

An important feature of the Iroquois Federation was the qualification for admission into the union. The federation was originally presented by Hiawatha, and accepted by the Five Nations, on

the ground that they were really estranged brothers having a family reunion; so that the Iroquois considered common origin and common language the important criterion for admissibility of a nation into their federation. It was on the basis of this criterion that the Iroquois federal council constantly advised the British colonies in America to federate, because those colonies all had migrated from the same homeland, and spoke the same language. When the Tuscarora nation asked for admission to the Long House federation, in 1719, the community of language was first established, and then Tuscarora traditions of early migrations were examined to establish the claim that their ancestors had come from the Iroquois people.

Such a federability test—practically an issue of ancestry—is what might be expected from nations whose chieftainships were hereditary. In the case of the British colonies, when they finally federated according to that standard of federability, their federation showed from the very beginning a wide rift which at one time amounted to actual civil war; thus suggesting that the Iroquois federability test is not necessarily the most practical one. But, as in the Iroquois case the federability test by ancestry followed from their hereditary sachemships, it might be expected that, when the principles of federation and democracy were finally combined, a different sort of federability test developed to fit the new circumstances. This new step, that of a democratic federation, was another great forward step, soon to be taken by the red people of this continent.

15. ***Iroquois Empire and Counter-Federation***. The Iroquois federation was the first time in history that a true federation, a real nation of nations, was formed. It was a combination that surrounding nations were unable to withstand, since a war between the Hodenosaunee and a neighboring nation was always an Iroquois victory, for the enemy would be outnumbered five to one. Thus the Iroquois federation was soon surrounded by a large number of conquered nations, definitely defeated where before they could at the most have been raided. The new problem arose of dealing with those nations.

There was no attempt at occupying or ruling the defeated nations, as would have been done in other parts of the world where property or slavery were recognized. Instead, it was merely attempted to render the defeated nations harmless as future enemies by forcing them to disarm; and the Hodenosaunee exercised just enough supervision over the former enemy to prevent those nations from arming or making war. Defeated nations were similarly not allowed to negotiate treaties: but the Five Nations undertook both defense and diplomatic relations for the nations whom they thus rendered helpless. But those nations were otherwise allowed to continue governing themselves. A strong analogy to the Territories of the United States suggests itself.

Thus the Iroquois soon gathered a fair-sized empire around themselves. The subjected nations formed a ring of buffers for the Iroquois, who could thus unite to repel all possible invaders long before they could come near the Iroquois territory proper. It is true that the disarmed nations around the outskirts of the Iroquois empire proved tempting bait for the attacks of enemies, but an invasion of the unarmed border resulted usually in a defeat by the superior forces of the federation, and frequently a new addition to the Iroquois empire. This use of an unarmed border is probably unique in the world's history, but it seems to have been the prototype of the later unarmed border which has succeeded in preserving peace between the 'United States and Canada for over a century, and which incorporated part of the Iroquois border.

Thus the League of the Hodenosaunee became, shortly after its formation, the master of territory extending from the Connecticut River on the east to the Cuyahoga River on the west. The

population of this empire is estimated at about 400,000—more persons than were under any single national rule anywhere in America north of Mexico, for almost two hundred years after that. Thus the Iroquois, by this apparently visionary scheme of the dreamer Daganoweda, became the most powerful nationality in North America, and, as we shall see, were later strong enough to shift the balance of world power.

To nations outside the spread of the Iroquois empire, however, the rapid spread of that empire became alarming. In many cases they were forced to seek some plan of protecting themselves as late as the last moment, when danger had already gone too far. The only successful procedure was the adoption of the enemy's tactics, and federate as the Iroquois did, meeting the menace with another federation, another nation of nations.

Thus the red nations gradually began forming federations in all directions around the Iroquois empire. The Lenape federation on the seacoast to the southeast, the Pottawatomie federation still farther south, the Ottawa and Illini federations to the westward, the Penacook federation beyond the Connecticut River, and the Wabanake federation still farther east, were all cases of how this process worked. Each such federation became in its turn a center around which more counter-federations had to be built, and it is very probable that, had the transatlantic invasion been delayed for two or three hundred years—had it taken place, for instance, in the twentieth instead of the seventeenth century—the entire continent of North America might have been covered with federations of red nations, and those federations in turn might have been able themselves to federate into a super-federation, by way of a peace pact similar to that between the Iroquois nations so that, in such a case, the invasion from Europe would have met with a formidable, gigantic nation of red men, which would have made it difficult for any colonization to take root in North America. The old Mound-Builders' empire had recently been destroyed when the Iroquois federation was begun; what originated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the germination a new national power, erected on a federative basis.

But, as it was, federation among the red nations was not allowed to reach its full development, on account of the invasion from Europe pouring in during the interregnum between the destruction of an empire and the formation of a large federative super-nation of independent nations. Either much before or much after the seventeenth century, such an invasion could not have been successful; which may explain why the invasion did take place at that particular time. But the white invaders of North America were themselves not exempt from the necessity of counter-federating in the same way as the red nations in the northeastern part of the continent were forced to do. Thus the white invasion of that section of North America was a series of attempts to federate finally resulting in the formation of a great federated nation such as no other part of the world could possibly produce.

16. ***Federation as a New Departure***. The institution of federation of independent nations, uniting nations under a central control without the separate individual nations giving up any measure of their independence, was something never before known, as far as any historical records or traditions indicate. Of course, it had frequently happened that nations had become united by conquest; or a nation might set up administrative subdivisions; but, in either case, there was no independence of the units. Sometimes the leadership of one nation over a group of neighboring but weaker nations might simulate federation to some extent, as has been the case with Germany and Russia; but, in such cases, the domination of the leading nation is the underlying motif of the entire unity, and is rather an incomplete conquest than an actual federation. There have also been alliances

between nations; but these differ from a federation in having no federal authority which is as supreme in its field as the separate nations are in theirs. But none of these things are true federation. Federation—a group of nations retaining their national independence, but submitting themselves for certain specific purposes to a central organization representing all of them was never before tried. It was definitely a plan first put into operation by the Iroquois, and which has become a standard form of governmental organization in North America; though (with the exception of Australia, whose federative features were definitely copied from America) it was never either completely adopted or understood outside America.

A peculiar idea that grew naturally out of federation was that of limiting the authority of a government. In a federation, some agreement must be reached or understood delimiting the exact functions of the federal organization, as well as of the individual member nations; so that a successful working federation implies a government with definite limitations to its authority. This is also a conception peculiar to America, and (again with the exception of Australia) never known elsewhere. And likewise the idea of a written constitution specifying the exact functions of a government and defining limits which it must not overstep, is one that originated from the Iroquois Federation, where it is represented by the wampums which recorded the terms of the peace treaty by which the federation was formed. No such documents were ever known to have been drawn up before; and the numerous written constitutions that now are found in so many parts of the world, defining the form of organization of most present-day governments, are all directly or indirectly following the Iroquois precedent, and in many cases the outstanding features of most written constitutions can be traced to the constitution of some red federation. But it is the Iroquois Federation that started all this train of ideas—federation of nations, disarmament of borders, written constitutions, limitations of the power of governments—in short, it was this which laid the foundation for most of the modern advances in the art of government. And the idea of federation, wherever it has proved workable, has shown itself to be unequalled as a means of both preserving internal peace and securing external protection.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT WHITE INVASION

17. ***An Invading Race***. The new experiment in national administration, that of federation, was not to have a good chance to develop among the red people of America, where it was naturally best adapted. Almost immediately on the heels of the first trial of this new form of organization, came a most destructive series of invasions from across the Atlantic, by the same white race which, thousands of years before, had descended like a plague on Europe and wiped out the European branches of the red race. And now on they came across the Atlantic Ocean in great numbers, bringing with them the host of infections that had destroyed the red men of Europe and that was to wreak similar destruction in America. They not only brought with them weapons of warfare infinitely more destructive than any that had been known in America, but also conducted warfare with such ferocity as had never been known among red peoples from one end of America to the other. They brought over alcohol, an agent which, while destroying its victims, also in the process rendered the victim dependent on his destroyers; and, like the white man's infections, its effects were infinitely more destructive on the red man than on the whites, who had been accustomed to it

for generations. Infections and alcohol were probably the most effective of the invaders' destroying agents, more than wars or other means of destruction that the white invaders brought over with them.

It is probably no coincidence that the white invasion happened at just this juncture. Federation was in reality an attempt to reorganize North America after the break-up of the Mound-Builders' empire, and it was only in the interregnum—between the breakdown of the old empire and the building up of a new federated nation—that an invasion could have become successful, especially from such a hopelessly disunited and wrangling set of peoples as have always inhabited Europe. It therefore seems probable, especially in view of the fact that contact between the two continents was never quite interrupted, that the white invasion simply awaited its best opportunity, and then used it, striking before federation could develop among the red people sufficiently to make invasion impossible.

The social institutions brought over by the white invaders were in sharp contrast to what they found in effect on the shores of North America, though they fitted in very well in Mexico. The whites were accustomed to despotic forms of government, stratified into higher and lower castes, and were totally unable to conceive of government apart from kings. Even in dealing with red tribes, they would often notice some unimportant tribal official, decide that he was the king of the tribe, and deal with him as though the whole tribe were his property. But in the long run, the whites who settled on the Penacook coast quickly picked up from the red people a few of the rudiments of democratic administration, though never so well that they were ever able to make it work completely.

Another institution which the white invaders introduced into North America, and which was a complete stranger on these shores, was that of private property, whereby not only land, but everything required by the community as a whole, was under exclusive control of a few individuals, while others could only get these things by selling themselves to those who held the property; in fact, most people were born owing allegiance to some lord for such services, and were practically slaves. This institution introduced by the white race into America is the one stumbling-block that democracy has encountered among the whites, so it could never be adequately democratized. It is true that, in the course of contact with the red institutions, a new compromise form of these economic institutions has resulted, but it still remains the one important feature which prevents the communities of the whites from attaining true democracy.

The white people's beliefs, being highly dogmatic and intolerant in character, and administered by an aristocratic clique, contrasted and conflicted sharply with the ideas of the Penacook peoples, and of their immediate neighbors in northeastern North America. Here, again, contact with the red peoples has succeeded in softening, but never in actually overcoming, this feature of the white peoples in America.

The white peoples invading America did, however, possess a slightly superior knowledge of certain arts, but a knowledge which they were never able to utilize for the general benefit of their own people, for lack of that knowledge of social organization which their red neighbors possessed. This fact might have been used to help the growth of the red institutions, especially the Penacook institutions, had that knowledge been transmitted to the red nations instead of its products being imposed by a process of conquest and extermination.

18. ***Rights of Conquest and Discovery***. The various white nations invading the Western Hemisphere all claimed what they called "rights of discovery." The fundamental idea was that America was treated as uninhabited country and reserved for the first white nation whose representatives caught sight of a bit of the land. And the reason given for ignoring the existence of America's inhabitants was a difference of religion!

It is equally true that the various white nations that claimed "rights of discovery" never respected each other's alleged rights in that respect, so that it was largely a matter of actual occupation, and that resulted in the nations of Europe fighting plenty of wars among themselves over the right to occupy large portions of America which had never even been seen by any but the red peoples which inhabited them. Thus a competition began between the various European nations, each of which claimed some "discovery" of this or that portion of America—a discovery which amounted to the finding of articles which the original holder never lost, and as though anything could be discovered which had always been known.

The first and most general such "discovery" claim was on the part of Spain, which claimed the entire Western Hemisphere because one Cristobal Colon, in 1492, had sailed to an island in the Antilles! This alleged "discovery" was a case of a raider sailing to attack India under the Spanish flag, and, under the delusion that he had landed in India, occupying the island of Haiti, and enslaving the Arawak people of that island. It is on account of Colon's delusion that the red race is miscalled "Indian," and the Antilles archipelago is called the West Indies. Since this expedition contained some Basque sailors who had previously been across the ocean, and as it was guided largely by an Italian map showing a fairly good outline of the North American coast line with Asiatic labels, it could hardly be said that anything unexpected was found by the expedition at all. This attack on Haiti resulted in deportations and massacres of the inhabitants of Haiti by Colon on behalf of Spain, and their ultimate replacement by blacks Imported from Africa.

And, as in 1500 a Portuguese sailor, Cabral, was blown off his course and across the ocean, Portugal also claimed rights of discovery to the Western Hemisphere, and the Pope was called on to adjudicate the dispute between Spain and Portugal. This he did by drawing an imaginary line around the earth, giving Portugal the rights to the east side of the line, and giving Spain the rights to the west side of the line! This "line of demarcation" was later adjusted, but it formed the basis for the "rights of conquest" which the Spanish and Portuguese claimed in their respective halves of the world. The theory of this was that of the feudal system of property: God gave all land on earth to the Pope, who sublet it to kings, and the kings again to their nobles, etc. Consequently title to all lands in heathen lands was, on this theory, vacant, so the Pope could apportion "rights of conquest" to whomever he chose—and he chose Spain and Portugal. The kings of Spain and Portugal, on "discovering" new territory, apportioned their rights of conquest to their various generals; and so the chain of subinfeudation was carried out on this continent.

Also, the expedition of the Cabots, coasting along Newfoundland and the Quoddy and Penacook coasts, was considered a "discovery" of North America by England; subsequent" discoveries" of parts of the same continent were also made by France and Holland. France, though a Catholic country, did not resognize the Pope's apportionment of the "rights of conquest," but preferred to claim her own "discoveries."

Portugal found little Western Hemisphere land on its own side of the line of demarcation, but sent a fleet under Amerigo Vespucci to explore that region, which a German geographer

consequently named "America." This name was later extended to the entire Western Hemisphere, and the Portuguese part, to which the name was originally intended to apply, was instead named Brazil (after the Irish legendary island of Hy-Brasail, which was probably a hazy account of some actual transatlantic voyage). Portugal, however, found land in the Orient within its "demarcation" boundaries, and so undertook to conquer the Malay islands, India, and China.

Spain quickly began to take advantage of its "rights of conquest" in the western hemisphere. Thus, in 1517, came the first large-scale invasion of North America when an army headed by Cortez landed in Mexico, and, after some attempts to stir up rebellion in the Aztec empire, finally subdued that empire while it was suffering from an epidemic of smallpox introduced by the invaders. This meant the conquest of a powerful nation with a population of about 30,000,000, and whose capital city (called Mexico or Tenoctitlan) alone was a city of over 3,000,000 people—probably the largest city in the world at that period.

In the meantime a Spanish landing had been made on North America proper, on the Arawak peninsula. Since the lauding was made on Easter Sunday, the Spanish gave it the name of the Land of the Flowery Easter Festival, Tierra de la Fiesta de la Pascua Florida. This first landing was followed soon afterwards by a Spanish invasion of the peninsula, forming the Spanish colony of Florida, which began pushing westward, capturing the Maskoki city of Mauvilla and occupying it as a fortification. (This is now the city of Mobile.)

Just as Spain and Portugal apportioned their "rights of conquest," so, later on, England and France apportioned their "rights of discovery" by granting various persons and groups "charters" to possess and take title *to* various parts of their "discoveries"—these countries, of course, being very free with land which they did not have.

The Spanish policy, wherever they managed to establish themselves, involved the enslaving of the red men as far as possible, moving in a few Spanish aristocrats to take charge. In the case of the Aztec empire in Mexico, this actually involved merely a change of rulers, and no substantial change of actual social organization; but everywhere north of the Aztec empire, in North America, this policy encountered difficulties, as it was almost impossible to enslave the red tribes to any great extent. In the Antilles Islands, the red people were destroyed and replaced by negro slaves; while in Florida only a few Spanish settlements were started on the coast, the Spaniards never really succeeding in conquering the inhabitants. In other places, there were constant rebellions of the native population, so that Spain's sovereignty was merely a paper claim as against other white peoples, but actual occupation had to be abandoned.

The Portuguese, although they had no claim to any part of North America, constantly made slave raids. Wabanake territory suffered from such Portuguese raids, and emphasized to the Wabanake and Penacook nations the necessity for some sort of concerted action, reviving the old cry of "No slave upon our land!"

19. ***French Invasion***. In the meantime France disregarded the "rights of conquest" as apportioned by the Catholic Church, and insisted on getting a portion of the new lands that appeared so open. The idea that South America was India, and that North America was China (with Nova Scotia playing the part of Japan) was still current, and, at most, it was supposed that America was merely a narrow barrier on the ocean route from Europe to China. Therefore explorers kept on looking for a "Northwest Passage," a passage through North America to China, which it was

expected would be found a few hundred miles back of the American coast. French expeditions sailed along the Quoddy and Penacook coasts, and, in 1534, Jacques Cartier led an expedition up the Hochlega River, which he named St. Laurent (St. Lawrence). This was an actual invading expedition, which set up a fort at a place where the Iroquois, some two hundred years before, had a town called Stadacone, and which was now taken over by the Algonquin tribes and called Kebago (the River Crossing). As this name reminded some of the Breton sailors in the expedition of the Breton town of Québec, that was the name given to the French fort; and, though this fort was soon abandoned, it was revived later as a city by that name, which became the chief French city in America. The invaders named the country New France, but apparently tried to find a native name for it; and, when they asked their Huron interpreters on the boat what the name of the country was, they did so by a sweeping gesture which the Hurons interpreted as asking the word for "towns" (as they were passing some), so that the Horons said "Kannata." Thus the country is still called Canada.

To such an extent did the notion persist that China was somewhere just back of the coast, that when Cartier's expedition, sailing up the river, reached the Iroquois frontier post of Hochlega, and encountered there rapids in the river, he named the rapids Lachine (*La Chine* being French for China); and, later on, a missionary, penetrating the upper Great Lakes, landed dressed in a Chinese robe!

Permanent settlement was not made until 1609, when Champlain obtained a "charter" from the King of France, giving him an alleged title to the entire American continent north of the fortieth parallel, that is to say, the present location of Philadelphia. The expedition he brought over resettled Quebec, and the area was apportioned into provinces under lesser lords, there being, besides the Province of Quebec, a Province of Acadie, including the Quoddy Peninsula (the name being a corruption of Quoddy, but intended to resemble the Biblical name Acadia) and the Passamaquoddy peninsula on the adjoining mainland; and the Province of Maine, which included the Wabanake land south of the St. Lawrence valley, (which remained a paper province) named after the French province south of Normandy and Brittany. The Wabanake country is therefore known as Maine to the present day.

While the French tried to settle the Provinces of Quebec and Acadie, they encouraged friendly relations with the Wabanake peoples, who had no idea that the French were claiming the land as their own. Not long after that, an alliance was actually made with the Wabanake peoples, and the French made use of them to fight the Iroquois Federation, which was the chief block to French penetration into the interior. The French helped to repel an Iroquois raid into the Winooski mountain region, and this made the French and Iroquois lasting enemies; this region was named by the French Les Verts Monts (the Green Mountains), a name which survives, not only in the present name of the mountains, but in the name Vermont now given to that region. Attacks were also frequently made on Hochelaga, as that frontier post held the key to the interior; the French called this place Mont Royal, and, when finally it was conquered and a French settlement placed there, the town was named Montréal, and this served as a base of operations for further invasions into the interior of North America.

20. ***British Invasions***. In the early sixteenth century, when the first concerted white raiding and invading expeditions in America were carried on, England was merely a weak insular power whose only activity in the general raids on America was by way of piracy. England did not neglect to lay claim to the entire North American coast, because some of it had been sighted by the Cabots

in 1497, but England was not yet powerful enough to dispute claims to the land with France and Spain, or with the nations already inhabiting North America.

The revolt of the Netherlands against Spanish rule in 1577 gave England its opportunity to start colonizing. One of the charters with which white nations were so free, was given to Sir Walter Raleigh, to own the entire continent, under the title of "Virginia" (named after the so-called virgin queen, Elizabeth), and three successive colonizing expeditions were sent to the islands off the Maskoki coast, forming the "City of Raleigh." This colony was not in what is now called Virginia, which is not in Maskoki territory proper; it was in what is now called North Carolina. Its history seems to have been almost a duplicate of that of the attempted Norse colony on the Penacook shores six centuries before—those of the invaders who did not return at once were captured and adopted by the red tribes, and the third expedition found merely a deserted town, with no clue to what became of the inhabitants except a mysterious sign reading "Croatan," which has never been deciphered. It probably represents the name of some place that the colonists were taken to.

The first permanent English settlement in Virginia was made in 1608, farther north, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, and named Jamestown after King James I. Meanwhilke scouting and raiding expeditions by English ships were busy along the coast, especially the Penacook shores, and another charter was given out purporting to vast title of Penacook and Wabanake lands to Englishmen, organized under the name of the "New England Company." They attempted to colonize at Pemaquid as early as 1608, but they were unable to make any permanent settlement until 1621. The Virginia settlements at and around Jamestown were used as centers for raiding and burning all tribal towns within reach, since the aristocrats who went there preferred to obtain their supplies in that manner rather than cultivate the ground themselves.

In the meantime Holland, which had recently revolted from Spain, and considered itself somewhat of a successor to Spanish claims in America, proceeded to "explore" North America. One Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing under the Dutch flag, coasted the Penacook shores and sailed up the Shatemuck River (to which he gave his own name), through Lenape territory to the land of the Five Nations, where he was welcomed at the Mohawk town of Skanetade (now Albany). Not realizing that Hudson was merely a scout for an overwhelming invasion, the tribes all along the river welcomed Hudson with highest honors; and he returned this hospitality by introducing liquor, which was to work more destruction among red men than wars. This was apparently the first introduction of "fire-water" to North American peoples; and that was Hudson's outstanding achievement, rather than his alleged discoveries. It is said that some of the Manhattan nation, after sampling the new importation, decided that the Shatemuck River must have its source in a spring of fire-water, because the river ran crooked.

The Netherlands followed up this "discovery" by granting to the Dutch West India Company the exclusive trading rights with what was termed the "New Netherlands," and, of course, complete ownership of the territory which was actually in possession of the red nations that had always been living there. A trading post of this company was soon after that established on Manhattan Island, and formed the basis for subsequent Dutch settlements in the Hudson Valley.

England and France were so free with their charters granting supposed title to lands they did not have, that many conflicts arose, many of which have not been yet settled. The New England Compoany's charter conflicted not only with Champlain's French charter, but also with Virginia's charter; and, while the French settled their province of Acadie, King James of England granted a

charter deed for the same region (under the title "Nova Scotia" or New Scotland) to a Scotch poet named Alexander, though it was not until over a hundred years later that the British were able to make any start in occupying that peninsula. These charters have been interpreted as actual land titles resulting from discovery of uninhabited country; actually they were equivalent to what the Spanish more openly and frankly called rights of conquest. The fact that American land titles are to a great extent based on these conflicting charters, which were actually rights of conquest for whoever could get there first, has resulted in many territorial disputes which have proved almost impossible to settle.

21. ***White Administrations***. The white settlements that were thus backed by their respective governments were organized by those governments according to the institutions in use in the original countries in Europe. Nevertheless, there was a constant tendency for development in a different direction, and, in many cases, the assimilation of institutions from the neighboring red tribes. The more fighting there was between the whites and the reds, the faster this process of assimilation proceeded, since both sides found imitating the enemy to be a very effective form of defense. There were, however, numerous exceptions to this assimilation process; but, as a whole, there was an increasing tendency for the social organization and institutions of white colonies in America to resemble red forms rather than white.

All the white colonies brought along with them the institution of property, as well as more or less caste distinction. But, even when the rulers attempted to copy in America the governmental details taken from the home country in Europe, it proved to be more easily done on paper than in reality. The most that could actually be transplanted was the general outlines, while the population's inexperience in governmental affairs prevented too detailed a copying of organization, even when written instructions from Europe were used as a means of governing, it was from the red tribes that further details had to be filled in, as a general rule.

The French and Spanish colonies were put in charge of governors sent over from Europe, who were absolute monarchs within their territory, and who established the same forms of aristocracy as at home. In the Spanish colonies, it was mainly aristocrats that were sent over, the lower ranks being supplied by enslaving the native population wherever possible, or else exterminating the natives and replacing them with slaves brought from Africa. But, in many instances, the red peoples were successful in resisting enslavement, and, where this was the case, Spanish colonization could not proceed far, as was the case in Florida and in parts of New Mexico; while, in Mexico, where slavery and aristocracy were highly developed before the conquest, the original institutions of the country made it easy to enslave the inhabitants.

The French colonies, however, instead of attempting to enslave the natives, relied on bringing over serfs from France as well as landlords, keeping them in the same feudal relations in Canada as they were in France; they did not introduce slavery, but its equivalent was feudal serfdom. But the fact that the red tribes had such opposite institutions made it easy for serfs to escape to the tribes, and thus gradually softened the feudal relationship from serfdom to a less personal form of tenancy, which also had the effect of both toning down the absolutism of the lords and keeping the spirit of rebellion smoldering among the population. This process was facilitated by the fact that each French settlement served as a trading-post for the exchange of goods with the red people, and it became necessary to cultivate friendship with the Algonquin neighbors, even to the extent of helping to defend them against Iroquois raids.

The southern English colonies in North America were backed by the aristocracy, and that principle was introduced from the beginning. It was also present to some extent among the red men in the South, but in a much vaguer form, and the white aristocracy in the South was gradually assimilated to the red men's form. Slavery was introduced very early into Virginia, and took hold very rapidly in all the southern colonies founded by the English. These colonies were primarily colonies founded by aristocracy, and have retained something of that character ever since.

The so-called "New England" colonies had a different environment. Some of them, as we shall see, even had a different origin from the aristocratic southern colonies. But, even where it was attempted to transplant the feudal institutions of New England to the Penacook coast, the complete conflict with the red institutions made it totally impossible to do so successfully. What largely guided New England organization was the refugee colonies who introduced property and a few other institutions of Europe, who believed as did all their compatriots in having rulers to obey, but who largely let the red men guide them as to actual forms, and emerged with a combination which had some of the bureaucracy and property institutions of Europe, and to some extent a group of authorities who were trying to assert their authority forcibly as a matter of principle, and on the other hand, a theoretical democracy acquired from the Penacook Tribes, which governed much of the outward forms of government in New England, as well as ultimately dominating the people's conception of the functioning of government. The result was a constant but never quite successful fight for freedom and popular rule. New England's spirit of freedom consists, not in achievement of the goal, but a constant striving after it, which is not to be stopped by anything.

Thus a sharp distinction existed from the beginning between northern and southern English colonies, which correspond roughly to the distinction between Maskoki and the non-slaveholding Algonquins and Iroquois. Even when the gap between the two was geographically bridged, this distinction has always been sharp.

CHAPTER VI

THE PENACOOK FEDERATION

22. ***The Pilgrims***. The first English invasion of the territory of the Penacook peoples took place independently of the English authorities, by refugees from English religious persecution. These were a sect of so-called Separatists—people who were trying to separate themselves from the official Church of England—and who spent some years in exile in the Netherlands, mostly in Leyden. As exiles they called themselves Pilgrims; and, whereas Holland was a good refuge for them for a while, religious tolerance was not so complete there that they were able to stay on indefinitely, and they looked for a refuge across the ocean, "in Virginia," as they called it.

Their first landing in North America was on the tip of the cape inhabited by the Wampanoag nation—or, as one of the exploring ship captains had already named it, Cape Cod. At this spot it was not actually attempted to settle, but the leaders of the expedition found themselves already faced with the problem of how to govern a community so far from any recognized authority, and, as

a result, an agreement was drawn up there, on Wednesday, November 11, 1620, whereby all the passengers on the ship agreed to abide by whatever government should be established among them as soon as they could settle down. This "Mayflower Compact," as it is commonly called, is generally given as one of the original instances of a democratic written constitution; but it was actually hardly more than a recorded oath of allegiance to the future rulers of the colony. It is likely that the Pilgrims expected that they would somehow find one of their number to qualify as king, and obey him. But, as events turned out, such was not to be the case. The Penacook peoples were the actual rulers of the country which the Pilgrims were so unceremoniously invading, and they were to have something to do with the final form of organization.

The Pilgrims cruised around considerably, looking for a spot in which to settle, but it was well into December before they found one. The map that the Pilgrims had of this coast had been prepared by the "Plymouth Company," an English company which took over part of the "New England Company's" charter to this coast, and which had printed a map of the Penacook coast in a style similar to the modern "sucker" real-estate literature, showing a town every few miles along the coast, all named after English communities. The locality the Pilgrims finally selected for a permanent settlement was the spot marked on the map "Plymouth"; so that was the name of the settlement. None of the other towns on the map ever materialized.

Plymouth was a harbor which could only be reached by rounding several headlands guarded by the Wampanoag nation, and it seems to be a safe conclusion that, had the Wampanoag nation been unwilling to admit the immigrants, they could have prevented a landing at that point, and could also have cut off communication with the outside. The fact that no such thing resulted is evidence that the Wampanoags were friendly to the new arrivals from the start, though the Pilgrims at first came more as invaders than as immigrants.

23. ***Samoset's Welcome***. The winter of 1620 was a hard one on the red and white people in the land of Penacook. The winter proved to be much more severe than those to which the Pilgrims were accustomed; for New England winters are much colder than those of either England or Holland. The result was that, between the cold and the lack of proper provisions, only half the population of the Pilgrim colony survived to the spring of 1621. It was probably, however, starvation more than actual cold that accounts for most of this mortality.

But, if the winter was hard on the invading Pilgrim colony, it was doubly hard on the red men who were unfortunate enough to live in the part of the continent near them. We have already seen that the white race has always been full of various infections affecting the whites comparatively little, but highly destructive to their neighbors of other races. These infections were liable everywhere to spread automatically ahead of the white people wherever they settled, and clear the way for white territorial expansion. At least, so it proved in the case of the landing of the Pilgrims in America. During the Pilgrim's first winter in America, the red people came no nearer the Pilgrims' palisades than within sight; and yet, within less than two months, a virulent epidemic of measles swept the land from the ocean westward to the Quinnitucket River, and northward to the Saco River. Every village of the red men in that whole region was full of its sick, dying, and dead. And, though measles is of no great importance among the whites, the reds had no such immunity to it; and, before the spring was well advanced, the red population of the region was reduced to less than a quarter of what it had been in the fall. Over 200,000 red men inhabited that region when the Pilgrims came; less than 50,000 remained after the scourge had passed over them to spread to new sections of the country.

In spite of this, the Wampanoags showed an attitude of conciliation, and even friendliness, toward the new arrivals in their country. Samoset, a Wampanoag sachem, was delegated to offer the newcomers all possible assistance. Since he had already been in Virginia on courier service, he could speak the language of the "owanux" (whites); and, of course, that was his special qualification for this errand.

Accordingly, he came to the palisades that had been built as a defense all around the village of Plymouth (the whites being, of course, used to walled cities from their own country), and called out in English: "Welcome, Englishmen!" It was enough of a surprise to hear a red man talking English; but the Pilgrims had hardly had a chance to recover from this surprise when Samoset explained that he was on a friendly mission; so he met the Pilgrim leaders, and was able to offer them the aid of the Wampanoag tribe. Samoset, and the tribesmen he brought in later to help him, under Sagamore Massasoit's directions, supplied the Pilgrims with food and seed, and instructed them not only in American agriculture, but also in other matters related to their adaptation to the new environment.

Among the subjects of instruction given by the red men to the whites that spring was what might be called civics. The Pilgrims, before making the final landing, had agreed to abide by whatever government should be set up in their new settlement; but all they had done in that direction so far was to choose a ruler, whom they expected, in accordance with their European habits of thought, to be the monarch of Plymouth. The first leader they picked out, William Bradford, died during the hard winter; in the spring, his successor, John Carver, was in charge of the little village. And, as in Europe, none of them, including Carver, had ever participated in government in any way, they were at a loss for organizing a government in Plymouth. So the church had to handle the government of the colony for the time being, since it was the only organization at hand, and the church, together with Carver, had to handle the task the best it could. It was under these conditions that the Wampanoags gave the Pilgrims their instruction as to how to form an administration ruled by the people; and, under the circumstances, the instructions were planted in fertile soil. The Pilgrim church continued to rule the colony, since governing organizations, once in control, never voluntarily give it up; but it was reorganized and democratized under Wampanoag influence. This attempted democratic theocracy—an obvious contradiction—was the beginning of the internal conflict of external democratic forms, and New England's militant spirit of fighting for freedom, on the one hand; and a ruling class masked behind the democratic forms, on the other hand.

From the economic angle, the confusion among the Pilgrims was still worse. Money and property were ideas that they brought over with them from Europe, and that could not very well be changed in them merely by a trip across the ocean; but, in Wampanpoag country, where no such institutions existed, it might be difficult to introduce them unaltered. Already, during the winter, there had been difficulty with introducing individual property with regard to the land in the village, and, there being no native property institutions to base on, it was found necessary for the Pilgrims to draw lots for house locations. (It is from this circumstance that ever since then, the standard American term for a piece of land for a house has been "lot.") And the organization of work in Europe by a complex chain of hereditary personal allegiances, the only actual model the Pilgrims had to follow was made almost impossible on the new foundations on which the reds were building the society of the new immigrants; neither was it possible to build according to the red people's non-property form of organization. Accordingly, the result was a compromise, something resembling neither red nor white, in which the old system of fixed personal allegiances was replaced by a more voluntary system of employment relationship; on this basis was built up a totally new type of

economic system that resembled neither the communal organization of the red peoples, nor the feudal system of Europe, but which was a sort of hybrid of the two. This system, which was to spread from Plymouth all over the world, is what has been called the capitalist system.

24. ***The Iroquois Attack***. As we have seen, Mohawk raids on this part of the country had been formerly frequent, and this led to a permanent state of war between the Mohawks and the tribes east of the Quinnitucket River. Red tribes were generally unable, in North America, to carry on a steady warfare, so that regular communication was going on and hostilities were few and far between, but no peace treaty had ever actually been made. With the formation of the Iroquois Federation, the war against the nations of the Penacook country became a legacy of the Federation, and it was now five nations allied against these peoples instead of the Mohawk nation alone. The Iroquois having disposed of their immediate neighbors to the south and west, began to turn their attention to the enemy on the eastern frontier; of course they attempted to settle matters, if possible, by their regular policy of subduing and disarming the peoples in question.

The great epidemic of the early months of 1621 seemed to the Iroquois to offer the best opportunity for such an expedition that they had had in the whole century of the Federation's existence. So, in the spring of 1621, an Iroquois army took the war-path eastward, and annexed whatever came in their way as far east as the Quinnitucket River. The wide river, with its rapids, presented an obstacle to the army; not an impassable barrier, but fighting in the open was never a strong point with the red men, and crossing the wide river under cover was difficult. So the Iroquois armies gathered on the west bank of the river, ready for the first opportunity to attack.

The Nipmuck nation, on the opposite side of the river, had meanwhile received warnings of the impending Mohawk raid, and that a larger army than ever before was coming. As on previous raids, warning was sent to the surrounding nations, calling for help. And more tribes than ever before sent armies in to Nonotuck to repulse the threatened invasion. As usual on such occasions, the sachems of the various nations convened on the spot, to discuss general tactics, and to offer their services for peace-making if possible.

25. ***Passaconaway***. Among the councillors assembled at Nonotuck, across the river from the enemy camp, was the Bashaba of the Penacook nation, a man named Passaconaway (The Great Bear), who had his own plan of action, which he worked out together with his son, Chocorua, who was the general for that tribe.

Just as with the Iroquois a century before, the two men, Hiawatha and Daganoweda, had noticed the repeated peace conferences making peace, followed by war after their dissolution; so the father and son, Passaconaway and Chocorua, noticed that the convoking of the tribes repeatedly repulsed an enemy, who would return after the tribes went home. And, in both cases, the conclusion was to make the assembly a permanent organization as the only final remedy.

The organizers of the federation were in this case warlike rather than peacelike in their mode of approach, as was to be expected in the difference in the circumstances of origin of the two federations. Daganoweda was an erratic dreamer, unable to express himself properly, and Hiawatha was an orator, also peacefully inclined; in remarkable contrast to them stand the gigantic and powerfully-built Passaconaway, spurring the tribes on to fight an invading enemy, and his son Chocorua, the fighting general who organized the federal army for the same purpose.

Thus Passaconaway, by proposing federation in imitation of the enemy organization, at a juncture where anything that looked like a way out might have been accepted, contrived to turn the weakness of the tribes into strength, and repulse the enemy. The spread of the Iroquois empire was halted at the Quinnitucket River.

26. ***The Penacook Federation***. This federation was really an outgrowth of the temporary alliances that had previously existed among the tribes of that region. The plan of federation itself was really not new in this case, since it was borrowed from the enemy, the Iroquois. The founder, Passaconaway, was not of the dreamer type like Daganoweda, and therefore could not originate radically new ideas; but he could adapt the ideas, once presented, to their new environment, which was that of a group of nations among whom the tradition of hereditary chieftanship was absent, and who had a much stronger spirit of independence and personal rights and liberty.

In the first place, a looser federation was necessary to meet the spirit of freedom present in the tribes Passaconaway was organizing together. The federation was built on the plan of an organization protecting the tribes rather than ruling over them. For instance, among the Iroquois the federation dealt directly with outside nations; in the Penacook Federation, the federal council decided on the policy to be followed, and the tribes thermselves did the negotiations; a fact which has caused historians to doubt or deny the existence of a federation, though it showed its presence often enough.

As a more important point of difference, while the Iroquois federal council was a joint meeting of the councils of the constituent tribes, the Penacook federal council was an independent body composed of representatives selected by the members of the tribes, both men and women voting, and both men and women being eligible to the council, without regard to heredity—the first time such a form of federal organization had ever been attempted anywhere in the world. Not only the main constituent tribes were represented, but, in many cases, their various branches had special representation of their own, so that they could all be heard in council. As a truly democratic federation, it was not merely a new departure, but it stands alone in the history of the world.

The situation contrasted remarkably with that of the Iroquois at the time of their federation. With the Iroquois, it was a question of making a permanent peace between enemies; at Nonotuck, it was rather a question of solidifying an already existing alliance. At Lake Onondaga, the idea was totally new, unknown, and bizarre; at Nonotuck it was already known for over a century, and it was only needed to adapt it to a new group of nations with more democratic institutions. The Iroquois federation was mainly intended for peace; that of the eastern country was intended, in the first place, for war. It was therefore to be expected that a different type of leadership would arise as proponents of federation under the new circumstances.

Such was the case. The federal proponent arising under these conditions must necessarily be a warlike person, a strong leader of men; and such was Passaconaway, and such was Chocorua, contrasting strongly with the dreamer Daganoweda and the fluent orator Hiawatha.

These men, then, proposed a plan of federation to the assembled tribes. It was essentially based on that of their enemies the Iroquois, with adaptations. For instance, the tradition of heredity in office had no place east of the Quinnitucket. The spirit of independence of the tribes made a looser federation necessary, one in which the separate tribes had more leeway and the federation less

central power. And Passaconaway, the leader, had to allow for giving himself less power as Bashaba of the combination, and counted more on his ability as a leader to hold control.

The acceptance of Passaconaway's plan marked the formation of the first truly democratic federation known to the world. Nominally similar to its neighbor federation the Hodenosaunee, it showed points of difference which, minute as they might seem, were of great importance.

The federation itself was entitled the Penacook Federation, adopting the name of the tribe which was first on their rolls, the tribe from which Passaconaway and Chocorua, the proponents of the federation plan, came. It is supposed that this name was originally Quonecog, the Pine Tree People, so that, just as the Iroquois federation was the Hodenosaunee, The Long House People, and used the Long House as its emblem, so the emblem of the Penacook Federation was the Pine Tree, the totem which was sacred to the Penacook people, and which represented and symbolized the federation. This emblem, in later American history, reappears repeatedly in the Penacook country as denoting liberty.

The federal council consisted of representatives of the people of the individual tribes and their various subdivisions, both men and women being qualified to vote, and both being eligible to all offices, though traditional preference for council positions seems to have been for those men who had previously been on courier routes, and who presumably thus obtained experience in contact with different people in different towns and nations.

As its organization was an alliance in origin, and in view of the greater spirit of independence in the Penacook nations, the federation was less controlled than the Iroquois. Treaties with outside nations were made by separate tribes in their own name, but only after consulting the federation. This fact made many of the English doubt that a federation existed, though those who supposed they were dealing with independent tribes were sometimes puzzled by receiving a delegation from the north, from a chief whose name they could not pronounce, and whom they therefore called Conway.

Besides the alliance function, the federation also adjusted intertribal rights, especially to important communal activities which gave livelihood to a great extent to most of the Penacook peoples. This applied especially to the use of the Penacook fishing weirs—dams built in rivers by tribes to facilitate the catching of fish. These weirs were frequently built with the co-operation of other tribes, and, in such cases, fishing rights had to be arranged between the tribes, and these had formerly been a frequent cause of wars between the tribes. The federation undertook supervision of these fishing weirs and made regulations governing the rights of the tribes to use them; the federation also took over the building of new weirs. Individual tribes were given rights in weirs on their own territory, and in weirs elsewhere that they had helped to build. Incidentally, the federal weirs in the great rivers of the land of the Penacook became, a century and a half later, the source of water power for the operation of factories which were, on that account, established mainly in New England, and thus these weirs determined the location of the important manufacturing towns of that region. Such cities as Lawrence, Lowell, Pawtucket, Nashua, Laconia, Dover, Biddeford, Holyoke, Fall River, and many others, owe their location to this circumstance.

Another important federal function was the storage of surplus corn, which was, under the Penacook Federation, all gathered at the town of Amoskeag (now Manchester, N.H.); there it was all dried by the sun for preservation, then taken in bundles into a cave behind the waterfall in the

Merrimac River at that point. From there it was brought out as needed whenever a shortage of food was reported from any portion of the Federation.

The establishment of courier routes was also a federal function—again a case of securing co-operation of member tribes in constructive communal activities. In this case, a system of routes was established which is substantially the basis of the modern city and state highway systems in New England, together with a postal system on which the Penacook's enemies, the English, depended for a long time, only gradually replacing it by their own postal service along the same roads laid out by the Penacook nations. This service was built around a trunk line from Mishawaum (now Charlestown, Mass.) to Iroquois territory, connecting with the similar service operated by the Iroquois Federation, and similarly neutral in war times.

Although the Iroquois constitution was largely followed in the formation of this federation, the absence of any hereditary tradition in filling the councils in the Penacook Federation meant the final actual combination of the democratic and federal principles—a thing the Iroquois had failed to do. The fact that the tribal and federal organizations, thus organized on a thoroughly democratic basis, controlled not merely a bit of governmental machinery, but also directly the communal activities on which the tribes lived, no individual property being known, made this federation more truly democratic in operation than any other federal organization ever formed; in fact, it may even be said to have been the only actual popularly controlled federal community in the world.

Besides the full federal council, there were also frequent meetings of sections of the federation, where matters of a sectional nature could be discussed. Penacook, the federal capitol, also was used as a natural gathering point for the northern division of the federation; the southern division had its meetings at Pawcatuck (at the mouth of the river of that name, which is now the boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island) while the eastern district had a natural center of meeting and of population at the head of the same bay where, over six hundred years before, a Norse expedition from Greenland had landed to invade the Penacook country. This bay was then, and still is, the great center of population for the land of Penacook, where numerous rivers and peninsulas, inhabited by different tribes of the Federation, all came together; where courier routes and canoe routes converged and met the lines of shore communication; where the terminus of the trunk line of the Penacook postal system was located. There was practically the capitol of the Penacook Federation, on the peninsula of Shawmut, a town which was already old when the Norse expedition landed near there (but had to avoid the town) in the year 1000. This place still is the center of population of that same country, and is now known as Boston.

27. ***Federability in the Penacook Federation***. The question of federability, of admissibility of tribes into the federation, proved to be a more important one with the Penacook Federation than with the Iroquois. In the Iroquois case, only five member nations had originally been contemplated by the planners, and a federability test was provided in the constitution mainly by implication, and mostly for future reference. This test was community of origin and of language. With the Penacook peoples, such a test would have entitled half the continent to join. But, as it was, the federation of the Penacook peoples was hastily formed under an emergency situation, and more tribes were present than it was considered feasible to include. So the question of where to draw the line at once became important. Many tribes, far to the northeast, who had concluded an alliance with the French, had rallied to the repulse of the Iroquois (the French had become involved in fights with the Iroquois already over the Island of Hochlega or Montreal and its neighborhood), and, if these tribes were allowed to join the new federation, it might commit the Penacook Federation to an alliance

with the French, or even to French allegiance. Also, some of the eastern divisions of the Mohicans, from the west shore of the Quinnitucket River, were helping repulse the enemy, and therefore represented in the joint council at Nonotuck, but among them the chieftans had much more power than with the Penacook tribes, and the adaptations required in admitting them into the federation might have interfered seriously with the spirit of individual independence in the Penacook peoples.

So the standard for admission into the federation was the similarity of social and national institutions. This left out the Mohicans as too autocratic, and the Wabanakes as French allies already permeated with Catholicism; but the extreme southern branch of the Wabanakes, who had not come under direct French influence, were admitted as the Abenake (Wabanake) nation of the federation, thus extending the federation northeastward to the Saco River. The rest of the Wabanake peoples formed a federation of their own, a sort of twin to the Penacook Federation, which used the Penacook model to some extent, and always kept up friendly relations with the Penacook federation, but recognizing the French alliance, and being claimed by the French under their paper "province of Maine."

The federation thus comprised a number of tribes from the Quinnitucket (Connecticut) River to the Saco River, and from the Agiochook (White) mountains south. West of the Quinnitucket, only the Winooski nation joined, as those directly across the river from Nonotuck council were in enemy territory, and the Mohicans farther south were, as we have seen, inadmissable.

The Penacook Federation represented a rallying and an inspiring of weakness rather than actual strength. It was formed directly in front of an invading army, and immediately following a depletion of population such as the Penacook peoples had never known. And also, the federation was now being threatened by an invasion from over the ocean, from invaders who were dangerous not merely on account of their numbers and superior arms, but still more on account of the host of fatal diseases they brought to America with them. Thus the Penacook Federation was never at any time an actually strong organization, but it was a remarkable rallying of strength by a rapidly weakening people; and it is particularly notable for creating a spirit which, in the Federation's homeland, outlasted its original peoples, a spirit which as succeeded considerably in promoting and extending the freedom of peoples all over the world.

"The Penacooks came foremost, through danger still serene,
From where the lofty mountains of Agiochook are seen.
Their tribal council chieftan for Freedom led the way,
New England's high Bashaba, great Passaconaway.

"And next the Narragansetts, from round Red Island's shore,
Where Freedom's hope was destined to live forevermore.
Abenakis came also, from that far eastern strand,
Many a cove indented, with woods throughout their land.

"And then the Piscataquas from swift Cocheco came
To Quinnitucket's waters, their freedom to reclaim.
From up the Quinnitucket, from lofty hills of green,

The red men of Winooski in council too were seen.

"The Pequots, Freedom's fighters, joined in this council too,
From where the Quinnitucket meets ocean's vasty blue.
And red men of Misadchu in council sat that day
From where, by Shawmut's valley, great hills o'erlook a bay.

"The Saugus came to council, from ocean's roar and foam;
The Naticks came to join them, defending Freedom's home;
The Wampanoags attended, from out their cape of sand;
And Nipmucks, too, were present, from Quinnitucket's strand.

"And Freedom's greatest guardians, by foes of Freedom shunned,
Came from betwixt the ocean and Lake Quinsigamond,
The tribe on whom the mantle of Freedom's spirit falls,
The Okamakammessets, the prompt when duty calls."

28. ***Defeat of the Iroquois***. This federation, created out of the very weakness of the Penacook peoples, set a final halt to the expansion of the Iroquois Federation eastward. The Quinnitucket was again a bulwark of liberty, as the newly formed federal army, led by Chocorua, defeated the invaders, drove them across the river, and made them retreat homeward. But the federation was already beset from the opposite side by a new danger, a white peril. Already the Wampanoags were giving the Pilgrims in Plymouth lessons in how to get along in their new country; and the Pilgrims were merely the vanguard of a greater invasion. The Penacook Federation was created out of weakness, and was never strong, except in principles; but those principles survived and inhabited the land long after the time of the Penacooks.

"The great Hodenosaunee still more their efforts bent,
The great Hodenosaunee back to Shatemuck went.
When first a federal union, by Freedom's peoples planned,
Along the Quinnitucket, for Freedom took its stand.

"But now New England's red men had new and dangerous foes,
As whites from o'er the ocean in mighty power arose.
From ocean's side was threatened the red men's liberty,
So Quinnitucket's waters could no protection be.

CHAPTER VII

PISCATAQUA AND MASADCHU

29. ***Invasion of the Piscataqua***. Almost immediately after the formation of the Penacook Federation came a new invasion from over the ocean, this time a distinctly hostile one. This came from the New England Company, a corporation chartered in England, claiming title to the coast north of the Merrimac River, irrespective of existing inhabitants, and which was determined to oust existing occupants as intruders. In other words, it was deliberately going to the Piscataqua region to make war on the inhabitants. The Pilgrims were refugees, and England never recognized their government, so they were more disposed towards peace, and more amenable to Red instruction. But Gorges and Mason, the two chief directors of the Plymouth Company, claimed to hold title from the English crown, which claimed to own the Penacook country through "discovery." This company had organized in England a complete organization, in feudal style, of overlords and vassals, ready to transplant as a whole to the shores of the Piscataqua. It was, in fact, an attempt to duplicate in the north the same project of colonization which had been tried with successfully oppressive results in the south twelve years before.

The first attempt at colonization was not on the Piscataqua, but further east at Pemaquid, in the Wabanake country. Finally, in 1621, just after the formation of the Penacook Federation, a landing was made at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where possession was taken of the land on both sides of the river, from the ocean to a line of marshes a few miles back; this line of marshes, including a fair-sized body of water which they called Great Bay, served the invaders as a defense against the Penacook tribes, who immediately reciprocated the warlike attitude of the invaders, although they kept at peace with the Pilgrims.

In accordance with the feudal character of the colony, Gorges and Mason proceeded to portion out the land among their agents, claiming title to and even apportioning land not in their actual possession, and making serfs out of those they brought over to work the land; chartered cities on the old English style; and generally tried to reproduce British monarchy in the land of the Penacook. The directors themselves became overlords, Mason taking the west side of the Piscataqua, and Gorges the east side. Mason called his manor New Hampshire, since he came from Hampshire County in England; while Gorges used the title Gorgeana, covering paper claims which overlapped the equally hazy claims of the French Province of Maine, the latter name now being used for that region. It was the Gorges side that had the first settlement, which was, however, on the river, so that it would be accessible to Mason's people. This, the second English settlement in the land of the Penacook, and the first officially recognized by England, received the name of Piscataqua. Shortly after this, further eastward, the Abenake town of Ogonquit was occupied and similarly chartered as an English city. Mason's vassals, who had to cross the river frequently to get to the town of Piscataqua, soon grouped themselves on their own shore, the "strawberry bank" of the river, opposite the main city, and named their town Strawberry bank. Those three settlements still exist, though none has reached any importance. And, strange to say, not one retains its original name. Strawberry Bank is now called Portsmouth, Piscataqua is now Kittery, and Ogonquit now bears the name York.

30. ***The Paumonok Islands***. South of the Penacook country is a chain of islands some two hundred-odd miles long. One of them, the island of the Manisees, a small island opposite Narrangansett Bay, was settled by a branch of the Pequots, and these came actually under the Penacook Federation. This formed a convenient division of the archipelago into two sections, the East Paumonoks, largely under Penacook influence, and the West Paumanoks, mostly under Lenape influence. The East Paumonoks are all small islands, while the West Paumonoks consist of a large island, Paumonok Island, with very small islands grouped around it. A few of these islands at the

western end of the archipelago come very close to North America proper; but the fact of their having a mainland of their own off the continent has tended to isolate them more than if they had been much further from North America, like the East Paumonoks. The East Paumonoks, accordingly, have tended to go their own way in somewhat different channels from North America itself, although they claimed connection with America, and actually influenced neighboring parts of the mainland, especially the lower Shatemuck valley and the Keskeskeck peninsula, which are close to the island of Manhattan, at the western end of the archipelago. The insular character of developments in this region, and their tendency to keep separate from North America, have been as noticeable under white domination as before; the West Paumonoks actually being in closer contact with Europe than America.

It may be recalled that the Island of Manhattan, at the west end of this archipelago, was the place where liquor was first introduced to the people of this part of the world; and it was on this island that the Dutch West India Company established a small trading post in 1614.

It was the Paumonok Islands, particularly the West Paumonoks, that were invaded in 1626 by a Dutch colony, which first took possession of the Lenape town of Communipaw on the mainland west of the islands, the main part of the colony moving over to Manhattan and settling there, under the control and influence of the West India Company's trading post. The Manhattan tribe freely gave the Dutch permission to live at the lower end of the island, receiving in exchange a small amount of rum and other miscellaneous articles; which transaction the Dutch interpreted as purchase of the island, or (according to one version) as much of the island as could be covered by a bull's hide, the area being magnified by cutting the hide into strips. This town settled by the Dutch in Manhattan was named Nieuw Amsterdam. The Dutch were not content with the town space, though, but insisted on taking possession of the whole Shatemuck valley and all the Paumonok islands, and even claimed locations on the Connecticut River and the Delaware River. The Paumonok Islands were explored, and some of them actually invaded, and new names were given to them; thus, Aquehonga, at the southwesterly end of the chain of islands, was named after the Staten-General (States General, or Parliament) of Holland, and called Staten Eylandt; the island of Paumonok itself was called Longe Eylandt (Long Island); while Captain Block, who explored the East Paumonoks, named the island of Manisees, the Pequot island, for himself, while he took possession of part of an island to the east, which he named Martin Wyngaards Eylandt; he also sighted the island of Aquidneck, at the south of Narragansett Bay, and named it Roode Eylandt (Red Island).

In taking possession of the Shatemuck River (now named after Henry Hudson, whose alleged "discovery" was the basis on which the Dutch claimed their right to the valley), it was attempted to organize on the basis of European feudal institutions, by giving large grants of lands to "patroons" who could provide for themselves tenants in feudal-manor style, with a purchase from the red men. The latter requirement, though, was usually evaded by any sort of document purporting to be an "Indian deed," and which the Reds themselves considered an offering of hospitality rather than a sale of land—indeed, they were totally unable to understand sales. Thus the Hudson River was lined with manors,all the way up to Nieuw Rotterdam (formerly the Iroquois town of Skanetade, now Albany). The power of the "patroons" had to be modified, though, in view of its inconsistency with the institutions of the surrounding Ganowanian nations.

The red people from Manhattan Island crossed to the mainland, where a treaty was made with the Dutch, and the place was therefore called the Pipe of Peace—in their language, Hoboken. But

soon after that, the Dutch governor, Kieft, sent his men out there one night and massacred the entire population. Few of them escaped, but they spread the story of what had been done, and this did much to antagonize all the remaining tribes against all the white settlers. Shortly after, Nieuw Amsterdam erected a double palisade for defense against its now enraged red neighbors, and this remained for some time the northern limit of the Dutch city. The space between the former walls is now called Wall Street, and its spirit is still that of a bulwark against the people.

31. ***Growth of the Pilgrim Colony***. In the fall of 1621, shortly after the formation of the Penacook Federation, the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth celebrated the anniversary of their sighting American land, by a three-day festival of thanks for the favorable turn of affairs—but the thanks was not given to the Wampanoags, who were really resonsible. However, many of the Wampanoags were invited to Plymouth to share in its festival, and the Pilgrim celebration was merged with the old Wampanoag harvest festival.

In the meantime the Mayflower, the ship which had brought the Pilgrims over, had returned to England, and it brought over more colonists in the various voyages it made in the next few years. These were mostly religious refugees of the same persuasion as the Pilgrims. Thus more towns were founded in Wampanoag territory, and the Pilgrim civil government, which now began to fashion itself much after the Penacook pattern, though retaining its church connection, extended over a wider territory than before. But, as it was an outlaw government of and by refugees, England persistently refused to recognize it.

Yet English authorities did see a value in letting their heretics go to Penacook shores, and, after a few years, a few criminals were put on the ship with the religious refugees. When they landed at Plymouth, these were unable to get along peacefully with the Pilgrims, and formed their own town far to the north of the colony, capturing the Masadchu town of Wessauguscus and settling there. (This settlement is now the town of Weymouth, and that part of the town is now known as Wessagusset.) Their quarrels with the tribes, including many cases of cheating, robbery, and murder, strained relations considerably between Plymouth and Penacook, although all disputes were ultimately settled. In this case, Passaconaway himself used his influence for peace with the Pilgrims, though the Federation was at the same time conducting a war against New Hampshire and Georgeana.

32. ***The Puritan Invasion***. In 1638 there came another group of what we may call semi-refugees, in a somewhat different spirit from the Pilgrims. They were from a dissenting sect within the Church of England, considered in England as undesirable, and who also suffered persecution, though not as much as the Pilgrims. And, though they were substantially refugees, they were still sent under a chartered company of their own formation, called the Massachusetts Bay Company, with a grant of land similar to that of Gorges and Mason, covering the north shore of Massachusetts Bay and extending westward indefinitely. Thus they were religious refugees, but differed from the Pilgrims in that the Puritans came claiming rights to the land from the English crown like their neighbors to the north. Thus the Penacook Federation could only treat them as part and parcel of the Piscataqua colonies which had been the Federation's enemies since 1621.

The Puritans, with their charter, brought over the proprietary institutions of the Eastern Hemisphere, as well as the prejudices and intolerance common to Europe of that day. There is one impression current that the Puritans came over to Massachusetts Bay in search of religious tolerance; and another, more widespread impression, contradicting the first, that the Puritans were

the embodiment of the worst possible intolerance. Neither of these impressions is correct; the Puritans left England for a chance to develop their own sect, and, like all Europeans of that time, they had not the slightest conception of the idea that religious beliefs other than their own could or should be tolerated. Therefore, on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, they followed the regular English tradition by persecuting dissenters in much the same way as they themselves had been persecuted in England. But we shall see that the new country, and their contacts with the Penacook Federation, had much to do with lightening persecution of dissenters in New England, as compared to England itself, or as compared to other English colonies such as Virginia.

Massachusetts Bay, the Bay of Masadchu (the Great Hill, now the Blue Hill), was picked for settlement as being located conveniently between the two sets of English colonies already established on the Penacook eastern coast—the Pilgrim towns to the south, and the Piscataqua settlements to the north. The first Puritan vanguard did not go in to the head of the bay, but found a harbor on the north shore, in Saugus territory, not far from the mouth of the bay, and about halfway between New Hampshire and Pilgrim outposts. There they landed, at the Saugus town of Naumkeag. The little army of invaders took possession of the town and drove out its inhabitants; having thus "pacified" the place, they settled there, and gave the town the biblical name of Salem, meaning peace! The town of Salem thus continued for some years, constantly on the watch against attack by the united nations of the Penacook country, while the Puritans started other outposts in Saugus country.

33. ***The Puritans and their Neighbors***. As the Puritan settlement had been on the coast between the feudal manor of New Hampshire on one side and the outlaw refugee colony of Plymouth on the other, so the situation of the Puritan people was also between these two—the chartered and proprietary system of the Piscataqua valley on one hand, and the refugee dissenters on the other. The tie of religious dissension bound them to the Pilgrims, while the more tangible one of hostility to the native nations of the country linked them to the Mason-Gorges estates on the north. The Puritans needed communication with both neighbors, and, strange to say, Penacook couriers generally handled this function. The Penacook nations were enemies of both Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire colonies, but the neutrality of the couriers enabled them to keep up intercommunication, even after the courier road between Salem and Strawberry Bank was captured by the Puritans in 1630. Communication by water was also established, which had the advantage of not depending on the Penacook Federation.

The Puritans had just as much difficulty as the Pilgrims in establishing a new society in a strange land, since they too had no share in government back in England; therefore could not know how to conduct the administration of a community. And the Puritans did not have the advantage that the Pilgrims had, in receiving direct instructions from the red men. This was partly solved by the establishment of communications with the Pilgrim colony. Delegations were sent by the Puritans to Plymouth to observe how things were organized there. And the result was an almost complete adoption of the system of organization that the Pilgrims had worked out as their adaptation of what the Wampanoags had taught them of American institutions. Thus the Massachusetts Puritans democratized their church and government; cut loose from the Church of England, to which they had formerly claimed allegiance; and in general they reorganized as close to the red men's model as their traditions of religion and property would permit. As with the Pilgrims, the democratized church government was made the basis of civil government, the towns being ruled by congregation meetings, which were an adaptation of the local assemblies of the Penacook nations, and which grew into the modern New England town meetings. The colony had a "General

Court" of representatives of these meetings, which corresponded largely to the national council of the member nations of the Penacook Federation.

After the Bay Colony captured the northward Saugus courier route (renamed the Bay Road), settlement spread to the northward. Religious dissenters from the Puritan colony, who had to put up with considerable persecution from the authorities, crossed the Merrimac and settled in Mason's territory of New Hampshire, and established locally their own governments on the Puritan model there. Such towns as Dover, Hampton, and Exeter, were founded in this way, and even old Strawberry Bank, Mason's own settlement, was flooded with Puritan refugees, hence acquiring a town meeting on the Puritan model. Although they were in Mason's territory, they had their own government, and ignored Mason's overlordship as established from England; they set up a rival government, based on rule by town meetings, and an established church, which was actually a dissenting offshoot of the main Puritan church. The key to the history of colonial New Hampshire is found in the existence of these two rival political organizations.

34. ***The Head of Massachusetts Bay***. We have seen that the head of Massachusetts Bay was a center of population for the Penacook nations. This made it really the enemy capital for the Puritans.

At that point a number of peninsulas meet, jutting out from different directions towards a common harbor; behind these peninsulas is a wide region of rolling ground which formerly was the head of the bay when sea level was higher than at present. This forms a valley broken by many hills, and enclosed on three sides by much higher ground at a radius of from ten to fifteen miles, the fourth side being the bay itself. This made an excellent junction for both land and water courier and communication routes, coming down the various peninsulas and rivers to the harbor; it was also an excellent junction point for the various tribes coming down from these different peninsulas and meeting at the head of the bay. It was also just such a port as both whites and reds would desire to possess. The entire valley could, if requisite, hold about eight million people—about as many as North America contained at that time, and possibly at least as many as there were then in the whole of Europe.

At the head of the bay there were three promontories, each occupied by a different tribe of the Penacook Federation. The northern one of these promontories was an eminence with a Saugus outpost called Winnisimmet. The central promontory had a hill with two peaks—or two hills connected by a ridge—on the southern slope of which was an Okamakammesset town named Mishawum. On the southern promontory, there was a triple hill among whose slopes nestled the Massachuset settlement of Shawmut, the headquarters of the eastern district of the Federation, and a convenient point for the gathering of the tribes.

This region, then, both as representing the inner harbor at the head of the bay and as being the enemy's local headquarters, was the objective of the Puritan drive. In 1630 they advanced on Winnisimmet and destroying it, crossing over to the next promontory and capturing Mishawum. This was taken over and settled by the Puritans, who named it, after King Charles, Charlestown; they also gave the name Charles to the river separating this settlement from the Shawmut peninsula, which was their final objective; and Charlestown served as a temporary attacking headquarters.

Towards the end of 1630, the Massachuset forces holding the Shawmut peninsula for the Penacook Federation, retired to Nonantum, some six miles westward, leaving the ground open for

the attackers to come in. A Puritan named William Blaxton (sometimes called Blackstone), who had previously been allowed to farm the council grounds, welcomed the attackers to Shawmut, but insisted that his farm was really public property, and ultimately donated it for that purpose, thus continuing the use of the old Penacook council ground for some of the Penacook spirit of liberty.

The town on the triple hill was thus occupied by the Puritans. After the occupation of the headquarters of the eastern section of the Federation, it put the invaders in control of the terminals and junctions of the Penacook peoples' most important communication lines, after which the Penacook Federation fought a long losing fight. At this time the directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company moved from England over to the Massachusetts Bay Colony; an elective system for the chartered proprietors completed the democratic framework for Puritan government, and removed the last trace of feudal proprietorship as such in Massachusetts. The government of the Puritans was then moved to Shawmut, which the Puritans called Tremont (actually copied from a Cornish name, but interpreted as Trimountain, referring to the triple peak on the peninsula).

35. ***The Iroquois Alliance***. The League of the Hodenosaunee (the Iroquois), the original federation, who, as we have seen, were forced back from the Quinnitucket in 1621, soon got news of the defeat of their former victors, and made overtures to the Puritans for an alliance. Strangely enough, the messages were carried through Penacook territory by Penacook couriers, showing how far the red men carried the neutrality of the courier system. The Puritans establishing a capital at the former eastern district headquarters of the Penacooks was a decisive factor; this was now too useful an alliance for the Iroquois to miss, and in 1634 a treaty of alliance was concluded between the Hodenosaunee and the officials of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as representatives of the British crown. The Iroquois have remained allies of England to the present time, and it is partly this alliance that placed Great Britain in its present position of importance in the world.

Following the Puritan occupation of the Shawmut peninsula, and co-ordinate with negotiations for Iroquois alliance, new fortifications were established around Tremont, as the Shawmut peninsula was now called; thus the Puritans started towns like Roxbury, guarding the land approach to the Shawmut peninsula, and Newton, the terminus of the federal courier route which continued to the Iroquois main route. Other towns were established around the head of the bay by the Puritans, including Pequonsette, originally recognized by the Penacooks as neutral because it was a relay station on the courier route, but later turned into a military station of the Puritans. The governor and directors of the colony, just come over from England, apparently objected to the Penacook names of some of the Puritan towns (the name Shawmut still being used largely instead of the newer name Tremont), and these newcomers from England preferred to use purely English names of towns, so it was ordered that the names should be changed from Shawmut to Boston, from Pequonsette to Watertown, and from Metapan to Dorchester. When the alliance was concluded with the Iroquois, it was the treaty of Boston, or of "Waston," as the Iroquois called it.

After this, the Penacook Federation considered the war impossible to continue further. Passaconaway, who had been among the most enthusiastic leaders of the war, was now urging peace, though many of the council members objected, seeing the real nature of English settlement as deliberate invasion of Penacook country. But peace was arranged, although some tribes of the Federation, such as the Okamakammessets, Piscataquas, and Pequots, denounced the peace as a betrayal of the people of the Federation and their liberties; and subsequent events showed that they were right.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PENACOOK PEACE

36. ***The Peace of 1634***. As we have seen, in spite of objections from the member tribes, the Penacook Federation, following the lead of Passaconaway, decided to make overtures to the Puritans for peace. The final terms were disastrous enough to the Federation, although this is hardly surprising, since the Federation was never an actually strong combination, having been, as we have seen, organized out of weakness. After the loss of the capital of the Eastern District, peace terms were proposed to include opening the lands of the Eastern District to Puritan settlement, by special arrangement with the respective tribal councils for each town so occupied, in the lands of the Saugus, Masadchu, and Okamakammessets, who had maintained the highest ideals of liberty, while the other two tribes involved were too weakened by war. The peace terms also recognized existing Puritan settlements on the north shore of Massachusetts Bay.

The Pilgrims were not involved in that war, so the situation remained unchanged in the Plymouth colony; the land was under joint rule, governed by the Federation except where the Pilgrims settled towns by agreement. The peace terms sought to extend to the Puritans a similar arrangement. The trouble was that the Puritans already considered themselves owners of the land, and regarded the red men as trespassers in their own country. This the Penacook peoples could not be expected to understand, because they, even more than other red peoples of North America, could not grasp the idea of ownership of land. For that matter the Penacooks could not really understand the ownership of anything, though they knew that the white people had such strange institutions.

Yet they had to try to understand the white man's idea of property, in order to be able to agree on peace. And, since the war had originally started over the efforts of Gorges and Mason to oust the Piscataquas and Abenakis from lands north of the Merrimac, Passaconaway attempted to find a way of disposing of those lands to fit the white men's ideas. In the first place, he completely ignored Gorges and Mason, with their land titles imported from overseas, but he induced the Federal Council to deal only with the refugee Puritan settlements in Mason's alleged preserve. Passaconaway inquired as to whether white ideas of property covered anything corresponding to permission to occupy, and found out that the whites know of such things as leases; so, by authority from the Federal Council (after considerable objection from the Piscataquas, whose territory the place was) he had a regular deed made out as part of the peace treaty, leasing to these unrecognized Puritan outposts a region extending from the Piscataqua west to the Merrimac, and from the Merrimac thirty miles north. This lease provided for a specified rental in furs for each town to be established in that region. This rent was paid regularly, except for war periods, up to 1755; but, as land titles in that region are still based on Passaconaway's deed, now preserved at Exeter, rather than on Mason's title claim, this leaves the Penacook Federation, or whoever is their successor, the real owners of a territory including Rockingham County in New Hampshire, and some surrounding territory, including the cities of Haverhill and Manchester, and half of Lowell and Lawrence. The Piscataquas agreed to accept a home farther north, in the Agiochook mountains, but were never reconciled to it. There is a legend that the Piscataquas leaving the neighborhood of Strawberry Bank

on this occasion, stopped on a nearby hill from which they could look back on the whites' town, and then wished a curse on the land they were standing on, that none of its occupants should ever derive any good from it until it reverted to the tribes.

The peace terms ignored Gorges' lands, as well as Mason's claims to New Hampshire. This encouraged the refugee colonies as against the feudal ones. Thus by Penacook influence, New Hampshire was made a Puritan colony, with a makeshift government on the Puritan model—that is, on the model taken from the Pilgrims, and originally adapted from Wampanoag instructions—this government acting as a rival in authority to the feudal lord with title from England; and the regime established by the Penacooks became much stronger than the proprietary one decreed by England. Although no peace terms were made with the people east of the Piscataqua, it was understood that there would be no hostilities if they established a rival government similar to that of New Hampshire, and set aside under Gorges' authority in favor of one erected by the townspeople. Several abortive efforts at this took place, but the proprietors were not ousted in either colony, although Mason, in New Hampshire, had less. Mason, however, tried to claim the Massachusetts Bay region on this occasion, and sent a subordinate to take possession; a castle was established in the region now called Quincy, and so much noise of revelry issued from it that the Puritans found that a convenient way to get rid of them without bringing a title lawsuit to England, was to arrest them for disturbance of the peace. Thus ended the last serious attempt to establish complete feudalism in New England.

The Penacook Federation also agreed on a boundary with the Iroquois, consisting mostly of the Quinnitucket River. Very little of the west shore of that river, or of the hills behind it, were ever in actual Iroquois possession; but this boundary has given the Iroquois an excuse for claiming that their territory extended east to the Quinnitucket.

It was also agreed to allow interchange of goods between the Puritans and the Penacook tribes, and either people could visit the communities of the other for that purpose. The Penacook peoples' inability to understand either exchange or property, and finding no value in money, placed difficulties in the way of trade relations; but, on the other hand, traders seem to have been regarded in a way as part of the international and neutral courier system, and that helped. The final compromise reached was the use, as a medium of exchange, of seawant or wampum peag (the beads used to make wampum belts), and the Puritan settlements, and, later on, other neighboring colonies, fixed the value of wampum peag in terms of money. This has given rise to the false conception that wampum was "Indian money."

37. ***Elsewhere in America***. By this time, the Virginia colony had established itself firmly in the south, and similarly the French colony in the north as Quebec and in the Quoddy peninsula (which the French called Acadie). An English expedition had captured Quebec, but it was returned by treaty between England and France. The Dutch colonies on the Paumonok Islands and in the Shatemuck River valley were also growing fast, and established friendly relations with the Iroquois Federation, then the greatest power on the continent.

The importation of slaves in Virginia had already been increasing considerably, and that region was already beginning to speak with that African accent which characterizes the whole section of America where slavery once predominated. Besides, there were "indentured servants," people who were sold for a term of years to pay ship fare to America from England; these were really temporary slaves. Over them all ruled an aristocracy, a direct offshoot of the aristocracy that was trampling on

England. The Church of England was ruling with as high a hand in Virginia as back in England, and dissenters were persecuted equally in both places. The indenture variety of slavery was also used by England as a way to get rid of criminals by selling them into servitude in Virginia, thus helping to people Virginia with criminals exiled from Britain. We have seen that they tried similarly to ship criminals to the Penacook coast, but the Pilgrim colony resisted, and although both slavery and indentured servitude were introduced into the northern colonies, they never took strong foothold there.

England's habit of granting charters to persons and companies, covering land claimed by England but in tribal possession, continued. Thus the Quoddy peninsula already partly settled by the French as Acadie, and mostly still Micmac, was chartered out as a Scotch colony, and called Nova Scotia, although actual settlement under the charter was impossible. Likewise, a Catholic, Lord Baltimore, obtained in 1632 a charter for territory north of the Potomac River as a refuge for Catholics from England or Virginia. This region was to be controlled by proprietorship in the Calvert family (Lord Baltimore's); it was named Maryland after the English Queen and a settlement was brought over to Chesapeake Bay in 1634.

There was another charter granted, for the Mohican coast between the Connecticut and Hudson River, to Lord Say and Lord Brooke, but these charter holders did not try colonizing while there was war with the Penacooks. This charter also covered the territory occupied by Dutch settlements. So little was known in Europe about the lands that they "discovered" (though they had never been lost) that many times charters conflicted, not merely with settlements of other nations, but with each other. Actually, these charters merely amounted to permission to acquire and colonize in the name of England, but later they became bases for conflicting land titles.

38. ***Invasion of the Quinnitucket***. During the last stages of the war between Penacooks and Puritans, an attempt was made to get in the rear of the Penacooks by fortifying a point in the west bank of the Quinnitucket. This was done in 1633, when a Puritan expedition built on Mohican territory a fortification which they named Windsor, at the highest point on the river reachable by navigation. This was largely augmented and manned by Pilgrim volunteers who settled in the neighborhood, and, as it conducted no active warfare against the Penacook Federation, the Pequots, across the river were inclined to treat Windsor as part of the Pilgrim colony and therefore neutral, but suspicion remained because the intention had obviously been warlike. The Windsor garrison, out off from everything but red tribes, concluded an alliance with the Mohicans. This fort was operated in total defiance of the Say and Brooke charter, and, in fact, of all outside authority; and it is noticeable that the Penacook Federation did not make war against settlements which defied English authority. But the Pequots, on the opposite bank of the Quinnitucket, remained suspicious, and insisted on their rights of examining supply ships going up the Quinnitucket. In one case, the ship's owner, who considered the Pequots trespassers in their own country, replied by opening fire on the Pequot inspectors, who had to shoot in self-defense, though they tried to avoid such a contingency even though a state of war existed. After the peace of 1634, the Pequots, dissatisfied with the terms, and especially objecting to the excessive freedom the treaty gave to traders, withdrew from the Penacook Federation, and sent envoys to Boston to negotiate a new treaty. And this delegation brought along several canoefuls of wampum peag, under the assumption that whites needed presents of large quantities of beads before they could be talked to—the Pequot interpretation of the Puritan effort to use wampum as money. Perhaps the Pequots did not misunderstand so badly, after all. However, a peace was finally patched up between Puritans and

the Pequots, and Puritans also mediated to prevent a war of secession arising with the Penacook Federation.

The Pequots' attempt to cast loose from the Federation at this time was undoubtedly a manifestation of a strong desire to ward off the domination of the white invader and his institutions, which were so obviously repugnant to the Ganowanians. But it was bound to be disastrous to make a breach in the newly-formed union of the red peoples of this part of America.

39. ***Extension of the Bay Colony***. The peace terms opened to the Puritans a considerably wider territory than they had been able to settle in before. Existing settlements also had the chance to grow more freely.

In the fall of 1635, the first attempt was made to colonize in the heart of Okamakammesset territory. Permission was obtained from the Tribal Council to use a tract six miles square; though the Puritan leaders who did the negotiating were highly shocked to find that one of the sagamores they had to deal with was a woman. But, once permission was had, they made the first inland settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, on the Wameset River; and both town and river were named, in horror of the recent peace in the land, Concord. The aid it got from the Okamakammessets resulted in this town growing in spite of all initial difficulties, and it later became a centre for the fight for freedom in the land of Penacook. The Okamakammessets also allowed an English settlement to be made adjoining their capital; this was named Marlborough. The Okamakammesset motto, "no slave upon our land," was also spread among the settlements in this district, and they soon induced the General Court (legislative assembly) to make a resolution to that effect, which it did with enough qualifications to nullify it; but would not permit the abolition of slavery, as the slave-trade had become too profitable in England. The fact remains that the Massachusetts Bay Colony was the first to declare in principle against enslavement.

The Red tribes thus proceeded with their work of democratizing the Puritan colony. The tribal influence could now be more direct, once peace was made. The church-membership form of representative government—the Pilgrim adaptation of the idea of democracy—had been adopted by the Puritans during the war; but with it went the institutions of money, property, and persecution of religious dissenters, as brought over from Europe, and which all whites then considered as essential to organized communities, just as much as such institutions were beyond the understanding of the red men. After peace was signed, religious persecution came to the fore, largely because there had been little chance for it during the war, and because the fighting machinery made against the red tribes had to have some enemy to fight against.

The Penacook tribes were so far from avoiding the white settlers, or realizing how the whites were to overrun the country, that even the Nipmuck tribe, far to the west on the Quinnitucket River, allowed a small group of Puritans to settle on that river, near their town of Agawam; the Puritan town started in 1636, was named Springfield. This town, in turn, colonized further up the river, but on the west bank, among the tribes disarmed by the Iroquois, and thus formed the towns of Holyoke and Northampton. The latter town was close to the Nonotuck crossing, where the Penacook Federation was first formed.

Another activity the Puritans started as soon as peace was signed was to plan for schools. This idea of training being given in mass was copied from England, where such mass training was considered necessary, and where it was undoubtedly requisite to some extent to keep fixed class

lines going, and to keep individuality from developing. Accordingly, an agitation developed to start a "Cambridge University" in Massachusetts, and in 1636 the General Court voted to establish "a schoale or colledg." The next year, the location was set at Newtown, in Okamakammesset territory, the terminus of the main courier-road, thus appropriately representing the junction between red and white communications. Since one John Harvard offered a larger contribution than the colony, the college was called Harvard College (money talked, as regards the name); but Newtown was called Cambridge. The college was established in 1639 (not 1636, as the college claims); at a time when, as we shall see, the most militant advocates of liberty in the colony were leaving America. We have already seen that such an institution must, by its very nature, oppose individual liberty; and yet there, as elsewhere in Massachusetts, a trace of Okamakammesset influence has been felt beneath the surface. Traditions of liberty, as usual, were reflected in the usual sub-surface manner, not in the administration; but there still remained the tradition of:

" With freedom to think, and with patience to bear,
And for right ever bravely to live."

A public school was also established in Boston at that time, with similar results. But educational efforts in Massachusetts also, partly as a result of tribal influence, took more individual forms. A town library was established in Boston in 1636—actually the first public library on record. Also, Boston copied the Penacook institution of a post office, which was actually a terminus for the Iroquois-Penacook courier system, and connected the whole with transatlantic vessels, so that, in 1636, Boston had organized a postal system, as part of a Ganowanian organization, long before there was anything of the sort back in England.

The mixture of institutions of property and Penacook democratic traditions was going on rapidly now, and a new type of property system radically different from the European feudal system, was beginning to take definite shape. Isolated spots where survivals of Penacook communal occupation passed over into white settlements appeared, beginning with Boston Common, which we have already mentioned, and with the similar great common of Watertown, which was as large as the town itself, and which was a part of the neutrality of Watertown as a courier-port. (Watertown still preserves a dim tradition of that neutrality in its motto "*In pace condita*.") Soon "commons," central parks, began to spring up in all towns in New England, and this has remained a characteristic institution, which, while assimilated legally to the English common cow-pastures, has been in practice a form of public ground, retaining to some extent traces of its origins in Penacook communal occupation of land.

40. ***Apostle Eliot***. If the Penacook peoples propagandized heavily in the white settlements, the reverse was equally true. No sooner was peace signed between Puritans and Penacooks than the Puritans sent a missionary John Eliot, to convert the Penacook tribes to the Puritan religion. The missionary did not encounter the usual difficulty of intolerance, because the Penacook peoples believed in the freest expression of opinion; but that very fact made the denunciatory style ineffective, and considerable modification was necessary. The "Apostle Eliot" as the Puritans called him, learned the Masadchu dialect, proceeded to reduce it to the English alphabet, and compiled a grammar of the language. The Penacook tribes, immediately recognizing the superiority of alphabet to wampum writing, learned the new alphabet very rapidly, until the proportion of literacy was higher among the Penacook nations than among Pilgrims or Puritans.

Eliot had his converts, especially among the tribes that received white colonies among them; but most of these converts never acquired the fanaticism that possessed the Puritan refugees who had come over on a religious crusade. Eliot considered it a victory that the Okamakammessets let the white settlers build a church in the capital town of Okamakammesset itself, for the uses of the inhabitants of the adjoining Puritan town of Marlborough; but we shall see that this permission had strategic reasons which Eliot never even considered.

However, it was true that the "praying Indians," as Eliot converts came to be called, had a tendency to be traitors to their own people. They were later segregated gradually into separate communities of their own, imbued with English property ideas, as well with English "fire-water" brought in by traders. These communities, which were drawn close around Boston, became more and more dependent on the English, and the "praying Indians" soon became spies for the English, useless to the Penacook Federation, and despised by the English whom they served. Thus practically the whole Masadchu tribe became separated from the Federation. There were, of course, many better spirits among them, who kept alive the old tribal spirit of freedom in those communities; yet these formed but a small number, who usually left Christian communities and went back to their tribes. On the whole, the efforts of John Eliot contributed considerably to the downfall of the Penacook Federation.

41. ***Narragansett Bay Settlements***. We have already seen that one result of peace of 1634 was that the authorities in Massachusetts, relieved from fighting the Penacooks, were able to turn their attention to the religious persecution of dissenters in their community, a function considered in Europe to be an essential part of organized government. The Penacook tribes could not quite comprehend such actions, and naturally viewed this activity with great disapproval. It was therefore to be expected that, in the Penacook campaign to bring the whites around to institutions in harmony with the traditions of America, the best prospects were precisely those dissenters. Accordingly from the beginning of the peace, the Penacook nations tried to cultivate friendship with those within the Puritan ranks who were threatened with persecutions on account of their opinions. In particular Massasoit, one of the Wampanoag sagamores, who had directed the instruction of the Pilgrims in American ways and ideas, made friends with a dissenting Salem preacher, Roger Williams, who was a Puritan minister but differed with the orthodox view on infant baptism. It was with Williams, then, that Massasoit discussed various questions of social organization, especially the religious tolerance issue, for which the red chief rightly judged Williams to be ready. During 1635 and 1636, Roger Williams gradually added to his preachings the highly heretical and unheard-of doctrine that religious beliefs are no concern to civil authorities, and that everyone should have the right to believe whatever he pleased. He showed Penacook influence also, by expounding that title to lands in America could properly be granted only by tribes, and not by charter from England. This last idea was interpreted by Massachusetts authorities as treason, in that it denied their right to Massachusetts. And, for all these reasons—mainly the heresy of beliefs in religious tolerance—Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts in 1636. He immediately fled to Massasoit, who was ready to receive him, but with the suggestion that Williams was just the one to found a refuge for exiles like himself. On this matter Massasoit consulted the most powerful of the southern tribes of the Penacook Federation, the Narragansetts, and made arrangements for Williams to start refuge colonies on the Narragansett mainland. Permission was given Williams to settle at Woonasquatucket, about two miles east of the Red town of Watchemoket, with provision for future permission to acquire other similar sites on the Narragansett's mainland, under the strict condition that no persecution for religious beliefs of any kind be ever allowed in any of those settlements.

Thus we have, for the first time, a white man actually believing in tolerance of all beliefs, although it is doubtful if he understood the idea completely. Again, for the first time in the history of the white race, it was undertaken to found a community on that basis. The influence of the red men is obvious throughout all this; and it is doubtful if such a bold plan would ever have been conceived if not for the strong infiltration of Penacook principles.

Roger Williams finally reached the appointed site, and, with his religious fervor that fitted poorly with the purpose of the undertaking, he gave thanks to Providence for guiding him to a safe refuge; he then proceeded to name the place Providence, by which name it is still known; he also assigned the name Providence Plantations for the colony; ("Plantation" meaning in this instance a colony, not a farm, as that word indicated in the southern colonies). In this case, though, it was really the Penacook Federation that was playing the part of Providence to Williams. The Penacook tribes guided many religious refugees to Providence and the adjoining shores of Narragansett Bay, so that soon Williams had a flourishing colony.

A Boston woman, Anne Hutchinson, was in the meantime also exiled for similar reasons. Her offense apparently was too great freedom in discussing religious doctrine with a following she had gathered, and especially casting aspersions on the sincerity of Massachusetts clergy. Mrs. Hutchinson and her following seemed to have had no more idea of tolerance than the clergy had, but, when she and another woman escaped to the Narragansetts and tried to obtain from them a place to settle, the tribe placed on them the same condition of complete religious freedom, and a ninety-yard wampum set was delivered to record the treaty, which the two women interpreted as a purchase of the land in question, as they thought wampum was "Indian money." The land they were given was the island of Aquidneck, which the Dutch called Roode Eylands (Red Island), and the settlement the two women thus started was named Newport. Refugees gathered here in the same manner as in Providence.

England decided to use the Dutch name for the island in question, but confused the name with the island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, so Parliament resolved that Aquidneck should be called Rhodes. But a sort of compromise worked itself out between this name and the Dutch form, and the island, as well as Anne Hutchinson’s colony of refugees, were called Rhode Island.

It is true that Maryland had already adopted the principle of equal tolerance of all recognized sects, but that in practice actually meant equal treatment of Catholics and Episcopalians, with other sects still being treated as heretics. But the two Narragansett Bay colonies, both organized under Penacook auspices, were the first white governments to recognise and make an issue of religious tolerance.

> "When the Puritans were persecuting all who dared to disagree,
> And the wilderness of old New England sheltered many a refugee,
> Then, in order to provide a haven where they might in freedom stay,
> The red men to them gave up Red Island and the lands around the bay.
>
> "There were thoughts and creeds not tolerated, that would over oceans flow,
> Seeking lands where they by persecution never would molested be,
> And, when they were rejected from countries all the world o’er,
> They found admission and a refuge on the bright Red Island shore."

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST OF THE PEQUOTS

39. ***Federation on the Quinnitucket***. We have seen that there were Puritan settlements sent out from the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Nipmuck shores of the Quinnitucket River, and some of these settlements were located on the west bank of the river, so as to be beyond Penacook interference. Similarly, the isolated fort of Windsor was set up at the end of the Puritan-Penacook war, but it never was actually controlled by the coast colonies. Just below it, the Dutch, who claimed east to the Quinnitucket, established an outpost just below Windsor, called Fort Goed Hoep (Good Hope), and some Dutch farms started in operation in the neighborhood.

In 1636, a group of Puritan settlers, starting out to form a new Puritan colony on the east bank of the Quinnitucket, kept to the south of the lands claimed by Massachusetts under its charter, and headed for the neighborhood of the English and Dutch forts. A large emigration started from the Massachusetts Bay region towards the Quinnitucket River. A town was established around the Windsor fort; then the Dutch fort was swooped down on and captured by the Puritan pioneers, and formed into a Puritan town by the name of Hartford. The next wave of Puritan emigration settled just below Hartford, forming another town which they named Wethersfield.

Each of these three towns was governed by a meeting of its residents, following the model that the Wampanoags had taught the Pilgrims. Though the colonists knew very little of the red men, their leader, Hooker, was certainly in contact with the Penacook tribes; besides which he also continued the old Mohican alliance arranged by the old Windsor garrison. On Hooker's suggestion, the three towns formed a federation partly on the Penacook model, the first to be attempted outside the red tribes. This federation was called the Connecticut Compact (Connecticut being the Anglisized form of the name of the river, Quinnitucket). The Mohicans seem to have called the river Quonectucket, the Pine Tree River (probably the river's original name, linking up with the Pine-Tree totem of the Penacooks), while the Penacook nations—probably out of respect to their emblem—changed the name to Quinnitucket, the Long River. This is evidently the reason why the name Connecticut is spelled one way and pronounced the other, there being a silent "c" in the name. And, by bearing that name, the new white federation of town meetings in a way put itself under the protection of the Penacook emblem of liberty, the Pine Tree.

> "But still for their own freedom the whites kept up the fight,
> Preserved in old New England the spirit of the right.
> And, plans of joining councils from red men taking o'er
> First formed in fed'ral union on Quinnitucket's shore."

40. ***The Pequot War***. The new Puritan settlements on the Quinnitucket meant that supply ships coming up the river were now more frequent than ever. The seceded Pequot nation insisted on its privilege of examining the passing ships, and would let them pass as soon as they were satisfied the ship was on a peaceful errand. But belligerent traders were not lacking, and, in 1637, several were shot after they had opened fire on the Pequot inspectors. News of this reached the Connecticut colony, and Connecticut issued a declaration of war against the Pequot nation on Friday, May 1, 1637. The Pequots refused to return the declaration, but prepared for their own defense. Two of

their towns, including their capital Poquonock, were surrounded with palisades in imitation of the type of defense used in the English fortified villages. And, thus heavily fortified according to the latest style they acquired from their enemies, they waited for the next move.

An attempt was made to secure the aid of the Penacook Federation, and envoys were sent to the southern district meeting of the Federation at Pawcatuck for that purpose. Such an alliance might have saved both the Pequots and the Penacook Federation; but it was not to be. Roger Williams also came to the council at Pawcatuck, to persuade the Federation to take the Puritan side against the Pequots, which the Penacook tribes refused to do, even though the Pequots had seceded from the Federation. Passaconaway, the Bashaba of the Federation, sent his envoys also to Pawcatuck to plead for peace and neutrality. Passaconaway's influence prevailed, and none of the Federation tribes interfered, although the Penacook nations managed to store up considerable resentment against the English intruders.

On Saturday, May 23, an expedition started out from Hartford, led by a Captain Mason and a preacher named Stone. They went by water down the river, and eastward along the seacoast, looking for the Pequot fort of Poquonock, which they reached on the morning of the 25th. The alarm cry of "owanux!" (white men) was at once raised in Poquonock, and the loopholes of the palisades were quickly manned with Pequot archers who quite effectively kept the Connecticut raiding expedition at a distance. Then Mason brought into effect a new bit of strategy hitherto totally unknown in American warfare. The Connecticut army circled round Poquonock at a safe distance, out of bowshot range, and, as they marched round the fort, they kept hurling firebrands into it. The town of Poquonock was set on fire, driving all the inhabitants out into the open, where they were shot down as they came out. Thus Mason's troops killed all the inhabitants of Poquonock, men, women, and children; only five survivors escaped from this town, and they, after somehow gaining the cover of the woods, reached the neighboring tribes, and quickly spread the story of the correct method of attacking such forts as the whites used.

Mason and Stone's expedition then left for the Pequot island of Manisees, called Block Eylandt by the Dutch, and there the Connecticut army massacred all the inhabitants without exception in cold blood. Then came the return to Hartford, where expeditions were organized to kill off all surviving Pequots. To enlist the aid of all individuals wandering in the woods, a reward was offered for bringing Pequot heads into Hartford. Both white and red men tried for the reward, including many Mohicans and even a few stray members of Penacook tribes who had by this time learned that white men's money could get "fire-water." The red men, however, refused to be burdened with heads, and, understanding that the heads were wanted merely for evidence, brought in the scalps instead, and earned the reward of betrayal. Thus was introduced into the warfare of America, both on the part of reds and whites, the custom of scalping enemies, which, in later wars, was to spread over the continent, and which was always done mainly for pecuniary reward, a motive unknown to the red peoples of the northeast before that time.

A few Pequots escaped to the Narragansetts, a few to the Mohicans, and some to other Penacook tribes, and were adopted into those nations, where they added to the resentment against the English. Connecticut took very few prisoners, preferring to massacre on sight; the few prisoners who were taken were sold into slavery in the Bahamas. By the end of June, 1637, the Pequot tribe as such had ceased to exist, and its territory was occupied by the Connecticut colony. The first Connecticut settlement in this region was Poquonock itself, rebuilt and renamed Stonington after Rev. Stone, one of the leaders of the expedition.

Thus perished a people in a fight for freedom against a powerful enemy, leaving in their scattered survivors sparks which could keep the flame of resentment smoldering. The Okamakammessets particularly kept up this spirit of resentment against the Whites' brutal and tyrannical methods. The anniversary of the declaration of the Pequot War, May 1, was used as a day of remembrance of White tyranny by this tribe, as well as by the Mohicans, who received their share of Pequot survivors.

41. ***Puritan Re-Migration***. During the ten years 1628-1638, a veritable flood of incoming settlers overwhelmed the Penacook territory. During that time about 50,000 settlers came over across the ocean into that country, and, had it not been for the property institution, they might have found plenty of room in a few of the many available ports of the Penacook coast. But the white men's property institutions made it difficult for both them and their neighbors. The first comers in any of the white towns immediately apportioned the lands among themselves, and that automatically made matters difficult for later arrivals. If the new arrival was rich enough, he might possibly buy portions of the land; but otherwise the new arrival was obliged to either become a servant, or move in beyond the established settlements. A few "indentured servants" (short-term slaves, working out the price of passage to America, or serving sentences pronounced in England) were sent over, though Virginia and Maryland received most of these; and, in the same way, these indentured servants when their terms were over, had to either continue in service or move inland. This unnecessarily forced expansion of the white colonies naturally caused greater pressure on the Penacook peoples, and made it harder than ever to keep peace. The Pequot War was one of the results of this situation.

To ease this pressure, the Penacooks figured on ways and means of sending their inconvenient neighbors on some war-path that would take them to distant parts—preferably to send the undesirable immigrants back to the land from which they came. The Penacooks knew that the Puritans, Pilgrims, and Red Island colonists were all refugees from a distant country with whose government they had a quarrel, but to which they still claimed allegiance. And so, what better than to send these people back over the ocean to take possession of their own country, and give it the benefit of their American experience? It is difficult to see how this idea was passed on so successfully to the whites in the Penacook country, but doubtless the constant communication between the Penacooks and white settlers made it easy to pass along the idea, and, after the Pequot War, there began a serious exodus of Puritans from America back to England. Not that immigration of Puritans and others to the Penacook coast stopped; but far more crossed the ocean eastward than westward.

Among the immigrants back to England was Roger Williams himself. He went back to England in 1638, presumably to secure for his colony a charter similar to that which the Massachusetts Bay colony had. He actually did get a charter containing the same religious tolerance provision imposed by the Penacook federation as a condition for his occupancy. This charter, however, also took in Anne Hutchinson's colony, ousting her from all authority on the island ceded to her by the Narragansetts, so that ultimately political difficulties with Williams forced her out of the Narragansett region into the Dutch settlements. Roger Williams' charter consolidated both Narragansett Bay colonies under the combined title of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Rhode Island being Mrs. Hutchinson's colony, and Providence Plantations being Williams' colony); this is still the official title of the state more commonly known as Rhode Island. Both Providence and Newport were seats of government for the combined colony; and Rhode Island continued to have two capitals till 1900.

42. ***Puritan Revolt in England***. But Roger Williams had another mission in England on that occasion. The Puritan re-migration constituted essentially a revolutionary army gradually infiltrating into England from America, and carrying on the work of bringing in the new and revolutionary ideas into England, not as ideas imported from America (for that would have been simply inducements to migrate to America, and might lead to the rational inquiry as to why these persons had returned if things were so ideal in America), but in the guise of ideas native to England, and based on English traditions. Since it required that there should be an English leader, not a returned American pioneer, Roger Williams impressed his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, into service for that purpose.

Under Cromwell's leadership, a revolt was organized against the British monarchy. Although the revolt was primarily instigated by the Puritans gradually pouring into England from the Penacook region, and bringing Penacook ideas back with them, the English Puritans who had stayed home were also taken into the army, so that a general revolt was gradually organized. In 1649, after a civil war of many years, King Charles was captured and beheaded by the rebels, and the monarchy was overthrown in favor of a new regime headed by Cromwell, and called Commonwealth.

The revolt, in many ways, such as the ideas of religious tolerance, the red color of its banner (red, in the case of the Penacook Federation, standing for the red race of America), and in making some false starts towards overthrowing the feudal system in favor of the new economic order that was crystallizing in New England as the result of the mixture of English and Penacook institutions, indicated its American origin. Yet, though the connection is obviously there, though the ideas were brought back from America by the re-migration, and though Penacook ideas of civil liberties were brought out by this revolt in England, there was no attempt to present the ideas as American in origin. Rather there was an attempt to present all these new ideas living up to English traditions. Even civil liberties, unknown in England, were so interpreted by a judicious explanation of Magna Carta. For instance, the best known passage in Magna Carta at present is the passage which was translated at that time, for rebel propaganda purposes, as "Let no free man be taken or imprisoned, save by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers"; whereas the original Latin text would rather indicate that it was the judgment of "the peers" rather than "his peers" that was indicated.

The revolt not merely brought back to England some American ideas and introduced them there; it also gave the new economic system of America, the capitalist system, a first foothold in England, from where it later spread to the rest of Europe. The Puritan revolution in England, for instance, broke down the old guild organizations whereby trade and manufacture were monopolized by hereditary groups in a class known under the feudal system as the burghers or the bourgeois, and left those fields open for anyone who had the necessary capital; but nevertheless, it was mainly through that old class of the feudal system that economic power was actually taken. Caste distinctions in Europe, taken over from the feudal system, have never broken down there; what resulted from this revolution giving power to the burghers, was actually an admixture of the American capitalist system, and the old feudal system, with a shifted balance of power, retaining feudal classes but breaking down to some extent their economic basis.

This tactics of infiltration has been a characteristically American form of starting a revolution, quite consistent with the methods of secrecy used by the Reds in conducting their fights, and not at all consistent with European fighting methods which called for open encounters. This method of

slowly sending in an army in disguise stamps the Puritan uprising in England as American in origin, and particularly as of Red inspiration.

43. ***New Haven***. But not all the migration after the Pequot War was eastward. We have seen that Lord Say and Lord Brook were given a royal charter to possess themselves of the Mohican lands along the shore west of the Quinnitucket River. The charter was granted in 1630; but it was not until 1638, after the Pequot tribe had been massacred, that they had the courage to send over a group of Puritans to the mouth of the Quinnitucket. They landed just inside the river on the west shore (the east shore, presumably, being still tainted with Penacook influence—or maybe the charter lords were overscrupulous about staying within the charter boundaries), and the first settlement, at that point, was given the name joining the names of the two proprietors—Saybrook. But it was soon recognized that the colony would need a better harbor to maintain communications.

This colony was different from the other Puritan colonies in many ways. In the first place, it was not in the least a refugee colony; and, in the second place, it was completely off Penacook territory, and not under Penacook influence. It was sponsored by a pair of English lords, and ruled very stringently by the church. Neither the Puritan-Penacook peace, nor Connecticut's alliance with the Mohicans, was recognized in the new colony, which preferred to treat the Mohicans as trespassers on that land which King Charles, by divine right, had given to Lords Say and Brook.

So, when the search for a harbor was conducted along the Mohican shore to the westward, no sooner was a good harbor found (harbors are plentiful along the North Atlantic coast) than the Mohican village of Quinnipiack, at the head of the harbor, was attacked, captured, and taken over by the invaders as headquarters for their colony. To make the appearance of an "Indian deed," a supply of junk that was worthless to both English and Mohicans was left with the red people who were driven out of Quinnipiack, as an ostensible purchase price. And, to commemorate the "discovery" of the harbor they had been looking for, the colonists named both the town and the colony New Haven.

The system of federation of towns was copied from Connecticut, but the towns were under a strong church government, as might have been expected the original Puritan settlements would have become, had they developed under official English sanction and without the influence of the Penacook Federation. The rule of clergy, strong but yet strongly challenged in Massachusetts, weak in the Plymouth Colony, and abolished in Connecticut and Rhode Island, was supreme in the New Haven colony. Intolerance prevailed in the full form found in Europe, rather than in the milder form found in the Puritan colonies which came under Penacook influence.

The New Haven coast being opposite the eastern part of the Great Paumonok Island, the northeastern portion of that island (now called Long Island) was also settled by the New Havenites, particularly those wishing to avoid the worst of clergy rule; thus that part of the North Shore of Long Island became a sort of refugee colony, but it was still an integral part of the New Haven colony, although some of those settlements joined the other federation of towns that was known as the Connecticut Colony, so that both New Haven and Connecticut colonies got a foothold on Long Island.

Another feature of distinction between the New Haven colony and the other Puritan colonies was in the severity of laws and penalties found there. The only basis for New Haven laws was the Old Testament, and the many strict laws and penalties of stoning, etc., found in the Old Testament,

were carried out to the letter in New Haven. Such severity was nothing unusual in England, where over a hundred sorts of crimes were punishable by death; or, for that matter, any other European [one line of words illegible] the laws of European countries; but the neighboring Puritan colonies considered the laws of New Haven as terrible examples of severity, as the other Puritan colonies were already used to the milder rules (which seem severe enough to us) that resulted from imperfect absorption of Penacook ideas. The New Haven colony, consisting largely of loyal and zealous Puritans sent out of England largely so they should not come in contact with the rebel element filtering in, had none of the rebel characteristics found in the remaining New England colonies, and so New Haven remained loyal to the Stuarts until the English Commonwealth became an accomplished fact, after which it supported the English Puritans with equally blind devotion. The New Haven laws, thus noted in New England for their unusual severity, were published in volumes colored blue (the Stuart colors), and came to be known throughout New England as the "Blue Laws." And, ever since, the phrase "Blue Laws" meant laws of unusual severity.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

44. ***Difficulties with the Dutch***. The Dutch colony at New Amsterdam claimed its "discovery rights" to the mainland as far east as the Quinnitucket River, as well as to all the Paumonok Islands. The East Paumonoks were already to some extent in the possession of the Plymouth colony, though as yet there were no steady settlements except a few Plymouth colonizers on the island the Dutch called Martin Wyngaard's, but which the English pronounced Martha's Vineyard; while Connecticut had taken possession of Block Island in the Pequot War. But these were distant outposts that New Amsterdam could not hold or control so easily, and some of the East Paumonoks, such as Nantucket, still remained in Red control, while even Martha's Vineyard was controlled more through Eliot's converts among the red men than by white settlers.

But the Connecticut and New Haven colonies were real threats to the Dutch mainland claims, and both of these colonies, by settling across the sound on the Great Paumonok Island (Long Island), definitely interfered with what the Dutch considered their own private preserve, and apparently were beginning to threaten even such Dutch towns on that island as Vliessingen (now Flushing), even though they were still far off.

Fort Good Hope was built on the Quinnitucket to establish Dutch claims there, and the difficulties that resulted over land disputes finally made the Dutch, who were not ready for open conflict, send representatives to negotiate for a boundary settlement. There never was to be any such agreement reached.

The Dutch had other territorial claims on this continent. Even far Maryland was considered by them as an invasion of their territory, and, when a Swedish colony named Christiana was established on the far side of the Unami (Delaware) River, over a hundred miles southwesterly from New Amsterdam, the Dutch authorities treated that as a challenge. The Dutch colony based its extensive claims mainly on the claims of the Iroquois Federation to control over distant tribes to supervise their border disarmament policy; but where the Iroquois merely claimed control for

treaty-making purposes, the Dutch West India Company, which owned and governed the colony on the Hudson, took their agreements with the Iroquois as conferring on them ownership of the whole vast extent of territory over which the Five Nations claimed rights of supervision. The Iroquois saw no inconsistency in letting Dutch and English settle side by side on land under Iroquois supervision, since the Iroquois were not handicapped with such ideas of property as were setting the white colonies at each other's throats over land which could well afford room for all—such ideas of property as were keeping the white men's home countries over the ocean everlastingly fighting with each other, then as well as now.

The only colonies seriously threatened on the east were Connecticut and New Haven. They sought aid from England, from the other Puritan colonies, from the Mohicans, from the Penacook Federation. For reasons we have already seen, the Mohicans favored Connecticut but opposed New Haven, though they felt that in Dutch expansion they had a common enemy with New Haven; and furthermore, they, like all other red nations, were unwilling to precipitate a war, as their desire was mainly for peace. England, which had previously been a rather ineffective moral support for the Puritan colonies, was now busy with civil war and unable to do anything; and certainly the Puritans could not expect to fight the English regime and at the same time get aid from it. And the Penacook Federation, though at peace with the Puritans, was still too resentful over the Pequot War to do anything but stay neutral. It practically held the balance of power in its home country, and resumed its position as mentor of the white settlements, Connecticut being most anxious to placate the Federation, as being already in conflict with the Dutch.

The use of wampum for exchange purposes, together with the rewards given to scalpers during the Pequot War, had resulted in quantities of alcohol finding its way into Federation towns, and in 1638, the Council of the Penacook Federation asked the New England colonies to stop their traffic in liquor, as it was felt the liquor trade was badly weakening the red nations. Only Connecticut paid attention to this request, as it had the most reason to placate the Penacooks. Connecticut therefore, in 1638, passed a law forbidding the sale of liquor to red people; but the white institutions of property have always been ill adapted to prevent any sort of smuggling, and, the trade being in private hands, it was almost impossible to prevent considerable smuggling from going on, though both Connecticut and Penacook authorities used considerable effort against the contraband trade. It has since been the effort of red people to stop this trade, but so far without any effective success, since white man's property institutions continually breed every sort of corruption.

The Quinnitucket colonies, not being able to get effective aid from Mohicans, Penacooks, or England, were forced to turn to the remaining Puritan colonies, who appeared willing but hardly able to aid. Their population had been badly depleted by the Puritan re-migration to England.

45. ***New England Federation***. Thus Connecticut and New Haven were forced to turn for aid to the English settlements to the east. But not much was actually done, and the Dutch remained stationed between Connecticut and New Haven, threatening Mohicans, Penacooks, and Puritans alike. There was also a threat from the French in the north, who were trying to occupy their theoretical Province of Maine, which they interpreted as taking in the entire Penacook country.

Thus was created a situation very similar to that of the Penacooks peoples in 1621. Then the Iroquois were reaching the Quinnitucket, and the Penacook nations were gathered to repulse them; on this occasion, the Puritans were sharing Penacook territory and were overflowing its western border, while the Dutch, spreading eastward to the Quinnitucket, had reached them and were

threatening them. Both English and Dutch had brought over much of their social structure from Europe, and were therefore unable to understand communities where the people had even as much control as among the Iroquois, where democracy was more nominal than real; but still the Puritans had received some smattering of democracy from their Penacook neighbors, while as yet nothing remotely resembling it had penetrated to their white neighbors the Dutch to the west, or the French to the north.

Though the Penacook Federation got more friendly treatment from the French allies of their sister federation the Wabanake, and though they had plenty of reason to resent the presence of English in their own country, still did not wish to take any chance on a Dutch invasion from over the Quinnitucket, which would have been, in a way, a duplicate of the Iroquois raid of 1621. Accordingly they planned to aid the Puritans by indirect advice, as peace was already arranged in that quarter. It was a simple matter to circulate hints of the story of the Iroquois attempt at invading that region, as well as of the remedy finally adopted. In this way the various New England colonies gradually became impressed with the advantage of taking similar steps themselves, and, like the red peoples of their territory, they began to plan on forming a federal council, a central organization having a slight measure of control over all the colonies for purposes of concerted action only. This would also be able to replace the support they used to have from England, but which was now lacking due to the English civil war; it could also bolster up the morale of the Puritans while so many of their people were emigrating to fight in the English war. This emigration, in fact, made a further point of similarity with the situation of the Penacooks in 1621; for then the Penacook population had just been depleted by a plague, to the same degree as the Puritans were losing their people by emigration.

In 1642, delegates assembled in Boston from all the English colonies in or near Penacook territory. This included Gorgeans (or "Maine," as the popular assembly preferred to call it), New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Rhode Island, Providence Plantations, Connecticut, and New Haven. Had the influence of the Narragansett Bay colonies predominated in the council, or had Iroquois influence been stronger than Penacook, they would doubtless have gone through with the original plan to federate all these colonies together; but the Massachusetts delegates objected to including such terribly intolerable people as the Red Island colonies (Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, still separately ruled under a joint charter) or the feudal aristocracy of Gorgeana and New Hampshire, representing the very institutions the English Puritans were fighting against.

This exclusive attitude was primarily due to religious intolerance on the part of the Massachusetts delegates; but the Penacooks had a very different reason for approving the results—namely, that similarity of social institutions was a test of federability—and it was from the Penacooks that the English had to learn the rudiments of federal organization. Where the Iroquois, figuring on the basis of common origin and language, would have united everyone, the Penacooks, on the basis of similarity of organization, could not advise such different types of organizations as the aristocratic Piscataqua colonies, the free-opinioned Red Island colonies, and the church-ruled Puritan colonies, to federate together, on the theory that the rifts would be too strong and tend to break up the federation. The Red Island colonies, however, in their exclusion, were assured of Narragansett protection, which is to say, the protection of the Penacook Federation.

The New England Confederation was finally organized in 1643, on a similar basis to the Penacook Federation, an agreement being drawn up between the four constituent colonies to form a constitution for the confederation. The four colonies that finally federated were Massachusetts Bay,

Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was a loose federation, like the Penacook, leaving the units the greatest degree of freedom, but was intended to secure unity in regard to external affairs (including, as the New England constitution mentioned it, missionary work among the red men). This constitution provided for a general annual get-together ("Congress") of delegates from the individual colonies to correspond the Penacook federal council; while a presiding officer of this "Congress" (President) was designated as a general leader of the confederation, corresponding to the Bashaba of the Penacook Federation. Admission of new colonies into the confederation was barred, probably to keep the Rhode-Islanders out, though it is notable that no federal constitutions ever provided for admission of new states before 1719, when the Iroquois admitted the Tuscarora nation, after which all new federal constitutions always provided for that question.

Though formed under Penacook guidance, the New England Confederation lacked the Penacook's democracy, partly because the whites never could properly understand democracy, partly because the institution of property interferes. But enough of that element was injected by Penacook influence to create a sharp division in New England between authorities and advocates of liberty, a division which became stronger as the red ideals became infused among the population.

This was the first experience of the English colonies at federating with one another, and it became the precedent on which were based all subsequent federations, including the two successive federations known as the United States of America. That this first federation—a loose one, leaving the federal council comparatively little power—was brought into existence largely under Penacook influence was unquestionably a determining factor in the character of all later federations.

46. ***Annexation of the Piscataqua***. The Piscataqua colonies, Gorgeana and New Hampshire, were left out of the New England Confederation as being built on too different a basis of organization; and there a town-meeting form of organization, parallel to the form of government in the Confederation colonies, was the rival for actual power as against the recognized government consisting of the lords chartered from England, the town meetings having more of the actual allegiance with the population even though without any recognition from across the ocean. In the case of Gorgeana, the town meetings, apparently objecting to a name that was derived too obviously from the lord's name, actually used a different name for the colony, by adopting the French name for the Wabanake region, Maine.

As the New England Confederation had little success in negotiating boundaries with either the Dutch to the west or the French to the north, it was hoped that New Hampshire and its sister colony (whether called Gorgeana or Maine) would act as buffer states to keep New England and New France apart, though the red federations which shared the White Mountain region were more successful at keeping English and French settlers from coming too dangerously in conflict with one another.

But the Massachusetts Bay colony did not feel like leaving these buffer states in peace. Just as they insisted on interpreting the royal charters literally as giving land titles even where no possession existed, prevailed even while the New England Confederation was actually fighting against the king (though the fight was theoretically against the malignant advisers rather than against the king personally). The charter of Massachusetts Bay extended to three miles north of the Merrimac River, which the English originally supposed to run all the way in a general west-to-east course instead of heading almost directly southward most of the way, as it actually does. Consequently the General Court of Massachusetts (the legislative body), on looking up the charter

in 1652, after the protectorate in England had left New England very much on its own, decided that the charter meant that Massachusetts extended to a line three miles north of the headwaters of the Merrimac, and sent a commission of surveyors to determine the exact location and latitude of the river's source; which was done that summer, the commissioners leaving a stone marker in Lake Winnipesaukee for that purpose. (At low water, this stone, now called "Endicott's Stone," after the then governor of Massachusetts, is still to be seen in the lake.)

In October, 1652, Massachusetts officially set up a claim to everything as far north as the latitude of Lake Winnipesaukee—including all the New Hampshire and Maine settlements—and then proceeded to reorganize there and demand the allegiance of the inhabitants. In the original settlement of Piscataqua, which the Massachusetts legislature reorganized as the town of Kittery (its present name) a town meeting was called specially for the purpose, the commissioners arresting one man who protested against Massachusetts' seizure of Maine and holding him till he agreed to swear allegiance, while the rest of the town, warned by this, voted allegiance to Massachusetts unanimously. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere in New Hampshire and Maine; but, on the whole, as soon as it appeared definitely that Massachusetts was going to recognize the town meetings exclusively and oust Gorges and Mason from the government, opposition calmed down and there was more willingness to become part of Massachusetts, in preference to the old official governments, which could only recognize the inhabitants as serfs of Gorges and Mason. These lords themselves, by this seizure of territory, were left only with a claim to territory in actual possession of the Wabanake Federation; and thus ended the attempt to establish a feudal regime in New England. The Massachusetts reorganization of towns resulted in considerable renaming of towns, among which was the name of Portsmouth for New Hampshire's original settlement and only harbor.

47. ***New Sects***. In the meantime, England was in a state of civil war between the followers of the king and those of the Puritan regime, the latter finally gaining the victory in 1649. Since Roger Williams was one of the chief advisers of the Puritan side, he attempted to introduce into England a system of religious toleration similar to what the Penacook chiefs had taught him; also, the influence of the quantity of Puritans just returned from America resulted in many safeguards of individual liberty such as were taken for granted in Penacook country. For instance, the king's private and secret court, the Star Chamber, was abolished, as well as the custom (taken for granted in England for centuries) of sentencing people to prison or death without a hearing. Much of this work of the English "Commonwealth," derived from institutions the New England Puritans had brought back with them from the Penacook land, has become permanent, and is responsible for such personal rights as exist today in England, though the infiltration type of tactics made it essential to attribute all this to English sources, claiming (though falsely, and by the help of mistranslations from the Latin text) to be restorations of popular rights alleged to have been granted to England in 1215 by Magna Carta, which really proclaimed certain rights to the nobility rather than the people.

The new system of tolerance had its immediate effect in the formation of many new sects. Persons who had been exiled for various forms of heresy, and sects formerly excluded, were invited back to England. Many of these sects were offshoots of Puritanism, though violently opposed to it as an established church.

One of the most important of these new sects arising at this period, at least as far as concerns American history, was the Society of Friends, commonly called the Quakers. This sect was founded in 1648, and had its origin in Puritanism, but differed from it remarkably on many points,

emphasizing to a great extent equality and a sort of passive resistance to authority; but it derived from Puritanism its method of conduction the affairs of the sect by membership meetings—a method originally learned from the Pilgrims, and by the Pilgrims from the democratic institutions of the Penacook peoples.

The Quaker sect, building on so much of the new that was brought back from America by the Puritans, and rejecting or opposing the old, consequently incorporates so many native American features that the sect remained a small one and a very inconspicuous one in England, but flourished remarkably in spite of the fiercest opposition the moment it was attempted to transplant it to American soil; so that this sect, never of importance in England, became an important factor in the development of America.

Though Roger Williams had frequently and openly denounced Quakerism, yet, when they came to attempt settling in the Narragansett Bay region, he had to grant them the same tolerance granted there to all religious dissenters, as Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations now more than ever had to fall back on Penacook protection, and therefore to stick closely to the conditions under which occupation of Narragansett territory was allowed. And, as Massachusetts, not content with its seizure of the Piscataqua colonies, was attempting to take possession of parts of the Providence Plantations by issuing land grants to the Pawcatuck River region, encouragement of the immigration of a multitude of new sects with an interest in resisting Puritan expansion was a good means of building up the colonies in those regions in a way that added weight to the principle of tolerance.

Such was the opposition between Massachusetts and Rhode Island on the tolerance question that the Quaker sect quickly became the bone of contention as concerned that issue. And it was probably mainly on account of Rhode Island's tolerance that Massachusetts authorities, almost from the very first, stringently persecuted the Quaker sect with a zeal that went far beyond any support the authorities could get from the population, and in some cases produced internal difficulties over the tolerance issue, though the people did not consciously fight for tolerance.

Even though the Quakers, battling against persecution in Massachusetts alienated public sympathy by the use of such tactics in propagating their beliefs as the breaking up of Purtitan meetings by what amounted to nudist demonstrations accompaied by loud prophesies of disasters to come, nevertheless such drastic measures as the order to banish all Quakers from Massachusetts, passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1658, met with constant opposition from the people whenever enforcement of its strict provisions was attempted.

One of the first cases was that of the Southwick family, starting with the banishment of an old Quaker couple in Salem, who were arrested several times before they managed to get out of the province, and, after finding several nearby refugee colonies unsatisfactory, finally reached one of the Paumonok islands, where they died a year later; this island has ever since been called Shelter Island on account of the refugees finding shelter there. Next the authorities descended on their children, who were ordered by the authorities to be sold into slavery to pay for their parents' defaulted pew-rent in the Puritan meeting-house; but, when the children were brought to the water-front in Boston to be sold off to the captains of outgoing ships, the captains unanimously refused to accept the children, and the rebellious attitude of the crowd forced the governor to release the Quaker children. This incident, on Wednesday, September 18, 1658, was one of the early indications of the general attitude of rebellion which Massachusetts has always taken towards its

authorities whenever there has been any tendency for authority to overstep prescribed limits. It is this incident that is commemorated in Whittier's poem "Cassandra Southwick":

"Pile my ship with bars of silver, pack with coins of Spanish gold,
From keel-piece up to deck plank, the roomage of her hold,
By the living God who made me!—I would sooner in your bay
Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear this child away!"

This Southwick incident also marked the beginning of an active fight for freedom of opinion in Massachusetts, and, with the beginning of that fight, could actually be credited with ushering in a new era in the world. This fact gives some justification to the poem's description of that moment:

"Oh, at that hour the very earth seemed changed beneath my eye,
A holier wonder round me rose the blue walls of the sky,
A lovlier light on rock and hill, and stream and wooded lay,
And softer lapsed on sunnier sands the waters of the bay."

There were to be, however, other cases of Quaker persecution in Massachusetts, and other cases of resistance by the people to the authorities, before tolerance was to be considered as even partially won. In December, 1660, three Quaker women were banished from Dover, tied behind the cart and stripped to the waist in zero weather, and under sentence of ten lashes each at every town till they were gotten out of Massachusetts; but at Salisbury, they were released by the town judge, who made the officers take the women's place under the lash.

" 'This warrant means murder foul and red;
Cursed be he who serves it!' he said.

" 'Cut loose these poor ones and let them go;
Come what will of it, all men shall know,
No warrant is good, though backed by the Crown,
For whipping women in Salisbury town!' "

Again, a legend (though its correctness is questioned) tells of a couple who were harboring a Quaker on the Merrimac shore, and escaped arrest by sailing down the river and out to sea in a rowboat, and who founded a refuge for religious dissenters on Nantucket Island, where they landed. This settlement has ever since shown a remarkable degree of independence of everybody outside; it also differs from other white settlements in America in having actually taken over a partially Penacook form of land tenure—land being owned in common, and occupancy being parcelled out in family groups on a basis that may derive from the tribal genses—this land tenure still holding its own on Nantucket to a great extent in spite of the persistent attempt of outside courts to impose private individual ownership.

48. ***Conquest of the South***. During all this time, with New England so strongly rebel, the Potomac colonies in the south were more strongly royalist than ever. Virginia, in fact, served as a refuge for many royalists driven out of England by the war there; all such refugees were welcomed by Governor Berkeley, whose boast it had always been that the populace of the colony were being held down and kept in ignorance. Maryland was just as strongly royalist, though the established

church there had less power than in Virginia, the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, being a Catholic. But, in 1649, when it became obvious that in England the Puritans were gaining the upper hand, Maryland attempted to placate the new regime by passing a law providing for complete religious tolerance, which nevertheless in practice was available only to Catholics and Episcopalians.

The northern and southern English colonies were thus at loggerheads, and only the fact that the Dutch and Swedish colonies separated the two prevented actual warfare from resulting. This was heightened by the difference in character of their institutions; all work done in the south was fundamentally based on slavery and indentured servitude, which was officially recognized in the north but rare and looked down upon; aristocracy was rampant in the south and holding the people down, while it was almost extinct in the north; witchcraft prosecutions (though the existence of witchcraft was universally believed in at that time) was always common in the south, and surprisingly rare in the north, just as the Puritan regime in England had completely stopped all witch-craft prosecutions there, though they had been previously frequent. The idea of popular self-government, largely acquired from the northern red nations, was fundamental with northern colonies, but made very little headway in the south, where the red nations were controlled from above rather than from the people.

After 1649, when King Charles had been beheaded and the Puritan revolution took control of England, expeditions were sent out to enforce the submission of every region where royalist forces might possibly be supposed to remain; and in connection with these expeditions, territory occupied by the other nations were taken possession of, under the excuse that England had some shadowy charter claim and it might prove a royalist hideout. This policy of allowing no refuge on earth for an overthrown regime, and thus forcing them to fight by hounding them to the remotest ends of the earth, is a characteristic of eastern-hemisphere revolutions which has ever been noticeable in those native to North America, which rather tend to encourage an overthrown regime to make its home in some other spot where it is more welcome.

New England, as the origin of the Puritan revolt, was not disturbed, and the Federation was allowed to function uninterrupted, but Holland was forced to evacuate its settlements on the Quinnitucket, thus rendering the New England settlements there safe from attack from that source.

While Cromwell’s Puritan regime in England went to considerable trouble in forcing Scotland and Ireland to submit, and while, under an old charter claim, the Spanish in possession of Jamaica were routed from that island, it was the Southern colonies of North America that were considered the arch-retreat of royalism. And so, in 1652, a fleet from England sailed into Chesapeake Bay to demand the submission of Virginia and Maryland. No effective resistance proved available on the part of the Potomac colonies, which surrendered and were dominated by the Commonwealth of Virginia ("Commonwealth" being the title given England by the Puritan revolution there, and which was temporarily adopted by some New England colonies at the time), under a Puritan governor, Bolton, brought over by the fleet. Virginia’s royal governor, Berkeley, retired to his country estate, out of office but holding much of the colony’s allegiance, while the Maryland proprietor, Lord Baltimore, was in a very similar situation on the north shore of the Potomac River.

Thus the hostility between North and South which parallelled the civil war in England resulted in what could be considered as a victory for the North. It was not a victory for popular government in the South, as the aristocracy remained in actual control and retained its royalist disposition, though outwardly submitting to the Puritan rule. Slavery and indentured servitude remained the

social basis of the Potomac colonies, though the source of indentured servants was cut off during the Cromwell period by the discontinuance of the practice of shipping people to Maryland and Virginia to be sold as servants.

49. ***The Middle Regions***. In the meantime the Dutch, from their headquarters on the Paumonok Islands, in spite of the loss of territory to New England in the northeast, pushed westward and southward, as well as up towards the heart of the Iroquois territory to the north of them.

In 1655 the Dutch conquered the Swedish colony of Christiana, and made it part of the domain of New Netherland, thus coming into conflict with the Maryland settlements east of Chesapeake Bay. An assortment of manors, with a land tenure modelled on what they had left behind in Europe, were beginning to line the Shatemuck (or Hudson) River—establishing settlements in that valley as individual property of overlords, such as Bronck's, the Jonkeer's, Peek's Kill, and many others, mostly bearing the lord's name. It was still a long way from a successful establishment of feudal aristocracy on this continent, but seeds were being planted which somehow took better root on the Hudson than in New England or on the Potomac.

Thus the Mohican and Lenape tribes which lived in the valley of Shatemuck were pushed back from the river. The Lenape nations were under the Iroquois disarmament rule, and were supposed to let the Iroquois do all their defense and treaty-making; but the Iroquois failed notably in this, being allies of the Dutch and English, and leaving the Lenapes to be squeezed out. After experience following the Hoboken massacre, the Iroquois disarmament rule was defied, and there were plenty of raids and fights between Lenape and Dutch. And now that the Iroquois themselves were being pushed back by the advance of Dutch colonization, Lenapes and Mohicans were left very much to their own devices in dealing with the invading whites.

The Mohicans were pushed eastward towards Connecticut, and were able to some extent to rely on their alliance with Connecticut, which, however, proved to be of little value to them because Connecticut belonged to the New England Confederation which was allied with the Iroquois.

To the west of the Shatemuck, the Lenape had themselves alone to rely on. Some branches of these nations pushed westward in to the mountains of the Unamie (which river, as well as the Lenape people, was named by the English Delaware), from where it was easier to defy both whites and Iroquois. But the fight against both Iroquois and whites forced the Lenape nations, at about this period, to imitate the Iroquois and Penacook form of organization to the extent of joining with Mohicans, Manhattans, and various nations of the West Paumonoks, to form the Lenape Federation, under the leadership of one Tamenund. This federation was definitely under control from above, unlike the Iroquois and Penacook Federations; it was actually under control of a self-perpetuating clique of sachems, which, however, went frequently through the formality of an election whose result was predetermined. The Iroquois custom whereby a name followed successors to the same office indefinitely, was adopted by the Lenapes, so that the name Tamenund became the title for a ruling chief of the Lenapes under this system, the present-day relic of that title being, strangely enough, in the political term Tammany.

In this way, the institution of federation was extended to the outposts of the Swedish and New England settlements, and from there on the prevailing form of society was aristocratic—among the whites through Maryland and Virginia, and among the red nations farther south. There was as yet

no definite boundary, but the dividing line was thus beginning to form between the free institutions of the Algonquin influence on the north, and aristocracy and slavery on the south. This division line gradually became sharper as time went on, without changing its position noticeably, until, in the course of a century, it became definitely marked out as Mason and Dixon's line.

CHAPTER XI

UNDER RESTORED MONARCHY

50. ***American Policy of the Restored Stuarts***. The Puritan regime in England did not long survive Oliver Cromwell, and, in 1660, the Stuart monarchy returned to power. Charles II, the son of Charles I, became king, while his brother James (who later became King James II) returned to his title of Duke of York and Albany. The new ruler claimed the entire Atlantic coast of North America on the grounds of an alleged "discovery" by the Cabots in 1497, in spite of their never having even approached the continent!

As a first step in asserting this claim to the entire continent, Duke James was given "title" to the entire region claimed by the Dutch, and to lands east of the Kennebec claimed by the French. This title, of course, represented merely royal permission to go and take it, no matter whom it may have already been in possession of.

Another step was engaging the philosopher Locke to draw up a constitution for the ideal aristocracy for a new colony to be named Carolina in honor of King Charles. This constitution was drawn up, with a complicated hierarchy of nobility enjoying absolute power, and all titles were different from any used in England. It was then conveniently remembered that a French expedition, a century before, coasting the region between the Florida peninsula and what later became Virginia, had named that part of the coast Caroline after another King Charles, and this coincidence made it a convenient country in which to try to put Locke's constitution into effect. This region was already inhabited, not merely by the original red inhabitants, but in some of the sand bar islands of Albermarle Sound by refugees from recognized English colonies, who were pressed into service as the commoners in Locke's scheme.

Puritan prisoners captured in England during and following the suppression of the Puritan regime and the restoration of the monarchy were sold into slavery in Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, especially the former. It was technically indentured servitude, officially meaning a contract for enforced labor for a certain number of years; but these prisoners were mostly given life servitude. Thus Virginia was suddenly injected with a great mass of slaves who had been rebels, and many of whom had acquired a smattering of Penacook principles; and this large mass, suddenly injected into the mass of hitherto voiceless indentured servants of Virginia, proved too much to permit the continuance of the peaceful oppression on which Virginia society had been based, and in 1663 the Puritans organized a general uprising of the indentured servants of Virginia. This plan, however, was prematurely discovered, resulting in a failure of the rebellion to come to a head.

51. ***The Penacook Country at the Restoration***. Confronted with restoration of monarchy in England, the New England Confederation claimed it had never submitted to the Cromwell regime,

which was true in a way, as, being the primary source of the Puritan revolution, New England had never been called on to submit as had more recalcitrant places like Virginia and Maryland. Even the two united Red Island colonies, which remained outside the Confederation, were in the same position in that respect as the Confederation. Consequently, the New England colonies generally received new charters on almost the same basis as before the Cromwell period. The colonies of Rhode Island and Providence had their charter provisions of religious tolerance renewed, because the monarchy saw in that a chance to get rid of their religious heretics by shipping them from England to Narragansett Bay; and so these two colonies received a joint charter, as the Province of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. New Hampshire was once more separated from Massachusetts, but this time under a royal governor instead of under the old-time proprietorship; the popular part of the government continued to rival the royal governor for power as it had formerly with the proprietors. But the people of Maine, fearing a return of the former proprietorship, and not wishing to lose the town-meeting organization they had started for themselves and developed under Massachusetts protection, petitioned against being treated similarly to New Hampshire, and Maine became officially annexed to Massachusetts, though separated from it by New Hampshire.

Meanwhile the Penacook Federation had been considerably pushed back, except in the north. We have seen how the Pequot nation was wiped out. A large part of the Masadchu and Natick nations had been converted by "Apostle" Eliot, who turned many of his converts into traitors and spies against their own people; these nations became practically useless to the Federation, and the converts were gradually concentrated in a few towns close to Boston, and became almost servants to the Puritans. Nipmucks and Okamakammessets largely also adopted Christianity to a limited extent, but not under the close supervision of their eastern neighbors, so they were able to hold on to their principles and to the Federation; in fact, conversion for them was largely for the purpose of gaining Puritan confidence, and religion was interpreted extremely liberally. The same was true of the Wampanoags, who were already being driven into remoter corners of the Plymouth Colony, the main division finding its refuge around Pokenoket, on the peninsula jutting out into Narragansett Bay. The Narragansetts were also being tightly pressed. The tide of resentment spread through the Penacook nations as their people were constantly pushed back by the property-hungry whites; but Passaconaway, the Bashaba of the Federation, and many other Penacook officials such as sagamores Canonicus of the Narragansetts and Massasoit of the Wampanoags were still succeeding in preventing an outburst of rebellion. But Massasoit died in 1660, and his son Metacom succeeded him as a sagamore, putting a belligerent attitude into the tribal council, where there had been a peaceful tendency before. Things were rapidly nearing the breaking point between the peoples of New England and Penacook.

The important difference between whites and reds was, as ever, the institution of property, whose center had long ago shifted in America from land (the important proprietary feature in Europe) to commerce, the only effective contact between the two peoples. Trade was property's only contact with the red people, therefore it was the only real hold it could gain in America. Property, with its attendant features of poverty and charity, was introduced into Apostle Eliot's communities of red converts. But, whether in land or in trade, the influence of the red peoples was able to tone down this institution to some extent, though the weakening of the Penacook Federation necessarily meant the strengthening of the commercial form of the institution of property.

52. ***The Duke of York's Claims***. We have seen that the restored king gave a charter to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, covering a considerable stretch of land not in English possession. And, while the problem of gaining possession was still unsolved, the Duke, following

his brother's example in granting land which was not his to give, proceeded to sell some of that same land. He selected a tract of Lenape territory, between the Hudson River and the river of the Unamis to the west (a river named by the Virginians Delaware after one of their aristocrats, Lord de la Warr—the Virginians even called the Lenape nations Delawares), and sold this land to Lord Cartaret of the Island of Jersey. Lord Cartaret opened negotiations with the Dutch and arranged for peaceful occupation of as much as was under actual Dutch control, giving this new estate the Latin name of Nova Caesarea, translated into English as New Jersey. Lord Cartaret had descriptions of the region made up, describing conditions there as almost Utopian, and in that way lured a number of settlers to go with him to start an English colony there.

As the Duke of York had really designed Cartaret's colony as an entering wedge for gaining possession of the main Dutch colony, and so the first English settlement (there were already Dutch towns on the Hudson shore of New Jersey) selected a location on the same harbor, behind the island of Aquehonga (or, in Dutch, Staten Eylandt) at the mouth of a bay which was a common outlet of the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers. Here, for a miracle, Cartaret actually negotiated with the Lenape tribes for possession of a town site, and here Lord Cartaret established himself as a proprietor and governor for the colony, naming the town after his wife, Elizabeth, who governed the colony during her husband's frequent returns to England.

This colony was the first foothold gained by the English on the middle coast. It included, besides the English settlement of Elizabeth, a group of Dutch settlements along the Hudson River, including Communipaw*, the settlement from which Niuew Amsterdam was colonized, and which is at present part of Jersey City. The colony of New Jersey was governed largely after the Maryland model, as influenced by the years of Puritan domination—a hereditary proprietor as absolute ruler, with a legislature elected by subsidiary property owners for purely advisory purposes. This colony was isolated from the other English colonies in America, Dutch territory remaining on both sides of it, the New Netherlands itself separating New Jersey from New England, and the Swedish settlements under Dutch control separating the colony from the South.

But this isolation was not to last long. If the Dutch authorities at Niuew Amsterdam imagined that they got rid of the English claims by the cession of land across the Hudson, they were mistaken. The Duke of York still claimed all the territory that the Dutch claimed, including the Swedish settlements, and both East and West Paumonok Islands, and the mainland east to the Quinnitucket. In 1664, shortly after Cartaret's settlement of Elizabeth, the Duke of York, in an unofficial and undeclared war, sent a small fleet to Niuew Amsterdam to demand the surrender of the entire Dutch colony. The Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, sent out a messenger to ride up the Hudson Valley warning the people that the British were coming, and calling them to arms; but this herald was drowned trying to cross from Manhattan to the mainland. The population showed no enthusiasm for the defense of a government which was merely a trading-post agency, and very little resistance could be mustered. When the fleet landed, the Dutch authorities surrendered without a struggle, and the Duke of York took possession of the entire Dutch colony, and renamed both the colony and town of Niuew Amsterdam after his own title, New York, while the Duke's Scotch title (Duke of Albany) was impressed on the upriver settlement of New Potterdam, which now acquired the new designation of Albany. The colony was then divided into "ridings" (the name for the subdivisions of York County, England) for administrative purposes, and these were baptized into the new Yorkish allegiance with such names as New York, Kings, Queens, Dukes, Dutchess, and Albany. The Dutch manor lords, or "patroons," of the Hudson Valley, were allowed to remain in power and govern their respective manors as petty monarchs, subject to the Duke's authority as

supreme and absolute monarch of the colony. As under the Dutch West India Company, there was no permission for popular representation to interfere with this absolute rule, and, even off the manors, the Duke's representatives were allowed mainly to tax-farm their domains, extracting all the tribute for themselves they possibly could, and at their own discretion. Even when, later on, an advisory legislature was set up, this general scheme of things was not interfered with, and, in New York, the minions and cliques controlling the region's affairs for their own personal gain always remained more fundamental than the thinly superimposed legislatures which never were a real part of the regime, and which were always more or less disregarded.

53. ***New Settlement in Carolina***. The extreme southern colony of Carolina covered, as did Virginia before it, territory claimed by the Spanish as part of the Florida dominions, and England therefore attempted to stretch its Carolinian possessions as far southward as possible. Therefore some shiploads of colonists were gathered in England, and sent to the southern portion of the colony, it being intended that they should be the subjects of the landgraves and other aristocrats set up by Locke's Carolina constitution, and who were having their difficulties trying to rule the refugee colonies on Albemarle Sound.

This group of new colonists took possession of the banks of a river which they named Ashley, and started a town which they named Charles Town, after King Charles II. Slaves were promptly sent in from the Antilles to do the colony's labor, and this new settlement became a strongly slave colony from the very start.

The established aristocrats of Carolina, however, had their headquarters on Albemarle Sound, and the great distance of Charles Town made it difficult to take a personal hand in ruling the Ashley River region, communication being very difficult, and there being no red-race courier system in the South as there was in the North. So Charles Town as largely allowed to run itself, mainly on the parliamentary model which England had learned from Cromwell's rebellion.

Soon following the start of the southern settlement, the Albemarle Sound region, largely consisting in the first place of refugees, revolted and overthrew the rule of Locke's aristocrats. The Carolina colony then split in two and was later so chartered—the Albemarle Sound settlements being North Carolina, and Charles Town (now called Charleston) forming the nucleus for the colony of South Carolina.

54. ***Punishing New England***. When the English monarchy was restored, the South to some extent had to suffer for the allegiance to Cromwell that had been forced on Virginia and Maryland. But as New England, being in reality the source of Puritan rebellion, had never been called on to give its allegiance to Cromwell, they were, on the restoration of monarchy, able to state that they had never deserted the Stuart regime at all. Undoubtedly the English monarchy regarded this statement with considerable doubt and suspicion, but there was very little tangible or definite on which to punish New England.

Difficulty was raised against Massachusetts to some extent because that province had, during the years Cromwell had ruled England, trespassed on royal prerogatives by coining money, and it was necessary, by some sophistry, not merely to plead emergency as an excuse, but to persuade royal commissioners that the pine-tree emblem printed on Massachusetts coins (actually a Penacook national emblem) was really intended to be a royal oak. However, Massachusetts government, on the whole, gained power rather than lost it, though such orders were received as orders to tolerate

certain sects such as Episcopalians and Quakers. The restored Stuart monarch also broke up the New England arrangement of voting by church membership, substituting property qualifications for voting, in accordance with what England considered as a more powerful mode of management. However, the time-honored institution of town meetings (originally a Penacook institution) persisted in spite of everything, and, when it was desired to evade property qualifications in the Puritan colonies, the Congregational church of the locality (whether Puritan or Pilgrim) helped the evasion by conducting church meetings for political purposes without regard to property qualifications.

As the "regicide judges," Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell, who had sentenced King Charles to death, succeeded in escaping to the New Haven colony, the local militia of the New Haven colony, whenever called upon by England to help capture the fugitives, contrived to lead English authorities on a false trail under the pretense of helping the search, while the fugitives remained in a cave within sight of New Haven, and were taken care of by the people of that town. Accordingly, the king determined to punish that colony by dividing it between its neighbors, the mainland portion being annexed to Connecticut, and the Long Island portion being annexed to New York. This, however, had actually the result of abolishing the theocratic regime under which the New England colony had been suffering, and mainland New Haven got the benefit of town meetings arranged on the Penacook model, though much modified by the property qualifications imposed by the policy of the restored Stuarts.

55. ***New York's Border Conflicts***. The English acquisition did not settle the border conflicts that had troubled the Dutch. On the contrary, the Duke of York claimed all the territory that the Dutch had ever claimed (except New Jersey, where he had sold his claims), and old border disputes that had been considered buried for years, were revived. Everything up to the Quinnitucket was claimed, including such Massachusetts towns as Northampton and Holyoke, all of the original Connecticut colony except what was acquired from the Pequots, and all that had been the New Haven colony. The Duke of York claimed also the entire Paumonok archipelago, conflicting with Connecticut and New Haven settlements (Sayville, Southampton, etc.) on the east end of Long Island, and with Rhode Island and Plymouth claims to the East Paumonoks. When Nantucket was settled by Puritan and Quaker refugees from Massachusetts, they were willing to stay under New York rule, as protection from Puritan authorities; but they got a charter governing the place by hereditary association of the inhabitants, thus obtaining the benefits of town-meeting rule, which the Duke of York strictly prohibited elsewhere in his dominion.

The Duke of York also claimed two pieces of non-contiguous territory, both indefinite in extent. One was a tract extending indefinitely eastward from the Kennebec River, actually in possession of nobody but the Wabanake nations, so that disputes over it were largely academic anyway; but there was also a strip of land on the west bank of the Delaware River, occupied by Swedish colonists, claimed by Maryland as well as by New York.

New York's boundary disputes took over a hundred years to settle, many of them lingering on till after American independence had been established. The renewed royal charter of Massachusetts gave it a strip of land extending westward to the Pacific, and, after the New Haven colony had been divided, Connecticut had been given a similar charter, both strips running right across the Hudson Valley, and the Massachusetts strip taking in the settlement of Albany. The dispute with Connecticut was finally settled by giving New York a right-of-way across its claims, with an eastern boundary taken from the Dutch manor boundaries, and derived mainly from alleged "deeds"

supposed to have been given by Mohican sachems; though Connecticut continued to claim its strip west of the Delaware, and still claims a portion of that strip on Lake Erie. The dispute on the Delaware continued to have its reverberations for a hundred years, and the boundary dispute with Massachusetts was not settled till 1772, though the Duke of York managed to sell his unreachable Kennebec River land to Massachusetts.

It must be remembered, in reading the history of these disputes, that most of the land involved was in the possession of none of the parties to the disputes, but actually belonged to the red-race nations, while the white invaders were actually quarrelling about dividing up the spoils before they got any.

* Communipaw

CHAPTER XII

METACOM'S WAR

56. ***Bashaba Metacom***. It was about 1666 that Passaconaway, the Bashaba of the Penacook Federation, was overtaken on the slope of Mount Agamenticus (in the Abenaki country, near York) by one of the severe thunderstorms that are common in those regions, and was struck by lightning. This gave rise to the legend that he was taken to heaven in an outburst of fire, and that he was still living where he could watch over his people and his country and return some day when he was needed.

It had been mainly Passaconaway's influence that was keeping the peace in Penacook country between red and white. The tribes had often been tempted to strike back, but Passaconaway had always succeeded in turning the tide in favor of peace. And, once Passaconaway was gone, it was a certain conclusion that the rebellious and freedom-loving nature of the various Penacook nations would come to the foreground.

And, as Metacom, the Bashaba of the Wampanoags, was the chief spokesman of the policy of rebellion, he was the logical successor to Passaconaway as head of the Federation, though Wonalancet, Passaconaway's son, had taken his place as head of the Penacook nation proper. And thus, the Penacook Federation elected a new Bashaba, Metacom, who was rebel to the core, and who would merely bide his time for a favorable chance to strike for freedom.

This new Bashaba used an English name, Philip, for dealing with the English settlers, who were still hazy about democratic offices in a government like the Penacook Federation, and considered "Philip" as King of the Indians. Accordingly, the Bashaba Metacom has generally become known as "King Philip."

57. ***Plymouth Resents Metacom***. The Plymouth Colony had been neutral and even friendly toward the Penacook tribes under Passaconaway's administration. But now they were faced with a Penacook administration which was less complacent towards encroachments. Metacom was making constant protests at the way the whites were claiming increasing areas of land as individual property

and forcing the red peoples out of their own country where they had been hospitable enough to admit the whites and permit them to stay.

The Plymouth authorities began to harass and bait Metacom personally. He was repeatedly summoned to answer absurd charges in Taunton, and several times came with a large guard to deny Plymouth's jurisdiction over him. As examples of the type of charges made against him was an alleged rebellion (consisting of the maintenance of an army by the red people); while their usual intertribal visits were called "harboring vagrants;" and the Penacook Federation itself was labelled a "conspiracy." There were also numerous petty persecutions against individual Reds in most of the New England colonies.

The situation made it particularly difficult to maintain peace between the new Bashaba, bent on independence, and the Plymouth Colony, equally determined on subjugation of the reds. But an open break was a long time in coming, and Metacom improved the interval with making diplomatic arrangements, trying to keep the Puritan colonies from interfering, and trying to retain the friendship of the Dutch, French, and Iroquois. And, though the Dutch were eliminated as a factor by the English capture of Nieuw Amsterdam, the efforts at diplomacy were continued. Some members of the Federal Council such as Canonchet, a delegate from the Narragansetts, were in favor of trying to involve the white nations in a fight among themselves so the Penacook peoples could get rid of them all; but Metacom felt that this would leave the Penacook federation between the lines, exposed to fire from all sides.

At the Federal capital, Penacook, the new Bashaba met Passaconaway's daughter, Weetamoo, who had married Winnepurkit, a sachem of the Saugus, in the fall of 1662, and divorced him the following summer, and then married and divorced again several times since. Weetamoo had the old indomitable spirit of her father, as well as his love of freedom, and she found such a rebel spirit as Metacom much better suited to her than her previous husbands, such as the supercilious Winnepurkit. As Metacom's wife, Weetamoo proved a great aid to him in maintaining the cause of freedom for the red peoples. A legend represents her, not as divorcing her first husband, but drowned in a Merrimac flood trying to rejoin him; but she certainly survived this period, and died much later—in another river, it is true—but under circumstances speaking much better for her fighting spirit of independence.

58. ***Reconquest of Paumonok***. In 1674 a Dutch fleet appeared before New York, bringing about a situation in the town similar to that ten years before, when a British fleet appeared in the harbor. Then the dissatisfaction with Stuyvesant, from his disbanding a representative assembly suggested by some visiting Yankees from New England, had caused the people of Manhattan Island to welcome the invading British; for the same reason, after the Duke of York had turned a deaf ear to all petitions for a popular assembly, the Dutch fleet was welcomed back by the inhabitants of New York. In New England, the people had learned to act for themselves, not to wait for "duly constituted authorities" to take action for them; but New York had no experience with either popular government or the Penacook federation; so, as usual, they did nothing, but merely welcomed anything from above that looked like change. Likewise the entire Hudson Valley surrendered, in so far as it was occupied by English and Dutch settlements.

But England regained this territory in a few months, and the Duke of York was once more in control. This time he found it expedient to grant a popular assembly; though without giving it any power, but rather as a sort of debating society, the real power being in Duke James' hands, the

assembly's discussions and resolutions being mainly ignored. Even this assembly was against the advice of James' new governor, Sir Edmond Andros, a swaggering military officer impressed with a sense of his own power, of whom we shall hear more later. This assembly was not actually a legislative body, but was regarded merely as a safeguard against the frequent change of sovereignties. It is characteristic of the difference between New York and New England that this term "assembly," which in New England denotes generally a meeting of citizens, means in New York a discussion group of professional politicians.

As a further safeguard against Holland's claim to the Hudson Valley, England made a treaty with Holland exchanging the territory, so that Holland gave up its claims to North American territory, and acquired in exchange a tract of South American jungle in the region known as Guiana.

59. ***Effect on the Penacook Federation***. The recapture of Paumonok by the Dutch, temporary as it was, had a considerable effect in reducing England's prestige in America.

The Penacook Federation in particular recovered hope. The diplomatic faction, which had been trying to play off Dutch against English, got more assurance, and the spirit of independence in the Federation increased; while the more militant parties felt more confidence. Even the English remaining in New York did not halt this new access of confidence, and the English could no longer be regarded as invulnerable.

But the New England colonies continued their persecution of the Penacook Federation. Efforts were made to stop the Penacook postal service on Sundays; but this merely encouraged the sentiment in the tribes for a religious war against the whites. Again, one of the Apostle Eliot's coverts was arrested by the Natick nation as a spy, and executed after his case had been appealed to the Federal Council; but the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorities preferred to treat this execution as a murder, and executed three perfectly innocent tribesmen, on the alleged evidence that the dead man's wounds had opened when the accused were brought near.

But still it was rather with the Pilgrims that trouble was expected, for they were trying in every possible way to reduce the Wampanoags and the Bashaba, and, through him, the Penacook Federation into helpless subjection. The Pilgrims, too, made diplomatic efforts to align Puritans, Iroquois, Mohicans, French, and even the English authorities in New York with a view to the coming struggle. England itself, however, was not merely totally indifferent, but there were indications that the restored monarchy would have preferred to see the New England colonies lose some of their power, especially in the case of Plymouth, whose government England had never officially recognized. And the Iroquois claimed their alliance to be with England directly, and would not join in such a fight unless England declared herself; they intended merely to keep the neutrality of tribes west of the Quinnitucket, which were to some extent under Iroquois dominion. But some of these tribes were presumed to be friendly to the Penacook cause, and the Penacook Federation expected some aid also from the Wabanake Federation, which was originally a split-off from the Penacook, and closely related to it.

It was still uncertain what Rhode Island and the Puritans would do, and desperate efforts were made to keep these colonies from interfering in a war against Plymouth. In the spring of 1676, after the Plymouth colony had made demands for total disarmament of the Wampanoags, the Federal Council decided that, in the event of war, only the Wampanoag nation would war on Plymouth; but,

if the rest of the New England Confederation should join in the war, the Penacook Federation would do likewise.

60. ***War Against Plymouth***. The Bashaba Metacom took a truly rebel attitude on all these attempts to subjugate his people. He waited until everything was thoroughly ready, but would not hesitate to strike when the occasion demanded. Many tribesmen were ready to fight, and in many cases for other reasons than Metacom's. For instance, Ninigret was opposed to Christianity (or at least the Pilgrim and Puritan brands of it), and wished to make it a religious war. But it was realized that there was some diplomatic importance in having good grounds for fighting when war should start.

When the Plymouth Colony issued a final ultimatum to the Wampanoags to turn over all their arms at Taunton, the Wampanoag nation realised that it was meant as the final step to complete their subjugation, and that it would mean the destruction of all the liberties that their tribes had enjoyed under the Penacook Federation. And so the tribal council met on the evening of Monday, June 17, 1675, and declared war against the Plymouth Colony.

This declaration of war has been represented, as have other wars of Reds against Whites, as an unreasoning and unprovoked outburst of savage fury. But it is noticeable that the same historians speak of patriotic acts instead of "outbursts of savage fury" in describing the uprising which took place under fairly similar circumstances exactly a century later by the inhabitants of Okamakammesset Land against the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. Curiously enough, the anniversary of the declaration of Metacom's War has become a patriotic holiday in Boston under the Second Republic, since the hundredth anniversary of this declaration was celebrated by the rebels of 1775 by an attack on the hill of Mishawum which inflicted severe losses on the army of the Massachusetts Bay authorities. So, according to the ordinary current story, the inhabitants of Okamakammesset Land were highly patriotic in revolting in 1775, but merely suffering from an outburst of savage fury in 1675.

The day after war was declared, the Wampanoag army started out towards Taunton, and at the same time the New England Confederation decided to aid Plymouth, and a troop of militia set out from Boston on Friday, June 21. When the news reached Penacook, the Federation decided to aid the Wampanoags, and Red and White federations were at war.

Many neighboring red tribes joined the Penacook peoples in this war. The tribes west of the Quinnitucket, though supposed to be disarmed and under Iroquois supervision, made use of this opportunity to overthrow Iroquois rule by joining in the war; and the Wabanake Federation helped out their neighbors the Penacooks, though only the southernmost ribe, the Sokokis, actually went to war under the leadership of their sagamore Nagmegan, who led many attacks on the towns of the Maine coast. The Iroquois stayed neutral, aside from occasional efforts to keep peace in their own dominions, and were apparently waiting for some act of intervention by their ally England; but England remained neutral and rebuked the New England Confederation for engaging in war without royal permission and without making reports to England on their activities. New York stayed out, but New Hampshire and Rhode Island joined on the side of the New England Confederation which excluded them from membership, though Roger Williams had been supposed to be a friend of the red men. The French in Canada were the most important source of supply of arms for the red men.

During 1675, the Penacook armies, under the direction of Metacom's brother Anawan, had the upper hand, and many white towns were destroyed. Many prisoners were taken, and all were kept carefully for exchange, and many exchanges were actually made, in so far as the English had any prisoners to exchange. As the main object of the war was to drive the invaders out, the Penacook armies in many cases preferred leaving the enemy a clear road to the ocean rather than capturing prisoners.

The Penacook tribes made good use of the lessons learned from the Pequot War of 1637. For instance, the use of fire in warfare, unknown in America before the Pequot War, was used extensively in Metacom's War. Scalping dead enemies, also learned in the Pequot War, again made its appearance on this occasion, but there was very little of it, as it lacked the incentive of the reward white men had offered for scalps in 1637. The Pequot War has also taught the red men to avoid imitating the English fortifications, which they had found to be so vulnerable to fire. But a woman sachem of the Narragansetts, considering that it might be possible to get the advantages of fortification without the disadvantages, searched among her people for someone who could build in stone, and then had a stone fort built; this fort ultimately succumbed to a long siege, but was never destroyed, and is still standing.

61. ***Converts and Adoptees***. The so-called "praying Indians," the Christian converts made by Apostle Eliot, were much in the position of alien enemies in this war, distrusted by both sides, and largely playing the part of spies against their own people. They gave many warnings when the reds were ready to make attacks, but those warnings often went unheeded because the whites also distrusted them as spies.

Though many of these traitor "converts" were located in red towns, and were able to operate from inside the Red army, the other side of the story is that, in many cases, these converts also acted as spies for their own people. In many instances, the "conversion" was superficially adopted for the sake of peace with the Puritans, and, when war started, they became the most enthusiastic supporters of the fight to drive the invaders back to where they came from. For instance, Apostle Eliot had regarded it as a great gain for his missionary work when, a few years before the war, the Okamakammessets permitted the Puritans to erect their own church in the capital city of the tribe; but, when war started, it proved to be good strategy when it immediately placed large numbers of prisoners of war in the hands of the Okamakammessets, who were thus enabled to destroy the town of Marlborough almost immediately.

The majority of the "praying Indians" had been concentrated in a few communities forming a sort of buffer ring around Boston, where they were the butt of attacks from both sides of the war. Before long, all these settlements were destroyed, mostly by the red people who justly regarded them as nests of traitors and spies.

Another group of people who found themselves in the position of alien enemies were the whites who had been adopted into various tribes, and thus become citizens of the Penacook Federation. In Middlesex in particular, the Okamakammessets had been able, by their pretended conversion, to gain some confidence among the Puritans, and then make adoptions, inoculating their adoptees with a smattering of tribal principles. May of these adoptees, though forced to go to war against their adopted tribes, were able to sow the seeds of rebel feeling in the white communities, a result which had its lasting effect in New England, and particularly in Middlesex, the original home of the Okamakammessets.

62. ***The Defeat of the Tribes***. During the winter, hostilities were almost at a standstill, and gave both sides time to reorganize. The people of the white Quinnitucket settlements of Massachusetts—Springfield, Holyoke, and the remains of destroyed Northampton—decided to adopt Penacook military tactics by sending out a surprise expedition to attack the Red towns from the rear. The Okamakammessets (the "Marlborough Indians," as the Puritans called them) were now the most hated and feared of all the tribes of Penacook, and the expedition form the Quinnitucket proceeded directly towards their capital, burning and destroying all Nipmuck towns on their way. The expedition then established a military post on the Okamakammesset border, where they had just wiped out the Nipmuck town of Quinsigamond, where a previous attempt at white settlement had failed; this post later grew into the town of Worcester. Many Okamakammesset towns, including their capital, were destroyed, with considerable massacre similar to that of the Pequots in 1637. Most of the survivors fled northward to the Penacook nation.

This was the first white victory in the Metacom War, and the tide was turned; but attacks on the white towns were still very frequent. A system of beacon signals was devised to give warning and call for aid, beacon-piles being kept ready on hilltops near every New England town, the central signalling-point of the system being in Boston, on the top of the hill overlooking the Common. It is from this circumstance that the hill acquired the name of Beacon Hill, and the road leading to the top was called Beacon Street. The system of beacon-signals, however, was not able to prevent the destruction of over a third of the white towns in New England during the war.

By the summer of 1676, there were left only a few scattered remnants of most of the southern tribes of the Penacook Federation, and most of the survivors had fled either north to Penacooks and Abenakis, or westward to Iroquois dominions. Refugees were adopted in large numbers by the Iroquois at that time. The refugees were closely pursued both northward and westward. Towards the north, the Puritan armies came close to the Penacook federal capital, where the tribes called out their reserves and prevented the capture of the town of Penacook. Wonalancet, a son of Passaconaway, was killed leading these reserves in defense of his home town. The pursuit westward practically cleared a wide path from the Quinnitucket west almost to the Hudson Valley, reducing that entire strip of territory to desolation, though there were still a few red towns left there. By this time, the whites quit exchanging prisoners, but began selling prisoners into slavery in Bermuda and the Antilles.

The Narragansetts, with the support of their stone fort, and a few sections of the Wampanoags, still held out. But Pokenocket was attacked, and Metacom and his followers were driven out, Metacom's eight-year-old son being captured and sold into slavery. This was such a serious blow to Metacom that he became totally useless as a leader; but his wife, Weetamoo, who had already lost her brother Wonalancet in the fights far to the north, became so thoroughly enraged that she herself recruited and led an army against Taunton. When the army was attacked and pursued across the Taunton River, the current proved too strong for Weetamoo, who was drowned, though most of the army got away safely. Her body was found next morning by some whites on the river bank, and they cut off her head and set it up on a pole in Taunton Green, where the citizens danced around the pole all day with wild yells.

The Pokenocket peninsula was searched by beaters on the hunt for Metacom himself. A traitor among Metacom's followers, hoping for a reward, shot the Bashaba, but the assassin, instead of getting a reward, was sold into slavery with the rest of the prisoners. This occurred in July, 1676; after this the war was little more than further pursuit of the scattered red forces. The Narragansett

stone fort, however, still held out for a while, and finally succumbed to starvation, while the fort itself is still standing. The Penacook Federation made a peace of complete surrender in August, and the Wabanake Federation concluded peace in November.

63. ***Rebellion in Virginia***. While these events were going on in the Penacook country, things were not quiet in the South. The southern tribes were encouraged by the Penacook example to raid the Virginia settlements in the early spring of 1676. In this region the rival of new "planters", each of whom had to be given vast tracts of land where he could rule over his colony of slaves and indentured servants; and it was also considered necessary to keep expanding westward to keep fugitive slaves and servants from settling west of the plantations.

But, in Virginia, any attempt to organize armed forces without the direct supervision of the authorities at Jamestown was regarded as rebellion; and so it was treated when the border planters, themselves really invaders of Pottawotomie soil, organized a militia of their own to fight the tribes. And so the planters, led by one Nathaniel Bacon, marched off westward to fight the tribes, while behind them was another military force hunting the planters' army as rebels.

The fact that the governor had declared such a respectable group to be rebels attracted to the so-called rebel side numerous elements which had a quarrel with the ruling regime, even without interest or sympathy toward the planters' expedition. The indentured servants, whom the Puritan prisoners had tried to organize into a rebellion thirteen years before, were beginning to show the rebellious spirit again. The tidewater landowners, who had been represented in a "House of Burgesses" which was advisory to the governor but hardly legislative in character, were dissatisfied with the governor continuing the House in session so long that they became tools of the governor rather than representatives of their constituencies. These landowners were also trying to head off the threatened uprising of indentured servants by taking control of the rebellion themselves to further their demands for a new House of Burgesses, and one with legislative power of its own. The governor had to submit to this demand of a new election, to avert any danger of an uprising of indentured servants. Bacon was elected as one of the new House of Burgesses, which immediately proceeded to pass resolutions undoing all Governor Berkeley's official acts and grant Bacon a commission to fight the red men. The governor vetoed everything, and the antagonism rapidly grew. But the forces of indentured servants and other would-be rebels, although led by the spurious rebels in the House, acted as a standing threat to the governor, and the House of Burgesses—the self-appointed leaders betraying the real rebellion of the people—finally won official recognition when, on Saturday, July 4, 1676, Governor Berkeley signed an act of amnesty to all those whom he had designated as rebels.

This was really not so much of a surrender as it seemed; but it was the first recognition of representative government in the South, although it represented mainly the plantation owners. But it was an occasion justly commemorated for another hundred years by the rebel elements in Virginia, who regularly celebrated the anniversary—July 4—as a day of remembrance of the rebellion. Just one hundred years later, this anniversary became merged in one of more importance to America as a whole; but, while America at present celebrates another occasion on its Fourth of July, the document now celebrated was really deliberately misdated July 4 so it would have in Virginia the prestige of the rebel's Amnesty Day; so that it is the Virginia amnesty that is really even yet the cause of celebration of July 4 in America.

Slight as this surrender was, however, Berkeley did not keep his word even as to this. No sooner had Bacon been despatched to fight red men than Berkeley again attempted to raise an army in pursuit of the "rebels." A number of Burgesses, led by Drummond, formerly governor of North Carolina, appealed against Berkeley to the king, and meanwhile raised an army for defense against the governor. Many dissenters, indentured servants, and others were only too glad to enlist, caring little for leadership or results as long as they could fight the administration, and not stopping to realize that they were really fighting for their natural enemies.

Governor Berkeley, being, like most bullies, a coward, fled to the Accomac Peninsula (now called Del-Mar-Va), where Virginia had a charter claim to some land. Drummond interpreted Berkeley's flight as a resignation, and organized a temporary colonial government at Williamsburg, close to Jamestown. Meanwhile, Berkeley had assembled a new army on the Accomac Peninsula, and retuned with it to fight the rebels, upon hearing that Drummond's "appeal" to the king had failed. Bacon, who had just finished a campaign against the red people, turned to fight Berkeley, whose army was now thinned by desertions. The governor's stronghold, Jamestown, was captured and burned, and it has been a ruin ever since, there having never been an attempt to rebuild that original Virginia settlement.

But, just at this point, Bacon contracted a fatal fever. The rebellion, in spite of its large following, being a one-man organization, collapsed as soon as the one man was removed. Berkeley's army was easily enabled to reorganize and defeat the rebels, and Berkeley regained control of Virginia. Drummond and many of the other rebels were tried by court-martial and executed in short order, and Berkeley personally took over their confiscated property for his own benefit. This last act of confiscation however, proved too much for even the English king, and Berkeley was recalled in disgrace. But even royal orders were not sufficient to make Berkeley give up control of Virginia till they were supplemented by some forcible persuasion. And when, at last, Berkeley took his capture from Virginia, the whole colony celebrated.

CHAPTER XIII

QUAKER SETTLEMENT

64. ***The Keystone Colony***. We have seen that the English colonies in North America were formed in three separate groups, with different origins and institutions, and could hardly be considered as in any way a single unit. In the South were colonies of definitely English origin and institution that arose out of its growth in the new country, the country of the slaveholding Maskoki peoples. At the other end of the English-American coast were the New England colonies, which represented breaking away from England rather than a transplanting of English institutions; here the tendency was rebellion against constituted authority as represented by English officials and agents. These colonies grew up under Penacook guidance, and thus, in spite of themselves, developed democratic forms and traditions which persisted and grew in spite of the inability of the people to absorb them properly.

Between the two were the middle colonies of New York and New Jersey, proprietary in form like Maryland, under even more absolutism than the South, but geographically connected more with

the North than the South, and with a degree of Iroquois and Lenape guidance which to some extent offset and mollified the despotism. New York had claims to territory beyond New England, but those were paper claims, as that territory was occupied by the Wabanake Federation and their allies the French; New York also owned another piece of non-contiguous territory, on the shore of Delaware Bay, the old Swedish colony. This bit of territory formed a geographical link between North and South, but one which somehow left what seemed to be a gap.

The logical connection was a bit farther up the Delaware River, where there was a closer land connection between the respective back-countries of Maryland and New Jersey; a region claimed by Maryland, but where no white colonization had been attempted, and was completely occupied by the Lenape peoples. This location was considered as the next logical site for an English colony, to form a central link between the two main divisions of American colonies. As the coast has somewhat the shape of an arch, the position of such a colony would fittingly appear as the keystone of the arch, towards which both northern and southern colonies had been building in.

It was the Quaker sect, the offspring of Cromwell's rebellion in England, and which under the monarchy suffered considerable persecution there, that offered to colonize this location. William Penn, a Quaker who had inherited from his father some claims against the king for debts contracted in financing the restoration of the king, offered to settle his claims in exchange for a grant of the keystone territory in America, where he proposed to found a colony open to all sects, based on peace, without an army, in accordance with Quaker principles. King Charles doubted the feasibility of such a peaceful colony; especially as the proposition was broached shortly after Metacom's War in New England. Penn was asked how he expected to deal with the red people, and replied that he intended to buy the land from them. This angered the king, who seemed to take that as a challenge to his own claims "by discovery" to American land; to which Penn replied by inquiring whether he would give up England to a canoeful of red men if they should happen to cross the ocean and discover England.

But finally King Charles decided that Penn's project was a good way of getting rid of the Quakers and other heretics from England, and Penn received a charter to the keystone territory, which was to be called Penn's Woodland, the title being also given in an alternative Latinised form, Penn-Sylvania. The territory granted by this charter was defined, as usual with English grants of American land, in total disregard of previous grants and settlements, covering most of Maryland and conflicting in the north with the charters of Connecticut and Massachusetts, which granted a strip reaching west to the Pacific. This airy disregard of previous charter claims was probably due to the fact that such charters, even though they claimed to grant titles to land, and were so interpreted in America at a later period, were really rather permits to settle and take possession of the land specified.

We may note that the attempt to interpret old English charters as actually granting land title to everything mentioned in the document, has resulted in numerous disputes between the colonies and their successors the States, some of the disputes (such as that of the "Connecticut Reserve") remaining unsettled to the present time.

65. ***Starting the Quaker Colony***. The charter of Pennsylvania, as a proprietary colony along the same lines as Maryland, was granted to William Penn in 1680, and during the following year he set out with some Quakers for the new colony. Not desiring conflict with the Swedes or their lord proprietor the Duke of York, the Quaker group passed the main Swedish settlements on New York's

Delaware shore, and landed a few miles above the old settlement of Christiana (now Wilmington). At their first landing, Penn gave the place the name of Chester, after his home town in England, and he left a few of his group there to start a settlement, while Penn with the bulk of his colonists continued up river in search of a better town-site. After fifteen miles further, he found a spot that suited him, and there he disembarked to commence the new city he had been planning.

Like the Puritans, the Quakers showed a strong tendency to Biblical names, and Penn had long planned to name his new city for a city mentioned in the New Testament, with a name commonly supposed to mean "brotherly love." And so this location received the name of Philadelphia. And, though the ancient city in Asia Minor mentioned in the Bible was really named for an Egyptian king called "brother-lover" because he assassinated his brother, it is fair to say that the American city is really named for brotherly love, such being obviously the founder's intention.

The landing here was made a short distance north of the Unami town of Waccaco, and Penn's party was received by a deputation from that town. Negotiations were carried on, though under some difficulty, for permission to settle on Unami ground and to maintain the original settlement at Chester. This was amicably arranged for, and it was agreed that all of Unami ground should be open for Penn's people to settle on, reserving the council ground for the use of the Lenape tribes for councils and negotiations. Although those tribes are now extinct, this reserved council ground is still kept open, being now used as a city park.

The city of Philadelphia was soon built, close to Waccaco, according to Quaker ideas of uniformity and regularity. The city was laid out into square blocks, because the Quakers objected to letting even a street become too conspicuous. The streets parallel to the river were given numbers, as the Quakers did to the week-days and the months of the year; but cross-streets were differentiated by planting different trees on them and giving each street the name of the tree planted on it (Chestnut Street, Spruce Street, Pine Street, Filbert Street, etc.) William Penn's plan of arranging a city has become the basis of the general American city plan, although the land of Penacook has preferred to stick to the short-cut and easy grade arrangement used by the red tribes.

Penn gave his new colony a constitution of self-government along lines closely modelled on that of Rhode Island, granting full religious tolerance. Abolition of slavery was favored by the Quakers, but was blocked by the fact that English rule was recognized. But, curiously enough, Penn was willing to allow the Virginian system of shipping from England women to be auctioned off as wives for the colonists. This was done regularly for a while, a special village called Bridesburg being built a few miles upriver for the accommodation of the women awaiting auction. This location still retains its original name, though now merely a residential portion of Philadelphia.

William Penn was also very much impressed with the federal system as used by the red tribes, and later wrote an article in England explaining a plan by which the nations of Europe could similarly federate and prevent wars. It was substantially this plan that was attempted in 1919 under the name of the League of Nations, but, as actually adopted in Europe, it was not a true federation, as the central organization was a mere debating society with no power to preserve peace or carry out any of the purposes of federation.

For several years Penn kept up his plan of operating the colony without an army, though this feature did not last long. Many religious refugees from Europe, especially from England and

Germany, came there, and the colony grew quickly, so that before long Philadelphia became the most populous city on the American continent north of the Spanish country.

In spite of the proprietary charter, the democratic character of the colony's government, the disapproval of slavery and similar institutions, the fact of tolerance, made Pennsylvania northern rather than southern, and influenced the middle group of colonies in that direction.

66. ***Massachusetts's Charter Disputes***. After Metacom's War, the New England colonies were able to expand a bit into territory that had been cleared of red tribesmen in the war. This was particularly the case with the ring around Boston, formerly occupied by Apostle Eliot's "Praying Indians," but which now made room for a ring of suburbs such as Brookline and Newton. Also the New England colonies had to take over completely the communication service formerly at least partly operated by the Penacook Federation, so that the postal service was actually a continuation of that organized by the red men.

In spite of King Charles' ordering Massachusetts to tolerate Quakers. The colonial authorities occasionally continued persecution, especially where some special demonstration gave them an excuse. As late as 1677, a few Quaker women broke up a Puritan service at the South Meeting-House with one of their usual nudist demonstrations, and finally withdrawing with the statement that they might be thrown out personally, but that the ideas of freedom and equality would not be thrown out of the building so easily. This had been preserved in verse form as follows:

"Thus saith the Lord, with equal feet
  All men my courts shall tread,
And priest and ruler shall no more eat
  His people up like bread.

"Repent! Repent! ere the Lord shall speak
  In thunder and breaking seals!
Let all souls worship in the way
  The light within reveals.

"And, so long as Boston shall Boston be,
  And its bay-tides rise and fall,
Shall freedom stand in the Old South Church
  And plead for the rights of all."

Quaker demonstrations eased up after 1681, with a resultant cessation of persecution by Massachusetts authorities, after the settlement of Pennsylvania, as the Quakers now had a country of their own and were not so anxious to rail at things established. But a certain amount of truth seems to have stuck to the Quaker women's prophecy about the Old South Church.

When England entered into a policy of conquest under the Cromwell regime, regulations were adopted to give England a monopoly of colonial trade, and to keep the colonies from entering into competition with England. And, though the Cromwell regime left New England to its own devices, the restored monarch was anxious to punish the Puritans on any excuse, so that, after the reconquest of New York, special commissioners were sent to Boston to bring up this issue. Fleets sent to New York used to stop at Boston on their way over and back as a demonstration of royal power to scare

Massachusetts; and royal orders dissolved the New England Confederation in 1677, though the Confederation continued to hood meetings under cover for several years after that. At the same time, the Plymouth Colony, whose government had never been recognized by England, was ordered annexed to Massachusetts, so that repressive measures could be taken against both at once. But Plymouth was allowed to retain its own government as an autonomous body within Massachusetts.

But, when royal commissioners were sent to Massachusetts, to take up the question of the enforcement of the "Navigation Laws," the colony refused to recognize their authority, pointing to King Charles I's charter as to their right of self-government, and appealing to the king directly.

Had these navigation laws confined themselves to the regulation of transatlantic trade, very few except in the seaports would have been concerned; but the navigation laws also forbade all manufacture in the American colonies of England. The individual adaptability of the people of the Penacook nations in handling any available materials and fashioning them into articles of utility, was readily transmitted to their white neighbors, especially the inland traders who were constantly in contact with the red people, and who began to turn out miscellaneous novelties known as "Yankee notions" which they peddled to both reds and whites up and down the whole Atlantic coast. The inland towns of New England, settled mainly by farmers, were really not adapted to support a large agricultural population as were the more fertile regions of the South; so that manufacturing and trading in "notions" became an important means of livelihood in the interior as well as on the coast. Small establishments for making these "notions," and for turning out various little by-products of the "notion" trade, were to be found everywhere in New England, and the Navigation Laws were a threat to cut off all this activity. Enforcement was therefore not feasible, and would naturally meet with stubborn resistance, especially from a people as thoroughly trained in the tradition of liberty (though unable to understand or apply it) as the people of New England.

These appeals from Massachusetts against English interference had started as far back as 1664, and in 1665 a set of royal commissioners, trying to set up their own court of judgment, found the court-house door locked, and were told: "I marvel what his majesty's commissioners should seek in the house of Justice, since it is known that, when they go in by one door, she must needs go out by the other."

After the reconquest of New York the screws were put on much tighter, there not being a nearby base from which to terrorize New England. In 1675, at the time of Metacom's War, the Duke if York again attempted to assert the old Dutch claims in Connecticut, and sent in an expedition under the leadership of the governor, Sir Edmund Andros, the typical bullying, swaggering, obedience-demanding militarist, to enter the Quinnitucket and take possession. This expedition was turned back by the colonists at Saybrook, and Andros proved himself on this occasion a coward, like most bullies, and beat a hasty retreat to New York.

In 1676 England sent over a customs collector, but he was unable to do anything in New England, especially Massachusetts, except to aggravate the quarrel. Massachusetts even offered to pass laws corresponding to the Navigation Laws—but to be enforced by Yankee agents only; and England took this as a new act of defiance, which, according to an English court opinion, forfeited Massachusetts' right to its charter, and therefore its right to have a government of its own.

Envoys were finally sent from Boston to London to negotiate, and they were sent back and told to get full power to settle matters in any way the king and the English courts might order. The

question was then put to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1682. A proclamation was issued, standing boldly against submission: "Nor ought we to submit without the consent of the body of the people…… Therefore, the government may not do it. The civil liberties of New England are part of the inheritance of their fathers; and shall we give that inheritance away?" In 1683, official notice was sent to England [four or five words illegible] tion, and, in 1684, an English court decision declared the Massachusetts charter forfeited and its government void.

67. ***Extension of the Keystone Territory***. To give his colony an outlet to the sea, Penn purchased from the Duke of York the lower Delaware shore, which thus became part of Pennsylvania. But the Swedes were not satisfied with Quaker rule, and preferred the Duke of York's iron heel, which Penn refused to give them, thus giving them the feeling they were now in a lawless community. The same was true of the Marylanders who had migrated eastward to settle on the lower Delaware shore. Penn finally settled the matter by setting off the "lower Delaware counties" (or "the Delaware counties") as a self-governing part of Pennsylvania, with a deputy governor and a separate legislature, somewhat on the model Massachusetts had devised to allow home rule in spite of royal edicts to the contrary. This part of the colony was Southern rather than Northern in its attitude, so that a line of cleavage between north and south was splitting the colony of Pennsylvania. But the Delaware counties remained part of Pennsylvania until 1776, when Delaware acquired its independence of Pennsylvania as part of the general American independence. Many of the boundary posts are still marked as though they were making a county line instead of a state line, as though Delaware were still part of Pennsylvania.

With this additional territory, Pennsylvania became more of a keystone than ever, as Delaware formed a key-piece wedged in between New Jersey and Maryland, locking North and South together. But settlement had not proceeded so far as to establish physical contact between North and South, and boundaries remained hazy and vague here for a long time.

Penn also bought from Lord Cartaret a part interest in the western half of New Jersey, as the east shore of the Delaware was considered a region into which Penn's colonists would naturally tend to spread. And, as Cartaret's settlements were originally built to harass the Dutch, they were all grouped around New York, so that there was no objection to Penn's using the other side of New Jersey, where there were no white settlements. Cartaret's colony of New Jersey was thus split in two, the original settlements now being East Jersey, centering around Elizabeth and Communipaw, both close to New York, while the other half, West Jersey, was built up as a sort of overflow for Pennsylvania, and grew around Philadelphia as a center. This has remained true of the settlement of New Jersey to the present time, though the governmental separation of the Jerseys lasted only a few years (though those were the formative years). West Jersey has always, in spite of the quick reuniting of New Jersey, considered itself as somewhat a separate unit, and still speaks of "the Jerseys" to denote the state. Thus New Jersey commenced growing in two separate sections from opposite directions, and this has given rise to the statement that has occasionally been made, that New Jersey is divided into two parts, suburbs of New York and suburbs of Philadelphia.

After the Duke of York disposed of one of his pieces of non-contiguous territory, he sold his claims to the Kennebec River tract to Massachusetts, which thus acquired a hazy claim to lands in Maine while New York became concentrated into one continuous stretch of territory.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ANDROS REGIME

68. ***New York's Overlord Becomes King***. King Charles II died in February, 1685, and the new King of England was the Duke of York, who had been the absolute despot over New York for over twenty years. Being a Catholic, he gave dissatisfaction in England because he began almost immediately his attempts to restore the rule of the Catholic Church in England. Besides, his experience in ruling New York had made him too arbitrary and absolute a ruler for even a submissive England which had already had an infiltration of Puritan ideas under the Cromwell regime.

The Province of New York now became the personal property of the crown, and remained so for nearly a hundred years. The South was submissive—nothing was really changed there; and Penn's proprietorship was a bit of protection to Pennsylvania, though Penn got into occasional trouble in England over attempting to stand between his province and royal authority. But the full blast of the fury of King James' rule in America fell on New England, which the new king planned to make an extension of his absolute rule over New York, with the same absolutism under which New York had been laboring since its foundation.

Official notice of the English judgment forfeiting the Massachusetts charter did not reach Boston till after the accession of James II. A renegade Puritan, Dudley, was appointed temporarily Governor of New England (including Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine), and installed with the aid of a fleet sent over to Boston for the purpose. The loud-mouthed theologian, Cotton Mather, whose sensational utterance and writings the Puritans have since unfortunately been judged, proved himself this time a supporter of the tyrants, so that both Mather and Dudley were regarded as traitors and renegades by the Puritans, with whom the new regime was unpopular from the start.

69. ***New York Annexes New England***. Finally the king managed to carry out his plan of annexing New England to his old personal domain of New York. The mistake he made was in supposing New England would be as supine and unresisting as New York had proved itself to be.

Sir Edmund Andros, the governor who had so long wielded the mailed fist in New York with the full submission of the population there, was commissioned to succeed Dudley as governor of New England, and he established himself in the Province House in Boston with a large military force to guard him and oppress New England.

If the Puritans objected to Dudley, they found that their lot under Dudley (who was, after all, a Yankee) was easy compared with what they got when New York's administration had annexed them. The regular inland trading with the tribes, as well as all manufacture, not merely of "notions," but even of such important things as clothing, was strictly forbidden. Puritan marriages were declared void because not performed by the Episcopal Church, and numerous arrests were made on that score; and the Puritan trial-marriage system known as "bundling" was completely broken up by the dictator Andros.

Then came the re-examination of all land titles. Andros' militia went all over the provinces under his domination, demanding proof of title from every occupant of land. And since, in spite of

the wars with the Penacook Federation, most of the colonists had actually made their own peace by securing some sort of rights from the Reds, the titles usually consisted of some grant of permit from some tribal official. All these were waved aside by Andros and his minions as the scrawl of a bear. (In a sense, they were issued by a bear—the Great Bear, Passaconaway.) As a result, most New Englanders were evicted from the lands they occupied, or else allowed to remain as serfs; in either case, friends and followers of Andros were placed in possession and recognized as the true and rightful owners of the land. Large estates were created, and many of the town commons, including the great Common of Watertown reserved by treaty with the Penacook Federation, were given to Andros' friends as their share of the spoliation of New England.

All representative assemblies were dissolved under Andros' rule, although some continued to meet secretly. Even New York lost its "assembly," which had never been more than a debating body in the first place, while the people of New York had to pay heavy graft to renew their land titles.

Town meetings, which had been the basis of all New England organization, a form of government which the Pilgrims and Puritans had learned directly from the Penacook peoples, were strictly forbidden. But they were kept up in secret, and sometimes whole towns were arrested when caught in the act of holding a town meeting. But the town meeting was too fundamental in New England. This meeting of all citizens of a town to discuss and decide on current affairs was a universal institution then, as it was in New England long before the white invasion, and as it still is a common and recognised form of local government in New England today; an institution which trained New Englanders in independent political thought, and gave them a different attitude towards administrations from anything to be found elsewhere. Thus Andros' edicts against town meetings proved practically unenforceable, though Andros himself boasted that there was no longer such a thing as a town in New England.

A new royal edict in 1688 extended the limits of Andros' "Province of New England" to take in all the New England colonies, as well as New York and the Jerseys. Andros had already been in authority over New York, and there was no difficulty with the Jerseys.

But it was different with Connecticut and Rhode Island which had no experience whatever with outside interference. Andros went personally to Hartford and Providence to dissolve those governments. At Providence, the charter governor, Clark, tried to delay the proceedings, but Andros had his militia seize the colonial seal, charter, and records; Andros himself smashed the seal and destroyed the charter and records, and left the militia in charge as he went on to Hartford; but, in spite of that, the charter government of Rhode Island went on in secret, retaining the real allegiance of the people. At Hartford, the charter and records were accommodatingly placed on a table, where the charter officers were seated on one side, and Andros and his aides on the other; Andros had just written "Finis" at the end of the colonial record-book, while the charter was lying on the table ready for delivery, when the lights suddenly and mysteriously went out. The hall was quickly re-lit, but in the meantime the charter had disappeared. This, of course, did not prevent Andros' militia from taking control in Connecticut as they had done in the rest of New England, but it helped the secretly-conducted government to impress the people, all the time they were under Andros' yoke, that their charter was never surrendered, and was therefore still rightfully in force.

Under Andros' regime, the burden of taxation was increased to a point where it could no longer be collected—the secret town meetings aiding resistance. The object was to force the people

into dependence on England for everything. Andros met complaints with the reply: "It is not for His Majesty's interests that you should thrive."

Thus Sir Edmund Andros was placed under the New Yorkish dictatorship regime the whole of New England, and, in fact, everything from the Delaware to the Kennebec (with claims east to the St Croix).

70. ***Witchcraft***. One of Andros' special efforts in New England was to suppress such dissenting religious beliefs as the Puritan and Pilgrim. As Puritan landowners in Boston refused to sell land for an Episcopal church, Andros promptly got around this difficulty by confiscating the land; the church built there is still standing, and is still known by the title Andros gave it—the King's Chapel—though the Episcopalian sect has not had possession of it for a long time.

But a bigger trouble in the religious direction was introduced into New England by the Andros dictatorship. In Europe, witchcraft prosecutions had become so common that no attention was paid to them; and the South had followed this custom, while occasional witchcraft prosecutions were even found as far north as New York. At that period there was no actual disbelief in the existence of witches; but Puritans paid little attention to this sort of thing. In England, witchcraft prosecutions had gone on intensely during the first Stuart period, and, though suspended entirely under Puritan rule, were restored with the restoration of the Stuarts. As King James' grandfather, James I, was the author of a book on witchcraft, Andros felt it to be his duty to introduce this form of prosecution into New England, which, till Andros' time had been comparatively a haven of safety from this sort of thing, to such an extent that accusations of witchcraft in Massachusetts under Puritan rule were more likely to result in libel suits against the accuser than in any accusation against the accused.

The tyrant governor and his supporters, however, made definite efforts to encourage this form of prosecution in New England, partly to create a reign of terror that should put people in fear of the law and the authorities. The renegade theologian, Cotton Mather, proved a good tool for this purpose, and a thorough investigation for such manifestations was made in Essex County. In 1688,a few epileptic children in Salem Village (now Danvers), claimed that a red woman, who had been captured and enslaved in Metacom's War, had bewitched them; it was easy to make of her a horrible example, and Cotton Mather's resulting investigation on behalf of Andros' government turned up a general witch-hunt which threatened the towns of Essex County, and would have turned into an organized bit of terrorism immediately had Andros' rule lasted much longer.

71. ***Rebellion Against Andros***. In this situation, the tribal organizations of the white adoptees were best equipped to direct opinion secretly and without exposing either the source or the existence of the propaganda. Occasionally the authorities discovered something, as when the people of Ipswich were arrested for holding a town meeting. The beacon system established during Metacom's war as a warning against raids was selected by the secret red organizations as the best way to convey warnings, and, all through Sir Edmund's short reign, these beacon lights were constantly flashing mysterious warnings—flames lit by unknown hands for unknown purposes, conveying unknown messages to unknown recipients. Most of the mysterious bonfires were in Middlesex, the home country of the Okamakammesset Tribe.

Meanwhile the Puritans were repeating their tactics of forty years before, gradually returning to England to foment dissension there. Many advantages they had the previous time were now lacking—there was now no great solid body of Puritans in England they could rely on for support,

so they had to stir up whatever dissatisfaction there was against the king's Catholicism, the movement mainly centering around an attempt to set on the throne the king's son-in-law, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. As before, the revolt was led through Parliament, where the attempt to gain similar rights and powers to those at issue in the Massachusetts charter disputes indicated the real source of the ferment.

Those attempts were met in England with the same repressive measures as were being used in America. In Scotland, persecution mainly was directed against a sect called the Covenanters, which had been closely allied to the Puritans in Cromwell's period. Most of this sect escaped to New Jersey, where they were able to settle the lands in peace—even taking advantage of Andros' confiscations of land to find places to settle in.

But it was mainly the land of Penacook that was in a state of concealed rebellion. Governor Andros was given every reason to think he was in supreme power, and allowed to enjoy the pride that goes before the fall. As the repression grew, the plans for uprising were slowly taking shape, always aided by those mysterious bonfires that would occasionally illuminate the night skies of New England. In the winter of 1688, it was expected that revolution would come to a head in England, and plans were laid for a parallel seizure of power in Boston.

The governor's frequent marches at the head of his troops were now a common sight in Boston, and the well-known route of his parades—from the Province House along Cornhill (now Washington Street) and down King Street (now State Street)—became a sure guide to Andros' movements which the rebels could use in planning an attack.

In the early spring of 1689, the rebels from Middlesex and other surrounding regions slowly crowded into Boston, ready for surprise action. The occasion came on the morning of April 18, when Andros led one of his military processions, most of which had no other apparent purpose than to impress the people with the governor's pomp and power.

The rebel tactics were strictly the surprise-attack tactics used in tribal warfare; and Andros' line of march led him past one spot that was ideal for such attack. This was the square at the head of King Street, just around the corner from the Cornhill, were stood the closed town hall (now the Old State House). Here a large crowd could gather and block the procession without even being seen by the militia before they reached the spot; and here more people could effectively hide in buildings ready to complete the surprise attack. So it was arranged; and a large number of people—more than could have been quickly recruited from Boston itself—jammed the square and the buildings along King Street. Andros marched proudly down the Cornhill, but, on turning the corner into King Street suddenly found himself face to face with a defiant mob in the ugliest possible mood. The governor shouted orders for the soldiers to fire into the crowd; but the crowd's reserves in the buildings started pouring out into the street at this point, and the militia were seized and disarmed before they could take aim. Sir Edmund Andros himself was also seized by the crowd, and, as the basement of the town-hall building contained a jail, he was promptly hustled in there, while Bradstreet, the last Puritan governor, was found and hailed as the new governor of Massachusetts, and he was installed in the Province House the next day.

Just after this King-Street revolution, a ship was sighted in the harbor, and, when it reached the port later in the day, it carried the news that a similar overthrow had taken place in England. This

disorganized almost all opposition to the restored Puritan government in Massachusetts Bay, and the full support of the rest of Massachusetts was assured in advance.

It has very rarely happened in the world's history that a powerful administration was so speedily and completely overthrown; and probably could never have happened without the self-reliant population guided by a secret organization unknown even to the rebels, such as was the case in Massachusetts then. Once again New England proved itself a center for the fight for liberty.

> "Oh my God, for that free spirit, which of old in Boston town
> Struck the Province House with terror, struck the crest of Andros down!
> For another strong-voiced Adams, through the city's streets to cry
> 'Up for right and Massachusetts! Set your foot on Mammon's lie!
> Perish banks and perish traffic, spin your cotton's latest pound,
> But in Heaven's name keep your honor, keep the heart o'the Bay State sound!'
>
> "Where's the man for Massachusetts? Where's the voice to speak her free?
> Where's the hand to light up bonfires from her mountains to the sea?
> Beats her Pilgrim pulse no longer? Sit she dumb in her despair?
> Has she none to break the silence? Has she none to do and dare?
> Oh my God, for one right worthy to lift up her rusted shield,
> And to plant again the Pine Tree in her banner's tattered field!"
>
> —Whittier

According to local legend, before the King-Street fight, an old man, a "gray champion," stepped forward and ordered Andros back and, with this gesture of defiance, he encouraged the rebels and disappeared. It is also told that on other similar occasions he again thus appeared and disappeared, whenever the rights of New England's people were at issue. The gray champion thus represents in a way New England's spirit of fighting for freedom. Reappearances of the Gray Champion are reported, for instance, on the same spot in 1770 at the so-called Boston Massacre; in 1775 at Lexington on the anniversary of the King-Street rebellion; again at the Boston Common at the 1917 conscription riots; and in Roxbury at a certain demonstration on Thursday, May 1, 1919. The "gray champion" legend, typifying New England's aspirations for liberty, has sometimes been identified with Goffe, one of the English judges who sentenced King Charles I, and who later lived in hiding in a cave near New Haven.

72. ***The Rebellion Spreads***. On Tuesday, April 19, 1689, the day after the overthrow of Andros, a temporary government was organized in Boston, following the old forfeited Massachusetts charter, and Massachusetts was again temporarily under Puritan rule. This government was avowedly temporary, for hopes were held that England's new king would grant them a charter to restore freedom on a permanent basis; but this turned out to be a vain hope. Plymouth colony reorganized its old independent government, suspended since 1677. Rhode Island soon brought into the open its old charter government, which had been functioning under cover since Andros' rule. The same thing happened in Connecticut, but with the addition of a little dramatic effect; when the charter government reappeared in public, it declared that it had held on to its charter all the time, and the charter was duly brought out of the hollow of an oak tree on the shores of the Quinnitucket. In New Hampshire and Maine, where, except during their annexation by Massachusetts, the town meetings and the proprietors had been really two rival governments, the town meetings were hastily organized into temporary colonial governments, and they joined in

celebrating the fall of the dictatorship. Thus, in a short time, every trace of the Andros regime had disappeared from New England, except that there still remained many of the land titles he had created.

The western section of Andros' claim was slower to rebel. New Jersey, feeling sure that Andros' lieutenant in New York no longer had backing from England, ventured to restore the old proprietary rule, leaving New York alone still loyal to its old-time governor, Sir Edmund Andros, now in a Boston jail.

But, even in New York, there was still a demand for an "assembly," a place to talk things over without doing anything about it, but New York was still waiting for aid from outside. But, when it appeared that England's new king was from Holland, New Yorkers felt that they had now an old countryman who would stand by them, and ventured at last to take matters into their own hands. Under the leadership of one Jacob Leisler, the people of New York arose and deposed Nicholson, Andros' New York lieutenant, and Leisler formed a temporary government to take charge until the new king should be pleased to make further provisions. This is the only time New York revolted against its authorities, whom it usually regards scared; but this time New York proved itself able to organize a revolution. This once, New Yorkers actually brought themselves to overthrow a ruler when they had a strong leader to follow, and after Boston had already completely broken up the regime rebelled against and thrown the ruler into prison.

CHAPTER XV

REBEL PROVINCES

73. ***The French Penetrate the Interior***. During all this time, the French settlements to the north, in Canada, had been growing rapidly. Along the St. Lawrence River, there was established a regular feudal system of land ownership and operation, directly transplanted from France, where the "seigneur" was in every case absolute ruler of a group of serfs on his domain. This, however, did not extend beyond the more thickly settled sections. A number of trappers and traders, and another class of people known "voyageurs" and "coureurs des bois," people whose occupation corresponded somewhat to that of the tribal couriers, and who were regarded as a sort of tolerated outlaw class in Montreal and Quebec, maintained relations with the red nations, especially the Huron and Algonquin tribes, the Iroquois Federation being distinctly hostile even when not directly at war with Canada. The European system of surveillance over all subjects was obviously impossible once the narrow feudal strip was left, and the territory of Intercommunication of "coureurs" and Reds was entered; this fact, of itself, tended to lighten the serfdom prevailing on the St. Lawrence, mainly by making escape easy. Just as the English, to the southward, had antagonized the coast Algonquins by a land-grabbing policy, but made alliance with the Iroquois Federation, the French in Canada, through their "coureurs," gained the friendship of the Algonquins, but, by pushing into the interior, claimed as Iroquois territory, they antagonized the much more powerful Iroquois Federation. Eventually, therefore, the French and the English, lining up their various red allies and friends on two opposite sides, would come to an open battle carrying the red nations of all eastern North America with them; and, when such a war came, it would merely be a matter of time before the

Iroquois Federation, as the most powerful organization in North America, would win a victory, and place its allies, the English, in supreme control.

The English spread by settling solidly, asserting authority over all of the land in sight; the French coureurs simply established trading communications, a method much better calculated to gain the friendship of the red nations; although, with the Iroquois, who claimed supreme power within their domain, even trade penetration was highly unwelcome, while the English, whose method of expansion worked them more slowly in from the coast, had done nothing against Iroquois prestige. The French advance into the interior was more rapid, and did not antagonize the tribes, so that soon a considerable territory was under French influence, while the English were still confined to a strip of the coast.

French ascendancy expanded in this way in three directions from the St. Lawrence valley—north, south, and west. To the north, the French traders came into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company, an English concern operating in the Hudson Bay basin, exchanging various goods for furs brought in by trappers and red people. To the south, in Maine, the association's chief rivals were the "Bastonnais," as the French called the New Englanders. To the west, the Iroquois Federation constituted an obstacle, but it was possible to navigate the length of Lake Ontario and avoid actual Iroquois territory, trading mainly with the tribes northward of the lake, so that Lake Ontario became a recognized boundary between English and French influence. The Niagara River was the water opening in these parts leading to the westward, and beyond the Iroquois land which formed such a barrier to French expansion; but the great waterfall and rapids in that river prevented its use in navigation. However, a portage was established on the west side of the falls (since the east side of Niagara Falls was in Iroquois possession), and the upper Great Lakes were open for French trading and mission work, the Niagara portage being the only weak spot in communication.

It was not long before French traders, trappers, and "coureurs" were wandering over Lake Erie and the upper lakes, cementing friendly relations with the tribes there, who were incidentally glad enough to welcome any enemies of those Iroquois who were so thoroughly feared as far west as the Mississippi. The pioneers in establishing French influence in the upper lake country, however, were the Jesuit missionaries, who, either alone or in company with traders, founded their Catholic missions throughout the Great Lakes region, and who explored the entire lake district. The Missions were unsuccessful as religious propagandists, for the Catholic religion was poorly adapted to appeal to the Algonquin tribes, among whom, even in the lake country, the priesthood was very weak. However, the Jesuits proved very good diplomats, and, in spite of the wide gulf separating French from red institutions, friendly terms were made.

On Lake Erie was established early the mission post of Sandouska—now the city of Sandusky. Explorations for new mission sites were made constantly, penetrating the Straits (le Détroit) which form the inlet of Lake Erie, and through the Détroit Lakes into Lakes Huron and Michigan. The missionaries Hennepin and Nicollet even portaged past the rapids which the French named Sault Sainte Marie (St. Mary's Leap) into the lake of Gitchi-Gumee, which was given the French name of Lac Superieur, or upper lake (mistranslated Lake Superior).

On Lake Michigan a mission was also founded. The missionary, Père Marquette, had already established contacts with the various settlements of the tribes on the Michigan peninsula between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and had heard that the farther end of Lake Michigan was a portage

point leading to a great river beyond. This was the place decided on for a mission and a trading post—a strategic spot. In company with a trader named Joliet, Marquette went into the land of the Illinois to look for this portage, and established his mission at the nearer end of the portage, near the south end of Lake Michigan, at an Illinois town called the Garlic Patch, Checagou. At the other end of the portage, about twenty miles to the southeast, was established the Joliet trading post, placing the French line of communication in contact with the tribal communications down the Mississippi, though there was no further attempt for a while at French exploration toward the Mississippi.

These mission and trading outposts did not attempt to organize extensive settlements in the interior, as the English tried to do wherever they established contact; nor were the tribes converted or subjected, but amicable trade and diplomatic relations were established, as a result of which little opposition was made to French exploration in the interior. French administration and institutions were little to the liking of any of the tribes of the North; but there was no attempt at imposing this way of life upon them, so that friendly relations were possible with the French although not with any other white nation.

With the establishment of these posts in the upper lake region, maintenance of communications with Montreal became increasingly important, and the constant threat of the Niagara portage from the Iroquois became more serious. While the Iroquois' chief allies, the northern English colonies, were struggling with the oppression of the military regime of Andros, the French decided to take advantage of the situation to protect the Niagara portage by fortifying the mouth of the Niagara River, and Fort Frontenac was built at that point, west of the river to be outside Iroquois territory and at the same time to command a range of the Iroquois outposts east of the River. For the first time since the Iroquois Federation was formed there was an abandonment of the unarmed-border policy the Iroquois had initiated; and it was only to be expected that such a change in policy would help to provoke an open conflict.

74. ***Father Rasles***. With the Jesuit missionaries acting as French diplomatic envoys in the interior, a similar attempt was made to aid southern expansion of French influence. It was erroneously reasoned that John Eliot's failure to establish Protestantism among the Penacook tribes made it a good opportunity to promote Catholicism there. A missionary named Father Rasles was sent down from Canada, but was not allowed to found missions in Penacook territory, the experience with Eliot's missions having created a hostile attitude toward all such attempts. The Wabanake Federation, which was closely related to the Penacook, permitted the establishment of a chain of missions, there having been already a nominal allegiance to Catholicism. Rasles's main mission was located at Norridgewock, on the Kennobec River, and many of the Penacook tribes came there and listened to what Father Rasles had to say.

Like the Jesuits in the western country, Father Rasles had little success in the matter of actual conversion, but proved a good diplomat. The main complaint of the Wabanakes, and still more of the Penacook tribes, was the way they had been cheated by the English, who interpreted the settlement licenses given by the Red tribes as deeds vesting exclusive title to the land, and who used that excuse to oust the tribes from their own country.

Consequently Rasles seized upon this point, explaining to the red people that the land belonged to the tribes, and that the sachems had no authority to alienate it, so that the English were trespassers in the red men's country. This was, of course, because Canada laid claim to all of the land of Penacook under royal grant to Champlain; but, put in this way, it was precisely the sort of

talk the tribes had been waiting years to hear. The friendship with the Wabanakes was further cemented, while the Penacook tribes, although very suspicious of the Catholic church and the French feudal manors, nevertheless began to feel more friendly towards the French than toward the English, fought shy of alliances. It had been due to a split over the question of a French alliance that there were two federations instead of one, and the Penacook tribes clung to their principles as ever. Nevertheless it became fairly certain that the Penacook Federation would take advantage of the first opportunity to recoup their losses in Metacom's war.

75. ***The Hudson Valley is Attacked***. As we have seen, the Andros regime was overthrown in 1689, and nine rebel governments organized temporarily for the various colonies that had thrown off the yoke of Andros. At this time, Canada, besides its friction with the English in the course of expansion, and its "charter" claims to everything as far south as Philadelphia, was also looking for a port that would keep it in communication the year round, since the St. Lawrence River freezes in winter. The only available outlet to the southward was from Montreal up Lake Champlain, thence by portage to the Hudson, and down to New York; but the way was blocked squarely by the Iroquois Federation which was again backed by the Andros regime with its military forces. This backing was removed by the rebellion in 1689, and the French, with their Huron allies, set to attacking the Iroquois. Besides, the overthrow in England was still pending, with the forces of James II still holding out in Ireland, King James himself having escaped to France and secured French aid toward his restoration to the English throne; while Canada, through this attack on the Iroquois, was trying to take away his American estate of New York. Thus war between France and England broke out both in America and Europe, and it was a matter of course that all the line-up of allies, aids, and sympathizing tribes, should be drawn into the fight in America, as a similar line-up of nationalities was drawn into the war in Europe. Hostilities, which had been preparing on both sides of the ocean for years, burst out into a world war.

The Leisler government in New York, which was organized on a temporary basis, planning to surrender power any moment, was not ready to meet such a challenge and for a time it appeared as though Governor Frontenac's expedition would succeed in conquering for France a continuous strip of territory from Montreal down to New York.

The fear of an attack on New York by water at this period induced the building of stronger fortifications at the southern part of Manhattan Island. Originally there was merely a battery of guns set up at the tip of the island facing the bay, later replaced by a large fort, the Battery, by which name that end of the island is still known.

76. ***The Rebel Governments***. The rebel governments, in the meantime, were attempting to straighten out their internal affairs, mainly with the object (except in New York) of restoring the "status quo ante," of bringing matters back to where they left off when the Andros regime interrupted everything. At the same time, these provincial governments felt themselves to be temporary, expecting to surrender power any moment, and were consequently cautious about altering procedures too much. As a result, much of the land-stealing that Andros had perpetrated from Maine to New Jersey remained permanent, and much of the farming population remained in the condition of serfdom to which Andros had reduced them, although with a strong memory of better days; during the short period while the rebel governments remained in power, it was not found possible to clear everything up in this regard, even though much was done to restore the old liberties of the people, as a result of which Andros's attempt to create a peasantry out of the Yankee farmers was never quite successful.

In New York, the only "status quo ante" was the Dutch rule, so that restoration of previous conditions was not the object. The Leisler governments, however, proceeded to build up some sort of democracy in imitation of New England, whence had come the initiative in overthrowing Andros. However, all such formal changes were granted, not so much by popular demand as by personal grace of Jacob Leisler, who was thus really as much an absolute sovereign as Andros had been, although a liberal ruler. No attempt was made to alter the feudal system in the upper Hudson Valley, that being apparently regarded as fundamental in New York as slavery was in the South.

In New Jersey there was little trouble in bringing back previous conditions. Restoring the proprietorship of Carteret in East Jersey, and of the Penn partnership in West Jersey, practically finished that work there, as further adjustments internally could then be made by the proprietors.

Thus, it was only in New England that the change, both economic and political, had been so great as to make the restoration difficult. This was particularly the case in Massachusetts, which had been the center of Andros's despotism. The Puritan governments were restored, but much was left to be undone. The severe system of capital punishments current in England of that time had been imposed in New England, as it had been in use in the South for the better part of the century; under this administration almost all offenses, down to the pettiest, were punishable by hanging; and though the Puritans restored their own milder penal order of prison sentences for serious crimes, and various forms of public exposure for lesser offenses, the effects of the severities of the Andros regime still remained. Witchcraft prosecutions ceased, though there was no actual disbelief in the superstition anywhere at that time, and consequently nothing was done for the prisoners already sentenced. The trial marriage system recognized in Puritan communities under the name of "bundling" was beginning to break down after the prosecutions of the Andros regime, which, following the rules current in England, treated "bundling" as a capital offense. In short, the institutions so laboriously set up by the Puritans and the rest of New England were disintegrating, without anything substantial to take their places excepting the strife, ever-present in New England, between a population determined to attain its rights and an equally determined power of authorities.

However, these nine rebel governments, both those in New England and their neighbors to the southwest, quickly had their attention absorbed with matter of more pressing importance. It was realized that Frontenac’s attack on the Hudson valley was a danger to all the northern English colonies, and that threat must first of all be guarded against. The New England colonies were, in fact, in almost as immediate peril as New York, there having been even in peace time a conflict between French and English over Maine.

The Iroquois Federation was able to hold off Frontenac’s attempt at invasion of New York, but, in the meantime, persuaded the nine rebel governments that they ought to federate as had the Iroquois. William Penn, who had been an early convert to the idea of a federation, naturally came to the front as an exponent of this plan, even though this federation was proposed for purposes of defense; and Penn, as a Quaker and opposed to war, did not agree with that as an object of organization. New Englanders took to the idea readily, as a result of their previous experiences with federation; while New York and East Jersey, being directly threatened by French attack, were willing to accede to any proposition that might render them aid in emergency.

Thus, in the fall of 1689, the rebel provinces and Pennsylvania sent delegates to a federal council at New York, organized much along the same lines at the New England confederation had done earlier. This organization was, in this case, intended as a council of defense, but, to indicate

that it was more than a mere advisory body, no longer used the name of council, but entitled itself Congress. It was from this title that the present federal legislative body directly derives its name. The Congress of 1689 might have had more lasting results, had it not been composed of governments which had not the slightest intention of remaining in existence any longer than was necessary to replace them by more permanent regimes.

77. ***Scalping Bounties***. Under the new Congress, the attack on New York was repulsed by the united assistance of all the rebel provinces. Even Pennsylvania, which had originally been planned as a country without military force, permitted the assembling of an expedition to help New York, although such a plan was disapproved by Penn and the Quaker population, who were opposed to war of any sort.

The northern English colonies felt that French possession of the Hudson would be a threat to all the rebel provinces; Massachusetts was particularly interested in that it had its claims to Maine, which were disputed not only by the population there, but by Canada, which claimed Maine as one of its own provinces. It is questionable as to whether the defense of New York was really in the interest of the other provinces, however; with New York's absolutist and feudal organization, only somewhat lightened under Leisler, it would probably have progressed better under French rule than as a partner of the New England colonies and Pennsylvania; New York, furthermore, differed from the other English colonies in language, and in still feeling itself a conquered province in spite of its recent rebellion.

As a means of warring against the French, the Congress recalled Connecticut's experience of 1637, and, under federal direction, the various provinces offered bounties to both whites and Iroquois for enemy scalps, while the French in Canada retaliated with a similar offer to their own people, and to their various red allies, as well as to neutral nations such as the Penacooks. The result was the forcing of most of the neutral tribes on the French side, the English being determined to consider them as enemies. In New England, it meant a revival of Metacom's war, and English colonists and Penacooks were soon busily making scalping raids on one another, mainly for the bounties offered. White people were easily susceptible to offers of monetary rewards; by this time the red tribes on the Atlantic coast had begun to learn the value of money in dealing with the whites, and such an offer of reward was able to have an effect in 1690 as it could not have had in 1637. This prevalence of scalping raids was found along other sections of the front, beginning with the Huron raid on Schenectady in the winter of 1690. In 1691 there were many scalping raids by the New Englanders on the Penacook tribes, and by the tribes on the more northerly New England towns, such as Haverhill. When such a raid was made by red tribes, however, it was noticeable that they were as yet more anxious to make prisoners than to procure scalps, while the white raids on red towns were wholesale massacres of men, women, and children, with no quarter given, since every scalp meant money.

In spite of the growing frequency of these scalping raids, however, the guerrilla fighting in the Hudson Valley War became rather perfunctory, with the red tribes, on whom this activity mainly depended, being totally unable to carry on the long and vindictive wars to which the whites were accustomed. The attempt by Canada to capture New York had been abandoned, and the French and English confined themselves largely to sniping in Maine. The tribes would have probably made peace, as was always their custom shortly after an outbreak of hostilities, and induced Canada and the Rebel Provinces to follow suit, had not the latter peoples felt their respective loyalties to France

and England, which persisted in carrying on the War of the Palatinate. The Reds would have made an early peace, but the whites in Europe prevented them.

78. ***Down the Mississippi***. Before the Hudson Valley War had started, the French, in the course of their expansion into the interior, had finally, with the aid of their stations at the Checagou portage, penetrated to the Mississippi, and traveled down that river to its outlet. With most of the tribes down the river, a friendly relation was established, but some difficulties were encountered with the Natchez, a peculiar nationality differing both in language and customs from the rest of the North American tribes. Like the Iroquois, they were in more solid possession of their small territory than were the surrounding tribes, and the difficulty in establishing relations with them was similar to that encountered with the Iroquois.

The source of this strange nation, and how they happened to come there, isolated among a whole continent of peoples of totally different language and customs, will probably never be solved. The indications are that they were the last remnants of a people who had once occupied more extensive territory, but who were pushed back by enemies to their last stand, a stretch of about thirty miles on the east bank of the Mississippi. It is possible—although there can be no proof—that they were remnants of the ancient Mound Builders who once covered the entire Mississippi Valley. They were sun-worshippers, and were organized in sharply-defined castes, the highest being the Suns, the family of sovereigns supposed to be descendants of the Sun; next came the nobility, then the common people, or Stinkards, as they were called, and, below these were slaves. Despotism was absolute, the domination of the Suns being unquestioned, and numbers of people were sacrificed on the death of any member of the ruling family of Suns. It may be noted, in this connection, that tradition of northern central tribes has it that it was precisely such customs that led to the downfall of the Mound Builders.

These people lived in more solidly built towns than their neighbors the Maskoki, and, while they showed no aversion to trading with the French, their attitude became more hostile as soon as the French began to show signs of trying to establish mission and trading posts there. When the Hudson Valley War began, the French tried to take possession of enough territory for a military post, resulting in involving the Natchez in the war against France.

However, France did not desire to urgently press its claims to the Mississippi. King Louis XIV was apparently of the opinion that Canada was sufficient land for French dominion. The king had so far discouraged attempts at exploring into the interior, and his opposition was only partly broken down when the explorer La Salle complimented his sovereign by naming the Mississippi River country Louisiana.

However, France ultimately proved itself able to outdo the other nations in claiming title by "discovery." It was convenient, in the case of the Mississippi, for France to claim that "discovery" of a river—the same process of finding what had never been lost, and was known and occupied all the time—gave title, not merely to the land alleged to be so discovered, but also to all territory drained by the river's tributaries. This basis of territorial claims gave France, in its own estimation, right to a vague region covering at least half of the continent, and whose boundaries could be variously interpreted to cover most of the other half. It was to be anticipated that any nation inheriting those claims would naturally come into conflict with most of its neighbors, especially since most of this vast area had never been even approached by the whites.

79. ***End of the Rebel Governments***. The new king, William of Orange, had been brought into England as a result of a parliamentary revolution whose object was the curtailment of royal powers and the establishment of a certain degree of civil rights, especially as enunciated in the Bill of Rights of 1689. The ruler himself, however, was totally out of sympathy with this procedure, but had to submit, as far as England was concerned. In regard to his American policy, however, he was not so hampered, although the war had kept him too busy to formulate or carry out any American policy for the first few years.

However, the situation at home soon became quieter, when the "Orange" army had driven James II's from his last stand in Ireland in 1690, and after another few years had passed, and the war against France had quieted down enough to enable King William to turn his attention to administrative affairs across the sea. The absolutism he showed in Ireland, the severe punishment that island received for harboring the former sovereign, should have been a sign that America had little to hope for from him; yet the nine rebel governments which had control of the English settlements eastward from the Delaware were looking forward hopefully to the time when the new king would give them permanent governments, some of those colonies feeling that the case of Ireland might even prove that they would be rewarded for taking the initiative in overthrowing James's rule. These rebel governments all considered themselves temporary, and without authority to exist, because their authority, being derived merely from the people, was not as yet felt to be sufficient, they were therefore ready to surrender to whatever government the ruler should appoint for them.

King William's policy was to place colonial armies as closely under his own supervision and direct control as possible. Both the democratic organization of New England and the proprietary organization of the middle colonies were too far removed from his immediate power to suit his purpose, and he resolved to be appointed by the Crown. Even Maryland lost its proprietorship, which had been unquestioned under the Stuarts. Penn's authority in Pennsylvania was constantly threatened, but he was able to save it from being dominated by royal control. However, it became plain that the rebel provinces east of the Delaware were to expect total subjugation, and they all received it except Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose independent form of government had been recognized by the Stuarts, and which received renewals of their former charters. New York, having been claimed from the start as conquered territory, and having been the private estate of the former sovereign, naturally came under the most autocratic rule of all; New Jersey was organized as a royal colony (the end of the proprietorship abolishing the distinction between the two Jerseys), under fairly absolute control of the governor. New Hampshire was similarly organized under a royal governor, and a Massachusetts charter was granted, giving the Puritan "general court" wide legislative powers subject to the veto of a governor who was to be the king's appointee. Massachusetts was extended to include the revived Plymouth colony and Maine. This readjusted lineup of the colonies persisted with slight alteration until long after England's authority was overthrown. In all cases, a legislative assembly was organized, but in most cases with little authority; in New England, however, a repetition of the Andros overthrow was feared, and it was considered best to give the popular rule more power, although the king intended gradually to weaken popular rights in America until royal rule should be as absolute there as the monarch, from his Dutch experience, would like to have had it in England.

In New Hampshire, this procedure resulted in establishing the popular government, which had always been in conflict with the proprietary rule, but which now lost its great rival authority and gained considerably in power.

In the South, royal rule had always been quite direct, and little was changed.

The new colonial governments were organized in 1692, and the rebel provinces surrendered without trouble. Possibly the immediate threat of invasion from Canada made them more submissive than they might have been in times of peace. The royal governor, Sloughter, arrived to take possession of New York, and Jacob Leisler, who had been governing the province since 1689, immediately turned over to Sloughter his entire authority. Sloughter replied by arresting Leisler as a traitor, and although Leisler could have appealed to the king, he refused to do this in order to show that he had really turned over the governorship to the royal governor. Leisler was hanged, no protest coming from New York, although howls of indignation were heard from New England and even from the South. Thus ended the only rebel leader New York ever had, with a magnificent gesture of martyrdom, trying to demonstrate his submissiveness.

In the same year, 1692, came the royal governor appointed for Massachusetts, Sir William Phipps, with a staff of judges enough to handle all the county and higher courts (for, under the colony's new charter, these judges were no longer chosen by the people, as before, but were appointed by the king). The former royal governor, Sir Edmond Andros, was still in prison in Boston. He had escaped twice, but was recaptured each time. Phipps released him, and sent him back to England in all haste—probably to avoid another King Street uprising; from England Andros was sent back to America as Governor of Virginia.

In Massachusetts immediately began a conflict between the legislature ("general court") and the town meetings on the one hand; and the executive and judiciary, the royal appointees, on the other. This opposition could only end in the ousting of one group or the other, and, the people being directly involved on one side through the town meetings, it was obvious that, in the long run, it was not that side which would be ousted. This discord could be protracted, dragged out, but it could only terminate in the overthrow of English authority in Massachusetts.

The witchcraft prosecutions, which had begun under the tyranny of Andros, and had been suspended during the revival of Puritan rule, were now revived with renewed fury, and every encouragement was given to any fanatic who could accuse anybody of witchcraft. The royal authorities did not as yet dare to attempt abolition of jury trial, but the royal judges indulged in browbeating to induce the juries to find prisoners guilty of witchcraft, in many cases sending them back to the jury-room after a verdict of not guilty, and giving them new instructions which practically amounted to instructing a verdict of guilty. This situation lasted only a few months, during which time the judges just sent over from England, with the help of a few local fanatics, succeeded in hanging thirty-four people, mainly in Salem, and imprisoning a hundred more on this absurd charge. Finally the Puritans could stand the reign of terror no longer, and, by general agreement, reached principally through the town meeting, juries absolutely refused to convict; from which time on, thanks to the decisiveness of Puritan action, witchcraft persecutions were never again attempted in New England, although they continued for years longer in Pennsylvania and in the South. This was the first open conflict between the people and the new royal authority in Massachusetts, ending in a decisive victory for the people.

CHAPTER XVI

INTERCOLONIAL STRUGGLES

80. ***The Peace of 1697***. The Pfalzkrieg (War of the Palatinate) was dragging on in Europe rather indecisively, while the Hudson Valley War in America was proceeding in a more perfunctory way without either side doing anything further about it. Finally, in 1697, the kings back in Europe decided to conclude peace. As far as America was concerned, however, the European rulers were neither able to force a war to continue, nor to make a state of peace effective, since the red tribes, whom the European rulers preferred to consider their subjects, were still independent, and would not necessarily agree to terms of peace concluded on their behalf and without consulting them.

The war having been an indecisive one, with the sole result that, in America, neither side had been able to make any conquests, it followed that the peace must be one of "status quo," leaving things as they were before. The Peace of 1697, however, represented a mutual recognition by the French and English of their rights to their respective colonies, a right which could not have been acknowledged before. In a way, 1697 really marks the first partition of America among European powers. Colonies had been established before, with the claim of indefinite rights to land still under red control; but not only did the colonies of the European powers fail to recognize the existence and rights of the red nations, but they also failed to recognize one another, considering each other trespassers, in the same way as they looked on the red man as an outlaw in his own country.

By the Peace of 1697, France acknowledged English claims to the Atlantic coast as far inland as the ridge of the Appalachian Mountains, and as far northeastward as the Kennebec River; also the Iroquois Federation ("the Five Nations") were recognized as under English protection. England, in return, recognized France as having the right to the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, and to the Acadian peninsula. Thus was North America partitioned between England and France, before either had as yet actual possession of more than a small amount of territory.

But it was one thing to make a treaty in Europe, and another to enforce it in America. Both English and French had drawn red nations into the war, and these allies were not so easily to be called off. In 1698, a general conference of tribes, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, was assembled in Montreal, and they were induced to stop the war; but, since nothing had been settled, it was to be expected that the peace could hardly be lasting. The Iroquois, who had entered the war merely to help England, readily concluded peace; but other nations, including the Penacook, were more reluctant to make a settlement which seemed to be taking their territory away from them and making them subjects of the European invaders. However, there was nothing to do except make their peace and await an opportunity, since they could not stand alone in the face of a general European agreement. But no actual peace was able to materialize; the contest between Canadian voyageurs and "Bastonnais" traders continued throughout the Kennebec region; and the American colonies never seemed to recognize the peace settlements, particularly Virginia, which still claimed the entire interior country. Peace could readily be made in Europe, but it proved more difficult to bind America to it.

81. ***Louisiane***. Before intercolonial wars were started, King Louis XIV of France had discouraged exploration of the interior, feeling that Canada was all the American territory that France could handle. French policy in this regard was reversed after the Hudson Valley War, and attempts were made to colonize the Mississippi Valley, and link it up by a chain of communication with Canada. A chain of forts was thrown across the line of water communication; or, rather, more forts were added to the chain already started. The community of "Louisiane" began in earnest, as a

shipload of French settlers came to the Gulf coast near the mouth of the Mississippi in 1699, and captured the red town of Biloxi, making it the headquarters of the new French colony of "Louisiane." A charter had been granted to a French banker for a company to administer the colony, but was soon abandoned, to be replaced by a new charter granted by France to a Scotchman, John Law, organizing the "Mississippi Company." John Law sold shares in this company to the French people at constantly inflating prices, until the whole structure crashed and the company was dissolved without ever having functioned, leaving many people in France minus their money, and with worthless stock on their hands. Many of these people, finding little likelihood of earning a living in France after everything had been affected by this crash, took the opportunity of emigrating to the country in which they had bought shares.

The colony of Louisiane started out by asserting rights to a considerable stretch of Gulf Coast on both sides of the Mississippi, conflicting with Spanish claims. Settlements were attempted in Texas, but failed; but the claim that Texas thereby became part of "Louisiane" remained on paper for a long time. Eastward also, the new colony encroached on the Spanish colony of Florida, and siege was laid to the Floridian town of Mauvilla in 1702, with victory for the French, who occupied it as the town of Mobile, and made it their new capital. The Spanish then immediately established a new outpost near Mobile, at Pensacola.

The establishment of a French community called Fort Rosalie in Natchez territory was a signal for a new outbreak between French and Natchez, as similarly the attempt to enforce the partition of North America was occasioning trouble on all sides. These events were soon bound to lead to a renewal of the war.

In the Great lakes region, the upper lakes formed the key to communication between Canada and Louisiane. The chief portage between the two water systems was now selected as the location for a French fort, at Checagou; and it was seen that the Straits between Lake Erie and Lake Huron formed an important key in the line of communication, so it was arranged to fortify them. At first it was attempted to fortify the Lake Erie end of the straits, at the island which the French named Bois Blanc (now corrupted to Bob-Lo); but, on account of the multiplicity of water passages at this point, a suitable defense could not be arranged there, and the expedition, led by the Jesuit Père de la Motte Cadillac, decided to try the outlet of Lake St. Clair, at a point just below the island of Wensbezee (named Belle Isle by the French), where the channel of the Straits unites. Here was built the French Fort Détroit, and around it "la Ville du Détroit" (the City of the Straits). This was the beginning of the present city of Detroit, in 1701, in preparation for a renewal of intercolonial wars.

82. ***The English Colonies after the Partition***. Although in Maine there was still some sporadic fighting between Yankees and French, and in spite of the fact that South Carolina had its troubles similarly with Florida, there was as yet a certain amount of peace in the Atlantic seaboard, where the English settlements were. King William was getting ready to impose a new system of despotism on these colonies, probably because he felt he could not do it in England. The old Navigation Acts, which had always been a bone of contention between England and America, and over which Massachusetts lost her original charter, were strengthened, so that even tree cutting or the sale of woolen goods was forbidden, and it became almost impossible to obtain clothing in the English colonies of America, which were forced to adopt a system of manufacture of clothing in the homes. Similarly iron mining was forbidden, because it might compete with England's iron business. Since American juries were unwilling to help in the enforcement of these laws, the task

was given to the Courts of Admiralty in England, which sometimes consented to hold trials in America, but which usually insisted on dragging anyone accused over to England for trial.

There was a new spurt in the direction of education, especially in New England, where the enforced disestablishment of the Puritan Church was having beneficial results, in the way of releasing much of the individual activity that had been bound up under provincial control. The mass education idea was prevalent, and in 1701 Connecticut organized Yale College at New Haven, formed by graduates of Harvard College, and mainly as a local rival to Harvard, which it seems to have remained to the present time.

Mass education, however, was not the only form developed at this period. The dissemination of news was also begun, an attempt to start a news bulletin having been suppressed in 1688 by Governor Andros. In 1704, it was reorganized, and started as the *Boston News Letter*, a small bulletin giving the important public news without comment or expression of opinion. This was the original form in which the American press started, and was the legitimate form of news dissemination for which freedom to operate could properly be made an issue in fighting for public liberty; totally in contrast to the present press, which tries to avail itself of such privileges for the purpose of dictating opinions to the people, and for which liberty can only mean a license to conduct a private reign of terror. Freedom of the press, in its original form, was, however, very much an issue during the Andros period, and properly so; and America's first news publication represents a certain concession won from the English rulers by the people of New England.

To the South, especially to Virginia, the partition of 1697 was a matter to be totally ignored. Virginia's unnecessarily rapid expansion of territory was bound to come in conflict with French claim to the Mississippi Valley, and, naturally, a little thing like a treaty could not be allowed to stand in the way.

The subjugation of the farm population of New England was proceeding rapidly, although their traditions as a free people ruling themselves and conducting their own affairs could not so easily be wiped out. External submission, however, there was, mainly because attacks by the French or their red allies was still feared; but the people were constantly ready to rebel. A submissive Puritan is a combination that has never been found.

King William was planning to reduce all America to personal dependence on himself, and, with that point in view, was taking steps to turn all the colonies into royal colonies, although Penn was able to prevent Pennsylvania from being taken out of his hands. Maryland, New Hampshire, and the Carolinas were taken out of the hands of their proprietors, and proprietorship of the Cartarets was put to an end in New Jersey. Connecticut and Rhode Island were still allowed to retain their charter governments, but the king was getting ready to amend these charters so as to make himself absolute ruler there too. A gradual scheme of curtailment of civil rights in America was worked out, but the king never had time to carry it into operation.

In 1702, on the death of King William and the accession of his daughter Anne to the English throne, all these schemes of well-planned repression were dropped, and America was afflicted instead with a set of extremely corrupt royal governors. New York particularly, which was regarded as the personal estate of the Crown, received as a governor Lord Cornbury, a cousin of the queen, who diverted an extraordinary amount of public funds into his own pockets, and told the assembly, in reply to their meekly-voiced objections, that they only had such rights as the queen chose to give

them! A strongly built organization for political larceny was formed in New York to help the governor carry on this work—largely recruited from the similar aides of the Dutch governors and their successors—this has functioned in one form or another to the present time, and the corruption with which it has honeycombed New York is regarded locally as an absolutely necessary and indispensable adjunct of government. As New Yorkers, in contrast to the Puritan population of New England, are submissive, and have a remarkable reverence for authority, no objection was made after Cornbury gave the assembly its rebuke.

Queen Anne was greatly interested in promoting the slave trade, and forced it on all parts of the English territory in America. New York became a special center for the enterprise, and, in the early part of the eighteenth century there were several slave uprisings in New York, the slaves in New York having apparently more courage than the citizens.

83. ***The Acadian War***. As we have seen, the state of hostilities between the English and French colonies and their red allies, which began with the Hudson Valley War, did not really end when peace was signed in Europe. Clashes were constantly taking place on a small scale; while Maine, being Wabanake territory, not under actual possession of either English or French, was a ground of quarrels between Canadians and "Bastonnais." Although the Penacook Federation had withdrawn from the fight in 1698, many Penacook tribesmen were considerably influenced by the French Jesuit missionary Father Rasles, who persuaded them that the tribal councils had exceeded their authority in giving over the land of the tribes to the English. This propaganda fell at the time on fertile soil, and the Wabanakes, plus a number of individuals from the Penacook tribes who joined with the Wabanakes, kept up the skirmishing that France officially had stopped.

This situation was, of course, bound to lead to a renewal of hostilities between France and England, and, in 1702, shortly after Queen Anne's accession as ruler, the war was officially renewed. The official excuse in Europe (whose diplomatists apparently felt bound to ignore America as far as possible) was a disagreement over the succession to the throne of Spain, from which circumstance the Acadian War of America (otherwise more commonly known as Queen Anne's War) became, in Europe, the War of the Spanish Succession. The Spanish king in power being backed by France, it meant that Spain became involved as an ally of France, in spite of the French encroachments on Florida.

Upon the declaration of war, the old line-up was resumed. The Iroquois joined England, as they had always regularly done under their alliance treaty of 1634 (which the Iroquois still consider to be in force); the Penacook Federation needed little persuasion to resume fighting the Yankees of New England who had been slowly but surely pushing them out of their country. The French garrison at Fort Rosalie was making additional demands on the Natchez, and war was renewed there.

The Spanish entry into the war resulted in Florida, with the help of many of its red neighbors who had no friendship for the English "land-grabbing policy," attacking South Carolina. A reprisal resulted, due to which the Spanish settlements on Appalachee Bay were captured, and annexed, for the time being, to South Carolina. But in the north, against France, the balance was more even, until 1709, when the Penacook Federation commenced its own separate peace negotiations, since the red men were unable to understand the long-drawn-out continuance of the white men's wars.

The Penacooks had been far from defeated, and, in fact, had successfully destroyed many Yankee towns during the course of this war; but maintaining a state of hostility for an indefinite period was not their way, and the Federation was not as yet ready to keep it up just because the French wished them to do so. It is said that what brought this matter to a head was Squando (the Bashaba of Penacook) losing his young son Menewee, which affected him much as a similar loss had formerly affected another Bashaba, Metacom, and made him unable to continue the battle. After seven years of fruitless warring, the Penacook tribes were easily persuaded to ask the English for peace, and Squando met Waldron, the Governor of New Hampshire, at Piscataqua, in Maine, just across the river from Portsmouth. The Penacooks offered peace, with little regard for terms.

"Waldron of Piscataqua,
Hear what Squando has to say.

"Take the captives he has ta'en,
Let the land have peace again."
—Whittier

This peace, "the truce of Piscataqua," as it was called, proved to be the turning point of the war, giving the English the victory, and turned out to be disastrous for the Penacook tribes. No territory was taken at the time from the Penacooks, although they were treated as subjects, the English considering that the tribes had sued for peace. Squando attempted, in arranging for the peace, to be allowed to adopt a little girl he had chosen from the captives, to replace his lost son, but he failed in this plan, and the child was adopted by Waldron; but the Bashaba kept in touch with her, and she grew up initiated in tribal principles, and, in later life, had much to do with the stirring up revolution in England.

After this "truce," expeditions from New England captured Port Royal, in the French province of Acadie. This community had been captured during the Hudson Valley War, but had been returned by the peace treaty. On its recapture, the Acadian port was named after the English queen, and was called Annapolis. The rest of the Quoddy peninsula was soon taken by the English, and James I's old "charter" for that district was revived, resulting in the organization of that peninsula into the province of Nova Scotia.

The English army released from America by the truce with the Penacook Federation also enabled England to attack Spain in its home ground, and lay siege to Gibraltar, which was captured by the English before the war was over. An expedition was also to be assembled to enter the St. Lawrence River, and attack Quebec; and it might have materialized had the organization been left to Americans; but the English officers sent over for the purpose of heading such an important selected group dawdled and delayed in Boston until the French had time to learn the plan and it was too late to do anything; the English officers apparently were of the sort that preferred to stay and enjoy the attractions of the big city rather than take risks for themselves. The expedition finally started out, but it was a complete failure.

When the war was ended, in 1714, England retained the Acadian peninsula (Nova Scotia) but returned Cape Breton Island with its valuable fortress of Louisburg, guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence. In exchange for Louisburg, France gave England the city of Madras in India, thus providing England a first foothold there. Gibraltar was also recognized as English, and the boundaries of Carolina (still considered as one province, although with two separate governments)

were extended to the Savannah River. France also ceded to England the entire Hudson Bay basin for the use of the Hudson Bay Company, which had had its forts and trading posts throughout that area for some time; this terrain was named "Prince Rupert Land." France itself was recognized as the holder of the entire valley of the Mississippi, as well as the entire Great Lakes region (except the Iroquois district south of Lake Ontario) and the St. Lawrence Valley. English Maine was extended to the St. Croix River, according to the peace treaty, making the greater portion of Wabanake territory theoretically English (though taking possession was a totally different matter). But France was still recognized as entitled to all land behind the Appalachian mountain range.

The English victory in this war is usually attributed to the union of England and Scotland in 1707, but, since Scotland had been, for all practical military purposes, united with England for over a century, the political union could not be expected to have any effect. The actual turning point in the war was the truce offered by the Penacook Federation, and in a way that proved disastrous to the Red tribes in general. The truce offered at Piscataqua seemed to be a case of "peace at any price."

84. ***Wars Against the Tribes***. The peace of 1714 was a fairly lasting one, in spite of the fact that both sides still had controversial issues. However, the characteristic of this "peace" was that both sides kept themselves busy in the attempt to subdue or destroy the Red peoples within their respective territories. This process began in 1713, before the peace was signed, when North Carolina began surveying Tuscarora land, in the Appalachian foothills, to divide among a group of Germans who had just arrived across the ocean. This division resulted in a bitter war between North Carolina and the Tuscaroras, as a result of which the Tuscaroras were forced out of their mountain lands, and migrated northward to the Iroquois Federation, who admitted them as a sixth state of the Federation, on the basis of a common language and a common origin.

The English also undertook the subjugation of the Wabanake region (Maine), where Father Rasles, the Jesuit missionary, obtained greater support than ever by encouraging resistance on the part of the tribes. Many Wabanake towns were destroyed by the English, and their inhabitants massacred, after the "peace" was concluded. Finally, in 1724, Norridgewock was burned and all the red men there killed, not to mention Father Rasles himself. This was the end of the power of the Wabanake Federation. The Penacook Federation suffered somewhat, too, from these raids, although not to the same extent as the Wabanakes. This was the result of the Penacook tribes wishing to make peace with the English prematurely.

The French were equally active in their own realm. Many new settlements were made, the most important being the town of Nouvelle Orléans (New Orleans), near the mouth of the Mississippi, which became the new capital of the French province of Louisiane. The chief obstacle to French control of the Mississippi was the Natchez nation, which suddenly received an ultimatum to surrender its capital for farm grounds for the French garrison commander. This command resulted in a war between French and Natchez in 1729, and the Natchez were hunted down through the swamps and killed wherever found, men, women or children. Many escaped to the Creek nation, which adopted them as a separate and newly formed gens, which is still part of the tribe—the Natchez gens. The rest of them, finding escape cut off, and still refusing to surrender, arranged a triumphal march, early in 1730—about ten thousand strong—with their sacred fire at the head of the procession, and the entire tribe, or what was left of it, marched right into the Mississippi River. The peace following the Acadian War was thus more of a state of war than the official war it purported to end.

85. ***A Thirteenth Colony***. At this time there were four New England colonies recognized (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut), four middle colonies (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware), and four southern colonies (Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina). Technically, there were only ten provinces instead of twelve, but Delaware had actually its own autonomy; and the two Carolinas were governed separately, and, the proprietors selling out their title to the crown, the separation of North and South Carolina became officially acknowledged.

However, England was still designing further expansion of dominion at the expense of Florida—probably with the design of ultimately conquering Florida itself—and so a thirteenth colony was planned.

In 1732, General Oglethorpe, proposed a plan of making a penal reform colony out of any spare American territory, where English prisoners could be sent to start over again in a new land; and Parliament granted him the area between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers for the experiment. This region was Spanish by the peace treaty, and it was a foregone conclusion that the colony would have to fight hard for its existence. The first settlement, Savannah, was selected at a site close to the recognized frontier, so it could easily be aided by South Carolina.

Oglethorpe accompanied a shipload of criminals and debt prisoners to the new promised land in 1733, and organized his little penal colony at Savannah, naming the colony after King George II, the Province of Georgia. The colony prospered from the beginning, and Oglethorpe proved a benevolent if despotic leader. Georgia was run as a penal colony, a place to which convicts were regularly exiled, for many years to come. The other English colonies in America did not regard Georgia as on an equal footing during all this time.

Oglethorpe, unlike the rulers of the other colonies, did not treat the red tribes as outlaws and trespassers on their own land. He arranged peace conferences with the neighboring tribes, and obtained their permission for the Georgia settlements. The friendship of the tribes was thus assured, and they helped ward off Spanish attacks on the little colony. South Carolina had been exposed to Spanish attack due to its having antagonized the red people; but Georgia was in a much stronger position because General Oglethorpe took an opposite attitude on the question.

Oglethorpe's plan was strictly one of reform. The colonists were prisoners on parole, and given their liberty, but carefully watched, and under strict regulation; every effort was made to make them useful and self-supporting members of the new community. Oglethorpe was strict in particular about barring slaves and rum from his province; but this regulation persisted only as long as Oglethorpe was in Georgia personally to supervise its enforcement. The British government itself was still acting as agent for the Spanish slave trade, and efforts to import slaves into Georgia were put through as soon as Oglethorpe returned to England, in a few years from the founding of the colony. Liquor, which was an important article of trade for British shipping, was also distributed among the ex-convicts; so, between drink, and the slaves who were forced to do the colonists' work, the industrious and self-supporting habits that Oglethorpe had so carefully cultivated in his wards quickly fell to pieces, and the reform plan failed. Slavery became the order of the day, and the ex-prisoners became harsher slave-drivers than the aristocrats of Virginia and the Carolinas.

86. ***Religious Reform***. The disestablishment of the Puritan church in Massachusetts, resulting from the royal regime taking control there, left the followers of that church free to reconsider much

in the way of dogma that had been imposed by administrative authority during the greater part of the seventeenth century. A similar occurrence had taken place earlier in Connecticut, due to the dissolution of the strong theocracy of New Haven, and its unity with the Connecticut colony. In Massachusetts, there was no further cause for distinction between Pilgrim and Puritan churches, previously distinguished by the fact that the latter was an established church, and the former was not. But, in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, the early part of the eighteenth century saw a strong tendency on the part of the followers of the Puritan church to question the ruling powers of their religion, who had hitherto used their governmental authority to prevent any expression of opinion against them. The fact that prominent Puritan ministers, such as Cotton Mather, had proved themselves traitors to Puritan ideals during the Andros regime, was enough to produce doubt in the minds of the New Englanders, especially in view of the strength of individual opinion and principles in New England.

This attitude resulted, about the year 1730, in a schism in the Puritan sect, a large reform group splitting off. These schismatics were known as New Lights, while the followers of the Congregational Church proper (the united Puritan and Pilgrim church) called themselves, in reply, Old Lights. Eventually (about 1736), the "New Lights" lined themselves up with the Methodist sect which had just come into New England.

This division in the ranks of the Congregationalists also brought up, in a somewhat disguised manner, the question of tolerance, which had been the original point of contention over which Rhode Island had broken away from Massachusetts. Although this problem, as such, had come to be identified with Rhode Island, and consequently had bitter opposition in Massachusetts, the split in the church brought the issue back in a different aspect; much was now being done toward promoting general freedom of discussion on both religious and political subjects; on the latter, the unusually democratic forms of New England had always encouraged considerable freedom, which was bound to be applied generally as soon as restraint was removed.

In the interests of general freedom of speech the town of Boston received in 1708 a gift of a meeting hall from a merchant named Peter Faneuil, who, anticipating that authorities might be tempted at some time to set limits to public discussions, made freedom of discussion a condition to the town's title to the hall. The building was given for a combined market and meeting place, and is still used for the same purpose. The meeting hall of this building was from the beginning, and still is, a storm center, having been used for mass meetings of the rebels in the days before the American Revolution; then, later, in the movement against slavery; still more recently in strike movements and in all grades of civic protest meetings; and even America's first communist mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall. Even though attempts have been made to tie up Faneuil Hall's freedom of discussion in various forms of regulation and red tape, that building has remained a center for all forms of movements for American liberty. The building has quite appropriately received the name of "The Cradle of Liberty."

The issue of religious tolerance, however, was not settled, and a test was to come in 1742 when a refugee colony of Portuguese Jews, exiled from their home country, and rejected by the countries of Europe, came to America seeking admission in the English provinces. They were refused admission in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, in spite of the fact that a few of that religion were already living in Charles Town; but they were welcomed as refugees in Rhode Island, where they settled in Newport.

87. ***The Georgian War***. After thirty years of "peace", consisting of constant wars against the red tribes, and in constant maneuvering for position on the part of both English and French colonies, and in England's forcing the slave trade on her American colonies in fulfillment of a treaty with Spain making England general agent for Spain's slave trade, war finally broke out in 1744 as a result of Spain's attempting to take possession of Georgia, which, as we have seen, was built on territory recognized as Spanish by the treaty of 1714. This event brought back all the alliances in Europe and America that had been made to involve so many of the nations of the two continents in the Acadian War. Incidentally, France was concerned, which brought back Canada and Louisiana into the arena of battle. In Europe this conflict was known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

Georgia made unsuccessful attempts to capture Florida. Virginia, which, in its rapid expansion caused by providing new estates for the aristocrats, had already begun to occupy the Shenandoah Valley, at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, was preparing to push across the mountain barrier, and into the valley of the Ohio River, and was sending out trading expeditions into enemy territory, while the French were also preparing to take possession of "La Belle Rivière" (the French translation of the Iroquois, Oheeyo). No clashes, however, occurred on the Ohio region during this war. In 1746, when a number of Scotch prisoners were captured in the defeat of the "Pretender" were sent as indentured servants to Virginia, it was considered more imperative to provide new estates where they could be sent when they were freed, which was scheduled for 1753. It was anticipated, that, in 1753 and 1754, peace or war, the Ohio dispute would be forced to a head.

As the thirty years' peace had been a very belligerent one, so the Georgian War proved fairly peaceful, on the whole, there being little fighting; and the whole war was ended by a peace treaty in 1748, recognizing England's claims to Georgia, but otherwise leaving everything as it was before the war. The Ohio area was still claimed by Virginia, which obstinately refused to recognize any of the peace treaties as far as territorial provisions were concerned. So was initiated a short peace which was to be merely a preparation for a battle to the finish between English and French colonies in America.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT OHIO WAR

88. ***Canessetago and Franklin***. In the Georgian War, as in previous outbursts of the intercolonial struggles, the Iroquois, the chief allies of the English colonies, were strongly impressed with the inability of the English colonies to act in any united moves. Since all parties now felt that the peace of 1748 must be a period for lining up for a finish fight, the Iroquois Federation decided to take steps to convince their allies of the necessity of forming a similar federation. The Congress of 1690, which had been formed mainly by the rebel colonies of the north, was a precedent; but the Iroquois seemed to think that all the English colonies should federate, being of common origin and having a common language, and thus conforming to the Iroquois federability standards. The Congress of 1690 included only the northern colonies, having been mainly formed under the influence of the precedent of the New England Confederation, which, in turn, was under Penacook influence, and therefore took into consideration chiefly the similarity of

institutions rather than of race or language. It is, of course, largely open to question whether New York should have been included in a federation on either plan, since it was obviously of Dutch origin, had social institutions linking it with the South rather than the North, and was as yet not an English speaking region.

However, the Iroquois Federation decided to persuade the English in America to federate all their colonies on a basis similar to the Iroquois, and chose a sachem of their Federal Council, Canessetago, as an envoy to accomplish this mission. He chose for this purpose a Philadelphia printer and journalist by the name of Benjamin Franklin, known to be friendly to the Iroquois, and who, through his journalistic work, had come to have some political standing in Pennsylvania. His early training in Boston, his native city, also helped make him a fit subject for persuasion in this direction. Franklin was not, however, as most New Englanders would be likely to be, an ardent advocate of popular rule: which was probably another qualification that recommended him strongly to the oligarchical Iroquois.

Canessetago found Franklin an easy subject for persuasion as to the advisability of federation of the colonies. Franklin kept the work up in his paper, and an illustration of his has become well known, representing the colonies as a dismembered snake (the parts labelled with the initials of the various colonies), with the motto "Unite or Die." This referred at the time, of course, to the danger from the French, not to national independence, as it was construed later on; but, as Franklin's federal idea was undoubtedly the parent of the federations of these colonies, it is probable that this illustration was the origin of the rattlesnake by which, some twenty years later, the rebelling colonists symbolized themselves.

Benjamin Franklin drew up an actual plan of union for the colonies, with a governor-general to be appointed from England, and a congress of delegates representing the administrations of the various colonies; the functions of the federation to be for common defense, and for certain intercolonial matters such as a postal service. The representation was to be from the administrations of the colonies rather than from the people; and Georgia, as a penal colony, was left out of the union as planned. Delaware, having its own legislature, but governed as a dependency of Pennsylvania, was, under Franklin's scheme, represented only through a delegation from Pennsylvania.

Under the Penacook standards of federability, it would not have been attempted to federate the democratic New England colonies with the aristocratic South, or with despotic New York; but the federation was planned under Iroquois auspices, and all the colonies from New England to South Carolina were included in the design for union.

This plan was hardly, if at all, understood in England, and much objection was raised in that quarter because the scheme was too democratic, even though it left the federation mainly controlled by the colonial governors, most of whom were appointed from England!

However, in spite of all the objections, delegates were ultimately sent to a Congress of the various colonies, in accordance with Franklin's plan of federation. The title of the Congress was a hold-over from the Congress of 1690 which met in New York and which was a federation of the rebel provinces of that period; this Congress distinguished itself from the previous one by claiming to represent the American colonies as a whole, instead of only the North, as did the previous one, because of which it became known as the Continental Congress. The project was kept under strict supervision by the Iroquois Federation, who, as the most powerful allies of the English, as the

original model on which the Congress was being formed, persuaded the new Congress to open in territory which was originally Iroquois. The session was accordingly held in 1754 at Albany; from which circumstance Franklin's plan of union is sometimes referred to as the Albany Plan. The scheme itself had been drawn up in writing, largely adapted from the Iroquois constitution, according to the suggestions of Canessetago, and was really the prototype for the various constitutions which have been drawn up in America.

The Iroquois Federation, in order to make sure that the whites would understand the meaning of federation, and how it was to be accomplished, sent to the Albany Congress an envoy, a courier named Hianinogaro, who, at the opening of this first Congressional session, made a speech explaining to the assembled delegates how the Iroquois were able to strengthen themselves against their enemies by forming a federation, and urging on the delegates the wisdom of doing likewise.

This "Continental Congress" did not, however, prove popular in the colonies, especially in the northern colonies, where the people regarded it as an attempt to increase the power of the royal governors and suppress popular government; while England regarded the union as an attempt to unite the colonies against the mother country. The Congress did not continue its existence, accordingly, for lack of support from either side of the ocean, the objections being of totally opposite natures. This fact convinced Franklin that he had hit the "happy medium."

89. ***Expulsion of the Acadians***. Nova Scotia, the peninsula which had been called Acadie by the French, was, during all this time, a conquered dependency of England, largely populated by a French peasantry, plus a few British settlers who had drifted in during the forty years since England had conquered the peninsula. Due to the fact that James I had, while the peninsula was still in Red possession, given it a Scotch charter, it was considered a Scottish province, and attempts were made to colonize the peninsula with a Scotch population; this had become still more important since Scotland had been the source of rebellions recently, and it was thought that the Scotch could be made to feel a material interest in union with England.

The excuse was found in the discovery of an alleged plot among the French population of Nova Scotia to overthrow English rule, and return to French allegiance. Such a plot may have possibly existed, for there is every reason to believe that the British authorities, who regarded the "Acadians" as intruders on territory properly Scotch, did not maintain friendly relations with the population. Whether such a conspiracy existed or not, however, it would be an absolute impossibility for it to be very widespread until an open attempt at rebellion had been made; and, even were the evidence not manufactured, it is improbable that the majority of the Acadian population knew anything of it.

However, on this occasion the British military authorities were looking for trouble, and, as frequently happens in such cases, found an excuse very readily. In the fall of 1754, a military order was issued exiling the entire French-speaking population of the Nova Scotia peninsula, and confiscating their lands, cattle, and the crops just ready for harvest. A number of British ships were sent to Nova Scotia, which carried away the people of the province, and deposited them in various ports of the other English provinces of America. Many of the Acadians escaped into Canada, while those who were taken to the colonial ports, in a strange country where they could not understand the language, starved; many found their way in to Louisiane, where they found a friendly people speaking their own language, and where ultimately most of the refugees gathered and formed a small "Acadian" colony on the Atchafalaya River, where the old Acadian dialect of French is still

spoken, and where the people to this day are known as Acadians, or, more commonly, as "Cajuns" or "Cageants." The French settlement of the interior of the continent also had their portion of escaping Acadians to care for.

Although the Acadians expelled from their homes in this sudden and unceremonious fashion were technically British subjects by the peace treaties, still their connection with France was too recent and too obvious to make it possible for France to disregard this outrage entirely. Although, of course, this could not be made directly a cause of war between France and England, it nevertheless was a contributing factor toward that renewal of hostilities which all America knew was bound to come.

90. ***The Lenapes' New Home***. During the three intercolonial wars, the Lenape Federation, had fought a losing fight against the advances of the English, aided as they were by the Iroquois from the rear. Lenape organization had differentiated between the functions of their two phratries; the elder, or Wolf, phratry, being military in its functions, while the Turtle phratry was in charge of functions of peace. It was the Wolf phratry that maintained alliance with the French, so that the Lenapes were known to the French as Loups; and it was the Wolf phratry that so persistently fought the English. The successive defeats drove the Wolf phratry farther and farther westward, leaving their brothers, the Turtles, to the mercy of an enemy who knew nothing of these phratry distinctions. The next intercolonial war would mean the certain destruction of the Turtle clans, already nearly extinct; these clans attempted to duplicate in the middle colonies the work of the tribal penetration that had been so well carried out in New England by the Okamakammessets, namely, that of coördinating white adoptees into a sort of extension of the tribal structure, for the perpetuation of tribal principles. This society, however, instead of being made part of the tribe, as was done in New England, was an independent group, called the Sons of Tamenund (Tamenund being the original founder of the Lenape Federation), or, as the whites called it, Sons of Tammany. The association also lacked the fundamental democratic ideals of the Okamakammesset organization, due to the differences between the tribes; also, due to the nature of the separation of Wolf and Turtle, the Turtles were unable to give to this fellowship of theirs any such rebel spirit as the Okamakammessets gave in New England.

In the meanwhile, the Wolf clans had gradually been driven farther and farther into the interior, until, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Lenapes (or "Delawares," as the English called them), were across the mountains, in what was recognized as under French protection. They finally took refuge in Shawnee country, the Shawnees being already friendly to the French, and hostile to both English and Iroquois; therefore naturally friendly to the Lenapes. This area comprised the region south of Lake Erie, between that lake and the river called by the Iroquois, Oheeyo (beautiful river), and by the French, La Belle Rivière, a translation of the Iroquois name. The English called the river, which they had only recently "discovered," by their own version of the Iroquois name, Ohio, the name which is now also given to the Shawnee-Lenape territory.

91. ***French Expansion in the Interior***. The peace of 1748 was also utilized by the French in further establishment of trading posts and fortifications in the interior of the continent, this time designed not merely to establish a line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, but to form a fortified ring around the English colonies in case of further conflict, which all parties concerned knew to be inevitable. The ring was drawn much closer, and the valley of "La Belle Rivière" was especially watched, because, during the previous war, it had been penetrated by some English traders. The forts of Vincennes and Louisville guarded the lower portion of the valley. And,

as Louisiana was the part west of the Mississippi, occupied as yet only by the red tribes, the French, in the attempt to penetrate it as they had the east side of the valley, located their first outpost in that territory, a post near the mouth of the Missouri River, and named after the patron saint of the ruling Bourbon family, Saint Louis. Before 1755, several rings of French forts had been placed around the English colonies, establishing chains of French communication at short distances all the way from Quebec and Montreal to New Orleans. At first sign of actual English opposition, the rings of French forts were to be drawn closer yet.

92. ***Virginia's Ohio Expedition***. As we have already seen, Virginia, in portioning out needlessly large tracts of land as new feudal estates in the interior, had been expanding with alarming rapidity, and was thus committed to an ever-increasing policy of conquest in westerly and northwesterly direction, in total disregard of existing occupants of the land, and even of peace treaties, which, to Virginia, seemed mere scraps of paper. In 1753-54, the freeing of a number of indentured servants who had been taken prisoner in Scotland as rebels against the king had necessitated the granting of estates to the aristocrats farther into the interior than before. This land was given in the Shenandoah Valley (sometimes also called the Valley of Virginia), which brought expansion practically up to the English boundaries as provided in the peace treaties. Virginia's policy required further territory, and resort must be had to claiming an area beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains, occupied by red tribes who were placed under French protection by the peace treaty. Virginian aristocracy was already beginning to clamor for seizure of this region, which they claimed was Virginia's by right of an old charter granted by Charles I, before any appreciable white settlements had been made in America. It would be necessary to provide such new estates to take care of any number of further accession of population which England might in future sell to Virginian overlords.

In 1755, a small group of young Virginians of aristocratic families, led by one George Washington, heir to a large Potomac River estate, consulted with governor Dinwiddie as to organizing an expedition for the purpose of taking possession of the Ohio River country, and readily won his approval. This group accordingly set out and invaded French territory (really red tribal land under French protectorate). They reached the Ohio River, explored considerably on the farther side of it, and "surveyed" it for themselves. It is this circumstance which is probably responsible for the allegation that Washington was a surveyor in his youth. After thus claiming the region north of the Ohio River, which the French called Illinois after one of the red nations there (Washington, supposing that the French name was Ile Noire, referred to it as "Black Island"), the little expedition returned to the Ohio River and built a small fortification on the coast side of it, "Fort Necessity," and raised the British flag over it. Another fortification was started and abandoned a bit farther south on the river, called Fort Prince George.

It was not, of course, to be expected that the French government at Quebec would look calmly on, and allow this action to pass unquestioned. An army was sent to the upper Ohio (the part now called Allegheny), where the Virginian outposts had just been established by Washington's private expedition, and attacked Fort Necessity, capturing all who were in it and bringing them as prisoners to Quebec. Washington himself escaped, returning to Virginia with a complaint against the French invading their own territory.

To protect the Ohio River against further attacks from the over-aggressive Virginians, Canada decided on the necessity of fortifying the upper Ohio River at a spot which could directly threaten Virginia. This location was found on the site of abandoned Fort Prince George, where the

Monongahela River, flowing in from the general direction of Virginia and Maryland, joins the Ohio. Here was built Fort Duquesne, bringing the French ring of fortifications very close indeed to English settlements, indeed within easy striking distance.

Governor Dinwiddie, after receiving Washington's complaint against the French, regarded this new move as an invitation to further warfare, and sent General Braddock out with an army of a few thousand men to penetrate the mountains and capture Fort Duquesne. George Washington was made a colonel in this army, and went along mainly as a guide to the expedition.

The presence of a large army of redcoats aroused the hostility of not only the French, but also of the mountain tribes, who were now forced to take notice of the invasion of their ground. The scarlet uniforms of the British soldiers made an excellent target for the Indians, and, at a spot where the army of invasion passed through a large clearing, the tribesmen contrived to surround them, and, by shooting from behind trees, the entire army was killed. The only part of Braddock's army that escaped this massacre was the part under Washington's command, which took to the shelter of the trees at the first sign of trouble, following the red men's own method of fighting, to which Washington had become accustomed on his previous Ohio River Expedition.

The small fragment left of Braddock's expedition could not very well proceed against Fort Duquesne, and Washington, after much difficulty, conducted his force back to Virginia, blaming the French for the attack by the red tribes whose territory had just been invaded. This incident, of course, merely served to increase the tension between English and French in America, and resulted in mutual recriminations between the mother countries in Europe.

The signal victory of the red tribes of the mountains over the British army was undoubtedly due to the latter's insistence on fighting in the open, a type of tactics which might have been good in Europe of the eighteenth century, but which was of little avail against tribal tactics of fighting. Washington's advantage apparently lay in his having learned to copy tribal methods, not in any special personal superiority; although his being able to save his own remnant of the army earned him a reputation as a military genius. So far, he was merely successful in the conducting of a one-man war, and at starting single-handed greater international complications than the combined efforts of many statesmen have generally been able to produce.

93. ***The Great Ohio War Starts***. As we have seen, the peace of 1748 between England and France was regarded on all sides as merely a rest in preparation for a finish fight. The expulsion of the Acadians did much to aggravate the tension between English and French; and the Ohio River skirmishing strained it to the breaking point.

Virginia and Canada were already, to all intents and purposes, at war, although this status did not apply to the mother countries, or to the northern English colonies. However, such a state of affairs meant that declaration of war would be inevitable, and all the red tribes in the eastern part of America were ready to line up on one side or the other. The Iroquois, of course, were ready, under the alliance of 1634, to throw in their lot with England the moment war became official; while the Lenapes and Shawnees of the Ohio region, and the Penacook tribes of New England, were ready to take the other side—not through any partiality toward the French, but rather because there were scores to even up with the English, including the comparatively recent massacre at Norridgewock. The Hurons north of the Adirondacks, and the Wabanakes of Maine, were practically vassals of the French by this time, and would naturally be drawn into the war.

Everybody, including the Penacook Federation, realized that a finish battle was impending, in which it was a case of stake all for whatever could result. The Okamakammessets, in view of this outlook, strengthened and consolidated the organization of their adoptees so that they could carry on the social structure and principles of the "Great Tribe" even if the original tribesmen should be wiped out in the coming war; and these adoptees, living as they did in a naturally hostile community, were coördinated for the purpose of carrying the war on indefinitely against the ruling administrations of New England, and especially against British domination in the Okamakammessets' homeland of Massachusetts. The association was thus consolidated so that it could continue to function and hand down the tradition of freedom and popular government without the guiding hand of the original red men; they were rather instructed to exercise a similar guiding hand over their own community. Unlike the similar society formed for similar reasons by the Lenapes, careful instruction in basic principles was made a prerequisite for membership, which was greatly limited in order to maintain the high standard of those principles, which this same organization, operating under the name of the original red tribe, the Okamakammessets, has constantly adhered to and fought for at all times.

Meanwhile, England and France themselves were busy lining up their allies on their own side of the ocean. England conveniently remembered at this juncture that it was laying claims to India, which was then largely in French possession; while France was calling in its allies, Spain and Austria, to aid in case of trouble. At this time some Austrian regiments sent their empress a petition in verse asking her to keep out of hostilities: "Maria Theresia, zieh nicht in den Krieg" (Maria Theresa, do not go to war); but to no avail. Prussia, on the other hand, conveniently remembered its claims to Silesia, and a quarrel started on this matter; while, in the attempt to line up allies for England and France, even Poland and Russia were drawn in.

The failure of negotiations to settle the Ohio trouble finally ended in a declaration of war in 1756, involving a general struggle between the entire group of allies of both sides of the ocean. This war, started over a "land-grabbing attempt" in the then obscure Ohio Valley, succeeded in growing into a contention involving a greater portion of the earth than any other conflict in the entire history of the world; most of the people involved in this strife having never heard of Ohio, and knowing still less what or where it might be. Even such a well-informed person as Voltaire made the statement that England was fighting France over "quelques arpents de neige au Canada" (a few acres of snow in Canada).

This was the Great Ohio War, one of the most important conflicts in the world's history, more commonly known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War.

94. ***Iroquois Territory Invaded***. As in the case of the Hudson Valley War, the land of the Iroquois Federation was key country, and both English and French invaded this region to take possession of strategic points for fortification. Thus, the English built Fort Stanwix on the upper Mohawk River, and even fortified for their own use the Iroquois town of Oswego, on Lake Ontario; while the French, coming up Lake Champlain, captured the Iroquois town of Ticonderoga on that lake, and there built Fort Carillon; which the English answered by building Fort William Henry at the tip of the Lake.

On other parts of the long frontier of English terrain the red allies of both sides were seeking the rewards offered for enemy scalps, and indulging in other methods of warfare new to them, but

suggested by the whites, who would stop at nothing to gain their ends through tribes against whom they would afterwards turn. The English invasion of Iroquois ground was a case in point as to how little the rights of even an ally were respected by the whites in that war; and the English, to justify such action, invented the story that the Iroquois were false allies.

The result of the English quarreling with their own allies, the Iroquois, was that the English forts in Iroquois territory were mostly captured by the French during the early years of the war. Oswego became a French outpost under the name of Chouéguen. Fort William Henry surrendered to the French general, Montcalm, after he had put the fort under siege with the aid of his allies the Hurons. But the Hurons were not made parties to the terms of surrender, and so considered those in the fort as still enemies; accordingly, when the occupants of the fort evacuated, they were massacred by the Hurons—an arrangement probably made deliberately by General Montcalm. At any rate, the Hurons duly received their scalp-rewards for this act from the administration at Quebec.

In the meantime, the Iroquois, far from really being false allies, were busy in the interior disrupting French communications, and, by harassing the Lenapes and Shawnees, protecting the western settlements of Virginia to a great extent from raids. However, scalp raids were common throughout both English and French settlements, as they had been in the previous intercolonial wars, and "block houses," as well as a certain form of diminutive stone castle, were to be found in every white town as a means of defense. The small stone building in Newport which is now attributed to the Norse, is probably of such origin.

The east shore of Lake Champlain was Penacook Federation territory, and therefore practically in French possession for the purpose of the war, since the Penacook Federation was fighting against the English, but not for the French. This area, of course, also became a strategic point, much desired by the English on account of the hope it presented of the recovery of English control in Iroquois territory. However, the mountainous character of this country made it difficult to attack.

Iroquois activity in the interior had, by 1758, succeeded in thoroughly disrupting communications between French outposts in the neighborhood. Another expedition was sent out against Fort Duquesne, this time by Pennsylvania; and now it had the protection of the Iroquois army, which prevented the repetition of such a disaster as had happened to the Braddock expedition in 1755. With the protection and aid of the Iroquois Federation, Pennsylvania laid siege to the fort, already in reduced condition by the breaking of communications, and Fort Duquesne shortly surrendered to the army from Philadelphia. It was now occupied as a British fort, and renamed Fort Pitt, after the British prime minister. Pennsylvania settlers were brought over to start a new settlement on the Ohio River; and the town they founded was given the name Pittsburgh.

This strategy proved to be the turning point in the war. The French forts in Iroquois territory, Chouéguen and Carillon, shortly afterwards succumbed to a combined attack by English and Iroquois, while Iroquois raids were keeping the French busy in Canada.

This success enabled England to concentrate its activities on the other side of the world, attacking the French in India; while the French, on the contrary, were forced to take their army away from India to some extent, in order to strengthen the defense of Canada against the English and Iroquois. In this manner, Iroquois aid in America made it possible for England to conquer India

and become a world power. England acquired a world empire which it owes mainly to the Iroquois Federation.

95. ***Amherst's Small-Pox***. By 1758 the Penacook weakness in favor of peace had begun to show itself, and the Penacook Federation was attempting to negotiate for peace. Lord Geoffrey Amherst, who was in charge of British operations against the tribes in that section, pretended to proceed with the negotiations, and presented large quantities of blankets to the members of the various Penacook tribes in token of pacific intentions. These blankets, however, had all been previously infected with small-pox, and special precautions were taken in their handling to prevent the British soldiers from becoming infected. Since the red men had much less immunity to the disease than the whites, the epidemic wiped out the entire population of the Federation within a few months, the only remnant being small groups which had left the main tribes and were living near the white settlements, having assumed white men's ways.

The adoptees of the Okamakammessets, who by now, although few in numbers, had been coördinated so that they could take over the entire tribal structure, were the only fragment left of the society of either the Great Tribe or the Penacook Federation; but they, working as they had to within the English settlements of Massachusetts, proceeded to continue the work of the Penacook Federation, and chose for themselves a Bashaba, at a northern Middlesex town called Groton. The newly-chosen Bashaba was partly descended from the old-line Okamakammessets; but thenceforth the tribe of the Okamakammessets had to carry on the functions of the Penacook federation with a membership of white people initiated and adopted into the tribe, but who by that adoption were considered to become red men. It was believed to be a spy association in enemy territory, as the adoptees had operated before, with the membership itself remaining secret, even to a great extent from one another. In this form the Okamakammessets are functioning to this day in America, especially in Massachusetts.

The Penacook territory in northern New England, thus vacated by the effects of Amherst's small-pox betrayal, was immediately taken over by Yankee settlers from all the New England colonies. The capital city of Penacook itself became a New Hampshire town under the name of Rumford. But the Winooski district, between the Connecticut Rover and Lake Champlain, which, as we have seen, was an important strategic location for the English, was not only settled by a large Yankee colony, but guarded by a volunteer mountaineer army, carrying on guerrilla proceedings against the French, who still lingered about the Green Mountains. This army was called the Vermontiers by the French (from Verts Monts, meaning Green Mountains). The settlers, carrying Yankee customs and institutions with them, immediately organized themselves wherever they settled into town meetings on the regular New England plan, and formed a temporary provincial government, which, from the title of Vermontiers given them by the enemy, took the name of Vermont. This government was never recognized by England, which repeatedly attempted to place Vermont under the control of direct British authority, and which was as frequently defied by the people of Vermont, in spite of their claiming allegiance to England. It was the case of the Plymouth colony all over again, with the exception that Plymouth never encountered real opposition from England, while Vermont was operating its local administration against constant opposition from the mother country. Then and there, 1758, was formed the first independent administration of the whites in America, and there was planted the seed of rebellion which was later to bring independence to the American colonies. Vermont remained an independent republic, recognized by nobody, and at odds with its neighbors, from 1758 to 1790, when it finally submitted to annexation by the United States.

96. ***Capture of Canada***. An immediate result of the occupation of the Green Mountain region (Vermont) was that the English side suddenly found itself in possession of an important position directly overlooking the Canadian capital of Quebec. The New England colonies no longer had to defend themselves against raids from the tribes, and, with the capture of Louisbourg for the third time by Massachusetts forces, Quebec was almost cut off from communication with France. Quebec was attacked from the east by the New England armies (now placed in charge of a British general, Wolfe), from the south by the "Vermontiers," and from the west by the Iroquois. The city was, however, well fortified, and able to stand a siege; but an unfortunately timed sally of the local garrison in September, 1759, resulted in final defeat of the Canadian forces at the Battle of the Heights of Abraham, where both generals, Wolf and Montcalm, died. Quebec was occupied, and, although that did not mean an immediate conquest of all of Canada, it was the end of organized French administration in Canada. Remaining French forts in Canada were then isolated and surrounded by Iroquois, and soon surrendered to the English, who, in 1760, succeeded in capturing Montreal and Detroit; then reducing and taking all remaining French outposts in Canada.

In 1760, also, an English expedition was sent up the Mississippi to make a final clean-up of French forts in that valley; which was easy, since the French could now no longer rely on aid from Canada as formerly. Such was the state of ignorance in England in regard to American geography that this fleet was sent out with orders to take all French posts on the Mississippi as far north as the mouth of the Ganges! However, the capture of the Mississippi valley was affected with comparative ease, and French control was eliminated from North America.

The British forces now were able to turn their attention to Spain. The Georgians captured Florida, which had been steadily losing ground since Georgia was settled, and even before; then an army was sent across the Straits of Florida, occupied Havana, and finally conquered Cuba entirely.

97. ***The Peace of 1763***. The Great Ohio War, still prolonged in Europe, had already resulted in the downfall of French empire in America and India. Tribal raids on the middle English colonies still continued; but otherwise the war was practically settled.

In the spring of 1763, England finally forced the conquered countries to sign a treaty of peace, at Paris. This treaty transferred more territory than has ever changed hands at any one time in the history of the world. By it, France gave up its claims in America and India. Spain, however, was considered as a victim of French intrigue, and was allowed not only to keep all its land but also to take French territory. Accordingly, all French territory in America east of the Mississippi was given to England, and all west of the Mississippi was given to Spain. Only Florida was given up by Spain.

Thus ended the great French empire in North America, and thus began the career of Great Britain as a world empire. The Algonquin nations, that had relied on the French for protection, were suddenly left undefended, and even actually surrendered by the treaty to be subject to England; while the English colonies, no longer fearing either tribal or French attacks, were no longer in need of the defensive power of the mother country. Vergennes, the French prime minister, felt on that account that the original English colonies would not remain loyal to England, and, after he had signed the peace treaty, he made the prophetic statement: "I have signed their defeat."

CHAPTER XVIII

AFTERMATH OF THE GREAT OHIO WAR

98. ***Royal Peace Proclamation***. British territory in America, increased as it was by the treaty of peace, and, for the same reason, freed of the foreign boundary disputes which had troubled it up to this time, was apportioned into provinces by a proclamation issued by King George III shortly after the treaty was signed. The original provincial divisions of the former English colonies were retained, but new land had to be apportioned, and the English provinces in America expected the new territory to be divided among them; in fact, the southern provinces, especially Virginia, where the war had started, fought for that specific purpose of acquiring new territory from the French.

But such was not the arrangement. A part of Florida was annexed to Georgia, the remainder being divided into two provinces, East Florida and West Florida, definitely delimited by the proclamation, the division line being the Perdido or Pensacola River; East Florida (which covers the area of the present State of Florida) being the part settled by the Spanish from Cuba, while West Florida covered a region mainly settled by the French, including such cities as Mobile and Biloxi.

On the north side, the provinces of Nova Scotia, and the province of New Brunswick which had been formed during the war out of the land between Nova Scotia and Maine, were recognized; and the remainder of Canada north of the Great Lakes was formed into the Province of Quebec, put under a temporary civil government with English law. Since Maine had been disputed territory up to the Great Ohio War, a definite boundary was set, which was, however, poorly defined and never surveyed, but which took in much territory which had been definitely settled by the French.

The provision of the proclamation that caused the most dismay among those colonial elements who had been looking for expansion and additional land, was that which forbade all settlement of colonists at any new points west of the Appalachian watershed between the Great Lakes and Florida, reserving all this territory for the use of the red nations. Existing white communities in this area, such as Detroit, Vincennes, and Pittsburgh, were permitted to continue; but the idea of reserving all this region for the free growth of the red peoples was a move considered necessary by the British for the purpose of preventing further unnecessary race wars in America, and a move which naturally antagonized the groups of "land-grabbers" such as the Virginian aristocrats who had started the war.

Vermont, which had established an independent unrecognized administration during the war, was placed under the control of the Province of New York. This meant the destruction of the existing representative government in Vermont and the complete outlawing of the town meetings which were the foundation of New England popular rule, substituting the irresponsible rule of an almost despotic governor, under which New York had been ever since its foundation. But it was one thing to place Vermont under New York on paper, and a totally different matter to enforce this decree. Vermont was able to resist successfully all attempts of New York authorities to take control, and the outlawed popular administration of Vermont remained in power long enough to serve as an example of independent action to the other English colonies in America.

There still remained some internal boundary disputes which were not settled by the royal proclamation. In particular, the boundaries between New England and the middle provinces, as well as between middle and south, remained hazy, with overlapping claims. The Massachusetts corridor, the tribal avenue of escape to Iroquois territory during Metacom's war, and now in Massachusetts' possession, was also claimed by New York, while Massachusetts asserted rights through to the Pacific (now limited by the treaty to the Mississippi); so that Albany was claimed by Massachusetts, while Holyoke and Northampton were claimed by New York. A boundary was fixed in the Berkshires, near the back line of the Dutch manors, as late as 1773.

But with the boundary between middle and southern colonies, the question was more acute. The end of hostilities had already opened up terrain for settlement farther west than either Pennsylvania or Maryland had previously attempted, and conflicting land grants by the two provinces made a tangle. As it was, a wide strip was claimed by both colonies, which included Baltimore as well as part of Philadelphia, not to mention Pennsylvania's autonomous appendage, the Delaware Counties. England accordingly commissioned two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, to survey and mark a new boundary which divided the disputed area between Pennsylvania and Maryland. This fixed a definite boundary between North and South, ever since known as Mason and Dixon’s line.

99. ***The Ottawa Federation***. The Algonquin nations west of the Alleghany Mountains had been under French protection, and now France had, by peace treaty, surrendered them to be British subjects. That the French were defeated and could no longer protect them was a thing that these tribes could readily understand, hard as such a situation might be; but that the French should attempt to deliver up their former allies to the enemy in this fashion was regarded as sheer treachery. In this, not only not only the Shawnees, Ottawas, Wyandottes, Illinois, and many other central tribes were agreed, but also the Lenapes who had come over the mountains from the seacoast expressly to escape British power. A sagamore of the Ottawa by the name of Pontiac organized all these tribes into a federation called the Ottawa Federation.

With the aid of an adopted white man, known only by his tribal name of Waccusta, Pontiac led the Ottawa Federation into a war against all the English forts of the northwest, in the spring of 1763, and succeeded in destroying many of these forts almost immediately. The post of Checagou, which had served for a long time as a link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and which, before the coming of the French, had for some reason been an important tribal town, was among those destroyed, and the site of the place was abandoned for some fifty years; in spite of which, it has become one of the most important cities in America. The only white outposts in this region which succeeded in holding out were Detroit and Michillimackinac (now Mackinac Island). Detroit was saved from a surprise capture by the warning of a red girl who was living with a British officer, and who betrayed her own people for that reason. After these two forts had withstood a ten-month siege, British reinforcements from the colonies made a successful sally from Detroit possible. The fortunes of war were now turned, and the British hunted down every trace of the Ottawa forces. Pontiac himself was killed, the Ottawa Federation broken up, and the tribes reduced to subjection.

Fragments of the organization of the Ottawa Federation, however, persisted in the western portions, on the northern Mississippi, who were not under British dominion or claims. This combination became known as the United Tribes, or Dakota. It may be noted that this idea of giving a federation a purely federational name in this manner has been copied in the name United States, which could almost be a translation of the word Dakota.

The British at this time attempted to prove that the Senecas, of the Iroquois Federation, who had been British allies throughout, and who had been really responsible for British victory in the war, were in this rebellion. This story may have served its purpose among those colonists who were trying to take Iroquois land, but there seems to be no truth whatever in the allegation.

100. ***Spanish Expansion***. As we have seen, the French claims to "Louisiane" were vague, and no one knew how far they involved claims to either the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific. Spain had already a few outposts in the so-called "New Mexico" region, such as Santa Fé and Tuscón, established in the sixteenth century, before the French had thought of laying claims to America; but even that region might have been claimed as part of "Louisiane," not to mention the Pacific Coast beyond. Since this claim had now been ceded to Spain, the Spanish now felt safe in colonizing the Pacific coast, to the northward of the peninsula which Cortez, the Spanish conqueror of Mexico, had named after a novel of his day, California.

After the war, a group of Franciscan friars from Mexico, led by Junipero Serra, started northward up the Pacific coast from the California Peninsula to establish their missions in the new region of "Alta California," or Upper California. As was the usual Spanish method, under the guise of "conversion" the native tribes were made slaves of the missions, which parcelled out for themselves immense stretches of land, the remainder of the vast territory being divided into "ranchos" for various prominent Spanish families. The missions in many cases made "converts" by catching the red people with nets and dragging them in.

The establishment of these missions went on for a period of about twenty years, after which that part of the Pacific coast was dotted with the Franciscan missions, each with the name of a Catholic saint. The first coast mission was that of San Diego de Alcalá, founded shortly after the peace treaty; and, following that were established many other missions, each with a village around it named after the mission. Thus, there were the missions, and towns, of San Louis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel Arcángel, and, as late as 1776, the red town of Yung-Na was used as a site for the mission of Our Lady Queen of the Angels (Nuestra Seňora la Reina de Los Angeles). Still the Franciscans continued establishing new missions, enslaving the tribes as they went along, and herding them into new mission villages, such as San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, San José, Santa Cruz, and many others. The problem of transporting supplies for all these mission villages became serious, and a road, called El Camino Real (The Royal Road), was built for the purpose. This proving insufficient, the future explorations by the priests were guided by a search for a harbor, especially since they had heard that one had been seen on that coast a century before. San Diego was a good harbor for the southern or older mission towns, but they were already getting too far for even that base. As it had been noticed that no mission had as yet been named for the founder of the Franciscans, it was decided that the harbor, if discovered, should be the site of his mission. The harbor previously seen was missed by these invaders, but another one was reached in 1783, and the mission and its surrounding settlement, as well as the bay, received the name of San Francisco de Assisi.

Thus were the tribes of "Alta California" (now the State of California) brought into subjugation, and the place within one generation converted into a Spanish colony. The process of enslavement of the tribes was rendered easier by the nature of the country, divided as it was into small valleys with almost no communication between each other. The Californian tribes, separated by narrow mountain passes easily guarded by very few men, remained without intercommunication, and hostile to each other until even their languages became so different that no relation between

them was recognizable. Of course, in such a situation, a powerful outside expedition could easily subject the entire region. Lack of communication had also prevented these tribes from advancing either economically, as the Mexican nations had, or socially, as the tribes in the East.

It is noticeable that, in modern California, a similar situation of intense rivalry between the various valleys had developed, practically paralleling that of the old tribes.

Louisiana proper, however, was left very much to itself. The "Island of Orleans," a swamp-surrounded region on which New Orleans is located, was Spanish territory, although actually on the east side of the Mississippi River; and Lake Pontchartrain, on the other side of the "Island," was, due to its outlet in the province of West Florida, inaccessible to any but English vessels, so that the Spanish front of the lake had to be strongly fortified. That part of New Orleans is still known as Spanish Fort. French settlements remained undisturbed on the Gulf coast of Louisiana, but almost everything the French had started in the interior was abandoned, and, as the Spanish found it difficult to enslave the red tribes in this region, the tribes were left to control the interior of the Louisiana province. The only interior outpost the Spanish kept was "San Louis," as they called the war-born French town of Saint Louis.

101. ***The New Regime in Canada***. Under English rule, Canada was subjected to a heavy influx of newcomers from the English colonies of America, especially from New England. These were called "old subjects," in contrast to the "new subjects," who had just come under England as a result of the war.

Canada was still under a military regime, although some civil government was being established, and placed largely under the English system of laws, but with adaptations to the French conditions and customs prevailing in Canada. This situation brought complaints from both the "old subjects" and from the "new subjects," the former wishing to have exclusive control of Canada under a completely Anglicized system, and the latter preferring some of their original French institutions. However, the fact that the "old subjects," particularly the New England Yankees, were trying to gain control of the province, disposed England to be more friendly to the "new subjects," the French Canadians; and the tendency was to return the Province of Quebec to the type of French feudal government it had been under before the war. The situation was fast developing into a struggle between England and the American colonies for control over Canada.

A large number of new emigrants from England filled the new province of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the latter province recently emptied of its population by the expulsion of the Acadians. These people, being recently sent over by Great Britain and given new lands on this side of the ocean, were naturally quite zealously loyal to England, and at the same time served as a counterbalance to the French in the Province of Quebec. These provinces received much the same sort of administration as the middle English colonies, with democratic forms, but largely under the centralized control of a governor appointed from London.

102. ***Manufacturing in England and America***. This was the period of the so-called "Industrial Revolution" in England. For about two hundred years attempts had been made to introduce inventions into England, as well as into the rest of Europe, which would simplify the various manufacturing processes; but such attempts had always been opposed because it would put the craftsmen out of work and cause a general condition of destitution. The same objections held in Europe on the Continent, but England now had suddenly acquired immense new territories, and was

anxious to ship so many people out to America that the introduction of machinery would simply supply more people willing to emigrate. Factories were established in England under control of individuals, and workers were recruited for them by wholesale dispossession of the farming population, most of whom were turned over to the factories as virtual slaves, while many escaped to America. America was also the refuge of many of the old-time craftsmen who lost their trade through the new machinery.

In the meantime, America had its own development of manufactures on altogether different lines. The South remained predominantly agricultural; a feudal aristocracy. The middle colonies were agricultural, but engaged in much ocean trading. In New England, however, the land was not suitable for extensive agricultural development. Even trading depended largely on the ingenuity of the population, and some sort of manufacturing was almost a necessity there. The peculiar devices known as Yankee "notions," partly, as we have seen, also a result of Penacook influence, were the answer to this demand, and New England had already come to do a sizable amount of manufacturing on this small scale. The influx of craftsmen from England augmented this noticeably.

But building and using factories was not enough for England. No competition from America was wanted, and the old laws against manufacturing in America, always a bone of contention between America and England, were now enforced with renewed vigor. This restriction, of course, hit the New England provinces harder than anyone else; while such cities as New York, living almost entirely on transatlantic trade, had everything to gain and nothing whatever to lose by the suppression of Yankee manufactures. In the South, such an issue as the manufacturing question was practically absent, although strict enforcement of the anti-factory laws from England had, at times in the past, made even the South suffer.

It was, therefore, to be expected that New England would make considerable objection to the enforcement of this internal control from England. This was an opportunity for just such a secret association as the Okamakammessets, who, although no longer a tribe of actual red men, refused to recognize the peace treaty, still considered themselves at war with the colonial and British governments because the Tribe had never been asked to sign the peace. Their function now was to start internal trouble against the existing regime and to work for popular control through institutions. Accordingly, in the issue concerning manufacturing, the Tribe went to work to organize the secret manufacturing according to the Penacook plan of co-operation. A group of sympathizers, the Sons of Liberty, was formed, and they provided various hiding places throughout Massachusetts where craftsmen and other volunteer workers could get together for the purpose of producing various sorts of necessary goods. These secret factories, instead of belonging to individuals as in England, were controlled by those working in them, much on the "town-meeting" plan, while even the Sons of Liberty, which supplied the initial capital, merely supervised the procedure without actually owning the factories. This was about as near to the Penacook plan of co-operation as it was possible to get where money and property were the established institutions.

Boston itself had one of these factories, a textile goods factory located not far from the Common, on Tremont Street at the corner of Rawson's Lane (now Bromfield Street). Ten miles away, the town of King's Lynn (the original capital of the Saugus tribe), was chosen as a good smuggling port, accessible to three separate harbors at once, and there a factory was established for making shoes; the royal title of the town was dropped, and under the name of Lynn it is now one of the greatest shoe-manufacturing cities in the world. Other factories of this secret and volunteer co-

operating type were established away from centers of population, in many cases on the sites of abandoned tribal towns.

These factories, originating as they did, differed in many ways from the ones being introduced into England. The English factories represented the enslavement of the population, and their submission to a new class of factory owners; while the Massachusetts factories of that period, on the contrary, represented a refuge of the poorer population from the attempted enslavement by England. The factories in England represented the dispossession of the people from the land, while those in Massachusetts represented the people's resistance to dispossession by those who forbade the establishment of the factories. The English factories represented the accession to power of a moneyed class; the Massachusetts factories were in themselves a rebellion against money, and a move by, and for, the poorer elements of the population. The Massachusetts factories gave the English ones competition, not merely by producing goods to compete with English goods, but by opposing institutions belonging to the poor people against the English ones belonging to the rich.

The Tribe and its affiliates, such as the Sons of Liberty in New England, gradually organized their circle of sympathizers to give American volunteer factory workers a living by buying only their products instead of British goods; and many newspapers helped out the process by frequently printing, as though by way of advertisement, that certain merchants named sold British goods, thereby actually losing trade for them forcing the sale of locally-made goods through the type of concerted action which, some hundred years later, was given the name of boycott.

103. ***New Titles in New England***. The Hudson Valley and the South had been under feudal rule for the entire period of their colonization, but this form of government had as yet been seen very little in New England, even where New Hampshire and Maine, which had been started as feudal colonies, rapidly worked themselves out of that status. We have seen that Governor Andros attempted to dispossess the farming population of New England in order to make them serfs to the nobility that he introduced, but this process had not been able to progress very far during his short but infamous reign, and much of what he did in that direction was undone by the Puritan restoration that followed Andros' overthrow.

After the Great Ohio War, England attempted once more to convert New England into a feudal domain by creating new titles of nobility carrying with them land tenures in America. The land thus given was already occupied, and this meant dispossession or even enslavement of the former occupants, many of whom were actually turned into serfs for the new manorial lords.

The manors thus granted were frequently quite extensive. Sir William Pepperell, who had been an officer in the war, was given an estate covering the southerly corner of Maine for a distance of about thirty miles along the coast, and about fifty miles inland—almost as much of Maine as the English settled during the seventeenth century. The same officer was given a smaller additional estate in northern Middlesex; and both these estates included more tracts already occupied by numerous Yankees both as towns and as farms. Other similar estates were parcelled out, and the New England farmer had reason to protest against the new policy of the mother country in America.

104. ***Collecting for the War***. England felt by this time that America was becoming a rich country, and went about to make America pay for the entire expense of the war, by enforcing and increasing the taxation imposed. This process started as early as 1761, before the war was ended.

England not only imposed taxation on America, but resorted to such measures as general search-warrants enabling the British authorities to search entire American towns for smuggling goods.

Since goods made in New England's new factories, or goods imported from Europe otherwise than through Great Britain, came under the heading of smuggled goods, the merchants of all parts of the American colonies were hard hit. The boycott imposed by the New England factories meant the growth of smuggling rings among the merchants, especially in Boston, but also in the other ports. The merchants naturally protested against these measures, though it was scarcely an important issue to the American population in general.

This smuggling ring differed further from the factory and farmer rebels of Massachusetts in that they were merely protesters, and had otherwise no direct quarrel with Great Britain, their aim being to settle difficulties by petition or not at all. Besides, since the factories were bringing pressure on the merchants, no sympathy was lost between the two classes. The smuggling ring may have been the noisier group, but the farmers and factory workers were the real rebels in America of that period.

CHAPTER XIX

DEFIANCE

104b. ***The Stamp Act Congress***. England's effort to make America pay for the war resulted in a series of taxation measures, as we have already seen, which were largely resented by the rings of smuggling merchants; and it was felt that America was being taxed to enable England to better suppress popular government. The restriction of manufacture also became a difficult task for British authorities in America, since paper, clothing, and numbers of other articles were being made in New England, in spite of all British efforts to suppress this form of activity.

In 1765, the British Parliament hit on a plan for both enforcement of taxation and suppression of certain American manufactures. The so-called Stamp Act required that all newspapers, advertisements, legal documents, wills, and many other kinds of writings be on special stamped paper. This was intended as a general tax on America, and would also be a blow at the illicit paper manufactures going on in America. Had it been completely enforced, thousands of Americans would have been left without any occupation, and everything in America would have had to suffer as a result.

Widespread opposition was evoked by this action in all the American colonies, but it was mainly a crystallization of the antagonism against England which had been growing as a result of other causes. To the Okamakammesset Association in Massachusetts, the exact incidence of taxation was of little importance, since it was intended to work for an organization similar to the tribal system, in which administration was a self-supporting affair, and required no tribute to keep it going. But the combined assertion of English authority and forcing of English goods that this involved, induced the tribes to take a hand, not with those who were protesting the Stamp Act, but to direct this protest so as to aid the secret factories and the farmers, and to bring trouble to a head. The Sons of Liberty, as a result, were ready to aid in any demonstrations in this matter; and, this

being the case in Massachusetts, the Sons of Liberty Societies elsewhere followed the lead. When stamped paper was sent to Boston, the Sons of Liberty, to maintain the boycott against British goods, seized and burned the paper; in other ports, the Sons of Liberty started demonstrations, but did nothing further.

In October, 1765, delegates sent from the various colonial legislatures met in New York to draw up a petition to the British parliament for the repeal of the Stamp Act. This was known as the Stamp Act Congress, and was much more ephemeral than even the evanescent Congresses of 1690 and 1754, since in this case the delegates assembled to draw up a single document, and the Congress dissolved as soon as that work was done.

This Congress had no idea of defiance or rebellion, but rather consisted of a group of loyal subjects petitioning their rulers for mercy. However, the influence of the "Sons of Liberty" organizations was felt there, and the Massachusetts delegation managed to work the Stamp Act issue into a framework of theory regarding individual and colonial civil rights which indicates that the factory and land issue of that colony and the ideas of individual rights engendered by these issues had influenced the delegation. The petition in its final form, as forwarded to England, asked for a repeal of the Stamp Act, but also contained statements of the New England ideas of civil and colonial rights which marked their origin. As for individual rights, the claims were substantially what Massachusetts had claimed in the charter quarrels of the late seventeenth century, and what the Puritans had learned from the Penacook Federation. Although taxation was not a problem considered of great importance by the Okamakammessets, the Tribe managed to introduce into the Stamp Act Congress a slogan which placed the question squarely on the basis of the democratic ideals of the Penacook peoples, "No taxation without representation;" the theory being that the colonies in America could only be taxed by their own legislatures, not by the British parliament, in which America was not represented. By inference, this statement was made to apply to other matters of regulation, thus challenging England's control over America. This slogan was to become a watchword in subsequent difficulties on the tax question between America and England.

Although the tax issue was not itself likely to lead to rebellion, it gave some backing to the rebel leanings that existed both in New England and in the South. The theory expressed by the Congress's petition—strictly a New England one, and dating to the earlier charter difficulties of Massachusetts under Charles II—to the effect that colonial charters entitled the American provinces to govern themselves independently of interference by England, was a standard to which any shade of rebel tendency could rally; and the success of the Okamakammesset influence in inducing the Stamp Act Congress to put itself on record as supporting that theory, was another step toward forcing the peaceful tax protesters into joining hands with the rebels. It also put on record, for the first time, as the official declaration of a people, a declaration of civil and representative rights.

The slogan "no taxation without representation" happened to "hit home" in England, since it immediately brought up the question of the newly-arisen industrial cities such as Manchester, for which no parliamentary representation had been provided. Thus this issue in itself created dissension on the American question in England, although Parliament as a whole clung to its authority over America, and met the challenge of the Massachusetts theory of colonial charters by the opposite extreme, namely, that all the colonial charters were void, since Parliament's legislative powers over the British Empire could not be alienated to any other bodies such as colonial legislatures; that the American colonies had actually no right of self-government, and that all colonial laws not passed in London were invalid and ineffective. It was obviously a fight to the

finish between American legislatures and British Parliament for the upper hand—but, so far, only a paper fight, and was limited, on the American side, by the fact that the American appeal to charters was actually an appeal to royal authority as opposed to parliamentary, and constituted a claim of allegiance by America to the British crown, but not to the parliament, over whose head the charters were granted.

This Congress, being a temporary organization, did not impress the American colonies any further with the necessity or advisability of federating, but it did lay a foundation for future efforts in that direction. It also served to draw a line of cleavage in the colonies between the legislatures, chosen by the Americans, and the governors and judges who were sent over from England (except in the case of Connecticut and Rhode island, where even those were chosen at home).

The petition of the special Congress was rejected, and the Stamp Act went into effect—on paper. But the boycott on British importations was, in most of the colonies, much more effective, and the Stamp Act was totally disregarded in most of the American colonies. It is true that a few loyalists voluntarily obeyed the law; and New York City, from which a congress composed mainly of outsiders had issued the declaration of rights, was willing to petition the British authorities for a repeal, but, for the most part, would not follow to the extent of joining in a general defiance of established authority, although a few of the Sons of Liberty attempted to demonstrate for a boycott, thereby succeeding in getting a beating by the people of the city.

In most of America, however, enforcement of this law proved practically impossible. As producer of revenue for England, it was an utter failure, for the cost of enforcement was over ten times the amount of revenue actually obtained. Many newspapers, instead of printing on the stamped paper required by the law, appeared printed on American paper, carrying skulls and cross-bones where the stamp was supposed to appear.

A reduction in the amount of the stamp tax was later attempted, but failed as a measure of reconciliation. The reply came from Boston that the question was "not peace but principle;" a reply characteristic of the Yankee, for whom the principle has always been, as with the Penacook principles inhabiting the country before him, a matter of prime and fundamental importance.

It was about this time that the old Massachusetts rebel emblem of the Pine Tree, which was in its turn the emblem of the Penacook tribes, denoting the pine forests of New England and the type of freedom native to them, was put into use in modified form as a symbol of protest against arbitrary authority. The Pine Tree was still the emblem of the Massachusetts rebels, especially of the Okamakammesset followers; while those who indulged in the more centralized forms of protest sponsored by the Sons of Liberty in the colonies as a whole used the device in the modified form of a tall pole—the Pine Tree without its needles. These "liberty poles" played a great part in subsequent demonstrations against the authorities in America, and were later adopted as a rebel emblem in other countries.

105. ***Boston is Invaded***. In 1767, after two years of futile effort at making the stamp tax yield a revenue for Great Britain, the English Parliament, still determined to make America pay the cost of the late war, repealed the Stamp Act in order to save a heavy drain on England's treasury, but replaced it by a tax on certain imports; and, to punish America for its resistance, authorized the British military authorities to occupy any part of the American colonies at the expense of the colonists.

As Boston was regarded as a "hotbed of revolt," it was there that the military occupation part of the measure was applied, and, in December, 1768, four shiploads of soldiers were landed at Long Wharf in Boston, with a store of ammunition and artillery that impressed some of the townspeople as being enough for a siege.

The new taxes, far from producing revenue, increased the smuggling trade. In Boston, as well as in many other parts of the American colonies, articles were illicitly imported from other European countries, such as Holland (it being forbidden to import any such merchandise except via England); and the boycott on British goods maintained by the Sons of Liberty associations was a further incentive to this procedure. This time, New York was affected, since importing was the main enterprise in that city; and many would-be opponents of the tax among the New York City merchants hastened to join the Sons of Liberty, flooding that organization, and turning the policy from a boycott (which would ruin the import trade) to a policy of dealing only in non-taxable goods. The boycott supporters were labelled "radicals," and accused of trying to destroy aristocracy in New York (apparently a sacrilege of some sort), and of bringing New York to "the leveling tendency of New England." The Sons of Liberty thus became in New York an instrumentality of the aristocracy and moneyed groups, from which the rebel elements were being fast "frozen out," even such as they were.

In the meantime, the military occupation of Boston, with the British soldiers conspicuously parading the streets and occupying the houses of townspeople who were forced to support them, was arousing to fury an already excited New England. Street clashes of one kind or another between soldiers and civilians were frequent on Boston streets, laborers in particular being the victims of unprovoked attacks on the part of the soldiery, as they were always under suspicion of being connected with the secret factories which the soldiers knew of, but could never find. Boston Common, the great park which was supposed to be the common property of the townspeople, was used for a military headquarters, while the marshland on the river front of the Common, separated by a small peak from the main portion of the Common, was used for frequent rebel rallies. The antagonism became greater every day. In the late afternoon of Monday, March 5, 1770, a group of laborers coming home from work were passing through the square on King Street where Governor Andros's tyranny had been overthrown some eighty-one years before; there they were challenged by a group of soldiers patrolling the place looking for a quarrel. An argument was started, and many sympathizers came to the aid of the laborers, filling the square with a defiant mob, such as the same place had been crowded with on the previous occasion when Andros was deposed. Again a group of defiant Bostonians were face to face with a British militia on the very same spot, although presumably this time to referee a "friendly argument." Suddenly, without warning, the soldiers fired indiscriminately into the throng, killing six men and wounding over thirty more. The group dispersed, but the fire of resentment left by this incident was to remain for many years. Every year, on March 5, the anniversary of the affray, secret memorial services were held for the victims of what the speakers named "the Boston Massacre." This yearly memorial gave the rebel elements, guided by the Okamakammessets who considered themselves still at war with Great Britain, an excellent opportunity to spread the feeling that it would remain a blot on Massachusetts until the militia occupying Boston were driven out; a result which was finally accomplished one March day six years later.

The soldiers who participated in the shooting were given a mock trial by Governor Hutchinson, and acquitted in a hurry; thus, of course, adding to the fury of the people against the

administration. It is said, however, that Hutchinson, in later life, having throat trouble, kept declaring that the blood of the Boston Massacre was choking him.

106. ***The South Defies the Proclamation***. In the meantime, the South was having its causes of difference with the British authority, for totally different reasons from what prevailed in New England. As we have seen, it was a small company of Virginians who started the Great Ohio War for the purpose of enriching themselves with the territory of the interior, beyond the mountains, in the Ohio Valley. The large landholders in the South, especially in Virginia, were expanding so much more rapidly than the population required, that they had to seize country in the Ohio Valley, for which they then had to fight France. The war ended, with England the victor, and France driven off the North American continent entirely. But the royal peace proclamation of 1763 reserved terrain beyond the mountains for the red tribes; all of which angered the Southern aristocrats and land-grabbers, who proceeded to appropriate the region anyway, in defiance of the proclamation. Even the poorer elements of the Southern provinces, seeking some refuge from the aristocracy, were attempting to push into the interior in advance of the aristocrats.

In 1768, a group of such adventurers assembled in the North Carolina mountains, to make their homes in the mystic western area beyond the peaks where the red men of the high hills located their "Happy Hunting Ground," or Kenta-Ke, where departed souls go. These would-be settlers, then, set out across the mountains to seek the mysterious land they called "Kentucke," and finally came out into the prairie region south of the Ohio River, where they settled in total disregard of the Cherokee inhabitants who already occupied the place. The several towns thus formed beyond the mountains were organized into a colonial administration called Transylvania (Beyond the Woods), which, though it still recognized British sovereignty in a distant way, was nevertheless in existence in direct defiance of British authority, and was practically, in point of fact, an independent republic, making war against the Cherokees, who were British allies.

A similar expedition the following year resulted in the formation of another group of towns beyond the mountains, but close to the foothills on the western side, and therefore much to the southeast of the Transylvania settlements. A system of administration was organized for these, under the name of Watauga. Thus these elements of Southern population, trying to escape westward from the Virginian and Carolinian aristocrats, founded what were practically two independent republics, whose situation was analogous to that of Vermont in the north, except that they were more outlawed than Vermont, in that the British officially permitted settlement in Vermont, but forbade it in Transylvania and Watauga. These two abortive republics were the foundations of the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Virginian aristocracy, in the meantime, had no intention of letting go either of these people over the mountains or the soil they were cultivating, and found that Virginia's old charter granted them terrain indefinitely west and northwest as far as the Pacific Ocean. This was done when no settlements had really been made, and when the kings were giving away freely the domains of others. The fact that since then the region beyond the mountains had been definitely given up by England to France apparently meant nothing to the "land-grabbers," whose previous actions in seizing the territory from France and the red tribes had brought on the war. Every effort, accordingly, was made to suppress the self-governing administrations in Transylvania and Watauga, and bring them under Virginian rule. But this, too, was forbidden by the royal proclamation, which meant that back in Virginia, the aristocracy was preparing to fight England over possession and control of the area beyond the mountains. Both the British government and the Virginian

aristocracy were agreed on suppressing the western governments; but Britain wished to break up the settlements in order to free the ground for the Cherokees and the other red nations to whom the land really belonged, while the Virginians were attempting to bring Transylvania and Watauga under subjection.

It turned out that the settlements of Watauga were south of the line mentioned in Virginia's charter as the southern boundary; all of which meant that the "charter" claim was transferred to North Carolina, whose landlords were as intent on subjecting Watauga as the Virginian ones had been. In two of the southern colonies, then, namely, Virginia and North Carolina, the landed proprietors were determined to subjugate the western pioneers, and ready to defy British authority in order to do it.

Meanwhile, George Washington and his group of Virginian aristocrats, whose "land-grabbing" activities had started the Great Ohio War, were busy trying to take possession of some of the terrain that England had forbidden them to take. Since their pre-war activities had mainly been on the upper Ohio, it was there that the "Vandalia Company," as this group now called itself (possibly because they were really a group of vandals), began to apportion large estates to its members, taking possession in the name of the Dominion of Virginia. This action, of course, put them on record as having committed a definite act of defiance of the Crown.

It will be seen that defiance of British authority was of a directly opposite nature in the South from what it was in New England. Virginia and North Carolina were performing acts of defiance mainly in support of further aristocratic privilege; for distinctly aggressive purposes; for the purpose of suppressing the new popular governments arising in the west; and for the purpose of being better able to enslave the common people. Massachusetts, on the contrary, was in constant defiance of British authority in defense of laborers and craftsmen; to resist the encroachments of British aristocracy; to defend the people against enslavement. The smuggling rings, however, which were not in agreement with either the New England labor groups or the Southern aristocracy, managed to hang on to both movements to cover their smuggling operations, and formed a link between the two diametrically opposed rebel movements which had really nothing in common except a common enemy.

107. ***The Virginia Liberals***. In the meantime, a different set in Virginia was arising to link the aristocratic rebels of Virginia with the proletarian ones of New England. A group of liberals, such as Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, who were largely followers of Rousseau's book "Contrat Social," published in French during the war, were advancing theories of human liberty which were indefinite enough to be used by the Virginian aristocrats to justify their acts of defiance, and also to dovetail well with the ideas of civil rights as advanced by the Massachusetts rebels. They were a discordant element in Virginia, even amongst the forces of defiance, for these theories of liberty were ill adapted for the use of an upper class in rebellion for more power; they opposed slavery, which, with the Virginian aristocrats, was the worst possible form of heresy; and they largely opposed the power of the Anglican Church, which was the established church in Virginia, and backed by the aristocracy there.

The defiant aristocrats of Virginia, however, were quite willing to see the established church kept out of the Kentucky question and the related questions concerning Virginian expansion. The taxation problem entered into the issue too, so that Virginia passed a law reducing ministers' salaries; which England declared void as opposed to royal authority over the church. In this case the

Virginia liberals were able to prove themselves heroes by fighting for the validity of this law; and they thus gained the opportunity of expounding their ideas regarding liberty, which were largely a cross between the slogans then being rapidly turned out in Massachusetts, and the "social contract" theories of Rousseau.

The Virginia liberals, besides presenting Virginian defiance to the world in a way to make the New England rebels think Virginia agreed with them, also served the purpose of lining up behind the rebel aristocrats those elements in Virginia who still preserved the tradition of the "lost cause" of Bacon's rebellion of 1706, and who were still secretly celebrating as a day of remembrance and hope for future successful revolt the anniversary of the false amnesty granted on Saturday, July 4, 1676. This potential insurgent group hardly fitted in with the aristocratic element who were leading Virginian rebellion for their own private ends, any more than the liberals who brought them together fitted in with either. But the propaganda issued by the Virginia liberals of that period was of the type that gave to all those elements a temporary illusion of unity, which could last only as long as the destructive stage of the revolution would last.

108. ***The Quebec Act***. While thus discontent had been brewing in the old English colonies since the Great Ohio War, it was otherwise in the newer and the non-English settlements under British rule. The province of New Brunswick, established during the war out of territory conquered from France, and the province of Nova Scotia, peopled by a new immigration sent from England to replace the banished Acadians, naturally extremely loyal to Britain; and, in proportion as the older English colonies were deprived of rights, these new provinces received the privileges taken from the older colonies. Canada—the truly French region around the St. Lawrence River—was as yet under military government, but every effort was made to please the French population there, and to curb the predatory tendencies of the newcomers from the older colonies. The tendency was to work toward an administration as close as possible to what Canada had had, before the war, under France.

In 1772, a permanent civil government for Canada was provided by the Quebec Act, which defined the Province of Quebec as extending to the Ohio River, and placed it under French civil law and English criminal law. The Catholic Church was recognized as the established church in that province, and was allowed to maintain censorship over all communications and publications, as it had when Quebec was under French rule.

The area between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, not included in the Province of Quebec by the royal peace proclamation, but containing numerous French settlements, such as Detroit, Vincennes, Sandouske, was now included in the new territory of the civil government of Quebec. It had long been recognized as an integral part of Canada, but was the region for which Washington and his Virginians originally started the Great Ohio War. This Ohio territory, originally settled by the red tribes, and partly by French, had been constantly claimed by Virginia ever since the war, but now England definitely recognized it as Canadian. Canada, having just acquired such a large accession of land, was, on the whole, pleased with the new dispensation, and, at a period when most of the older colonies were grumbling against the mother country, England found a valuable ally in the French Canadians.

The Quebec Act also confirmed the claim of the military government at New York to the territory of the Green Mountains, which increased the determination of the Vermonters to resist both New York and British authority.

109. ***Other Complaints***. These were not the only causes of complaint the English colonists in America had against England.

In the first place, due to the difficulty in enforcing many of the laws designed mainly to show British authority over America, it proved necessary for the British government to send over large numbers of English bureaucrats to take charge of that enforcement. Of course, these bureaucrats were given extensive powers in the way of collecting their salaries and expenses from the people in America, adding considerably to the economic difficulties of the Americans. This petty tyranny was a source dissatisfaction among all classes of Americans, and pleased nobody except the officials themselves. In North Carolina, the governor helped himself liberally to everything the people had, much of which went for the support of officials, but most of which went to enrich the governor himself. This had been a recognized practice in New York ever since its foundation, but North Carolina did not submit so easily, and armed groups of citizens called "Regulators" were formed to oppose this type of robbery. They made the mistake, however, of assembling openly and avowing their purpose, thus giving the British militia the chance of defeating them decisively before the organization could get a good start. Most of the Regulators, as well as their sympathizers, escaped into the Watauga colony beyond the mountains, helping to make it more defiant of British authority than ever. Many also fled to the mountains of North Carolina itself, within the lines still open for settlement under the royal proclamation, and practically made a rebel district out of the mountain region. An undercurrent of resentment was also left in the older North Carolina villages nearer the seacoast.

In Pennsylvania, including its autonomous appendage, the Delaware Counties, the Penn family had become regular feudal lords, insisting on their aristocratic and manorial privileges at the expense of the people of their land. This meant straining of relations between the poorer elements of the population, and the Penn family, who for their own benefit were taxing the people of the two colonies to the utmost. This family, now established as feudal overlords of the two colonies for nearly a century, were no longer following the liberal principles on which their ancestor, William Penn, had proceeded in founding the colony, but, being, as it were, "born to the purple," they had become petty tyrants. The Sons of Liberty in Pennsylvania and the three lower Delaware counties directed their efforts toward supporting the interests of the common people against those of the Penns. In the lower counties there was the additional local appeal that freedom from control by the Penns would also mean separation from Pennsylvania itself, whose authority over them had always irked the Delaware Counties.

New England and Pennsylvania had been anxious for over a century to accomplish the abolition of slavery. In New England, the Penacook Federation had always opposed the introduction of slavery, and the Okamakammesset motto, "No slave upon our land," had been gradually inculcated into the Puritans as well. Even as early as 1634, resolutions were passed in the Massachusetts Bay General Court condemning slavery. Pennsylvania was inhabited by Quakers, to whom slaveholding was a sin, and who considered all men rightfully equal, but Great Britain would not permit any measures looking toward actual abolition of slavery, with the result that New England and Pennsylvania were both straining at the leash. This situation had been more serious since the time Queen Anne had undertaken to act as slave-trade agent for Spain; and later Great Britain attempted to force the American colonies to handle this trade. Many New Englanders were not averse to taking up this enterprise, but general opinion was against it, and though, under British rule, such traders were within the law, the home towns in New England lost no opportunity of harassing such people, if it had to be done by legal technicalities and hair-splitting. New England

and Pennsylvania both resented having slavery and the slave-trade forced upon them; and this made an additional reason for objection to government by Britain. In the South, of course, where almost all labor was performed by slaves working for landed aristocrats, there was no such objection; neither was there any such objection in New York and its extension, East Jersey, where the slave-trade was an important item of livelihood, and where slavery had begun to spread considerably. West Jersey, however, sided with Pennsylvania, from which it was colonized, against the mother country.

110. ***Smugglers' Resistance***. We have seen that the smuggling rings in the various American ports became allied with the Sons of Liberty in so far as the taxation question was involved. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had never been under direct supervision from England as had the other colonies, England's attempts at thus controlling the import trade seemed a direct blow at the popular administration of the provinces, and possibly an entering wedge towards placing those colonies under an English governor as the others had. Both provinces were full of harbors and bays and inlets which were favorable for smuggling; but Connecticut's harbors opened on Long Island Sound, not directly on the ocean, while Rhode Island opened on the ocean, and was therefore better situated for smuggling operations, which were now actually conducted with the approval of the provincial government.

To prevent this lawbreaking, a British ship was stationed at the mouth of Narragansett Bay, at the original Red Island. This ship, the Gaspee, searched thoroughly every ship that attempted to pass in or out. The smuggling trade and the taxation question were, of course, of little or no interest to the secret organizations behind the Sons of Liberty; but a direct interference by Great Britain in the affairs of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one of the great strongholds of popular rights, was a different matter. So, one night in 1772, eight boats filled with people set out from Providence for the mouth of the bay, proceeded noiselessly as befitted their secret mission, and came up unexpectedly alongside the Gaspee. Then the passengers of these boats, still unnoticed, and without arousing the suspicions of the Gaspee's crew, boarded the British ship, and seized everyone on board. The ship's crew were taken off to shore and left bound, while the Gaspee itself was set on fire.

The British authorities offered a reward of £4000 for information leading to the arrest of the guilty parties, but nobody volunteered any information. This expedition was conducted in secrecy, and has remained in the same cloud of secrecy ever since. It was never revealed who was responsible for this act of defiance, the first of its kind to show itself in America out of all the mass of complaint and discontent.

Finally the British Parliament, now more desperately attempting to assert its authority over America rather than to obtain a revenge, decided, in 1773, to repeal all import taxes but one—enough to show America that Britain still ruled. This was what it was thought would be a comparatively unimportant one, namely, a tax on tea, which, due to the smuggling trade, was not imported from England to any great extent. The British government, however, this time made arrangements with the British East India Company by which tea could be "dumped" in America more cheaply than it was sold in England, and more cheaply than it could be smuggled in from Holland.

Under this arrangement, the British East India Company sent test shiploads of tea to importers in all the large American ports in the fall of 1773, the British government hoping that by that means

it might prove possible to collect some revenue from America. Needless to say, this attempt at forcing goods on America came into direct conflict with the boycott on British goods which had been maintained by the Sons of Liberty and their affiliated secret associations and committees. Even in New York, where the boycott was not on British articles, but merely on taxable material, there was serious objection to forcing shiploads of goods in that manner on merchants who had never ordered them. The British authorities assumed a threatening attitude, and one which amounted to a warning that the people of the various ports would be held strictly responsible for any boycott, or for anything that happened to the cargoes. As a rhymester of the time expressed the British point of view in the matter:

"Buy it, my pretty maids, white, black, or brown!
If not, we'll cut your throats and burn your town!"

In most of the ports, the consignees, who had never actually ordered the tea, were easily persuaded to refuse to take it; and, as even the law imposed on America from England had not as yet provided for forcing anyone to buy anything not asked for, the East India Company's ships had little else to do than go back to England with their entire cargoes. This happened at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and several other ports. At Charleston, in South Carolina, the Sons of Liberty actually went to the extent of buying up ship and cargo, and burning them in the harbor; whereby a conspicuous demonstration was effected, and no tax paid, while the ship owner and the East India Company received their money and had nothing of which to complain.

Such displays of ill will had, of course, been expected from Boston, and there the East India Company took the precaution of arranging with a Boston merchant to receive the tea. To induce this consignee to resign was not possible; and, since Boston had a large military force occupying it, any open exhibition of resentment against landing the tea was equally out of the question.

The Boston smuggling ring was especially concerned in keeping the tea out of the town; while the Okamakammesset sympathizers, from Middlesex and the interior of Massachusetts, were little interested in the tax on tea; much more in bringing matters to the point of rebellion. The smugglers were pacific, talking against the authorities, but taking no decisive steps, and were totally out of sympathy with any attempt to make Massachusetts independent of Great Britain. The Okamakammessets, therefore, whose interest in tea was almost nil, saw in this impasse a good opportunity to force the smuggling ring into a rebel position.

When the East India Company's ship landed at Griffin's Wharf in Boston on Sunday, November 28, 1773, the Boston smuggling group, and the Sons of Liberty, organized mass meetings of protest at the Old South Church and at Faneuil Hall. The ship captain was persuaded to postpone landing the tea, to avoid civil disturbances in the town. But the law only allowed a delay of twenty days, and after this time the consignee could force an unloading of the cargo.

In the meantime, the protest meetings went on, and delegates were sent to the governor in vain to seek some peaceful way out of the situation. In the evening of the nineteenth day of the twenty, Thursday, December 16, 1773, after some of the Okamakammesset sympathizers in the Sons of Liberty had managed to dispose of the ship captain by the suggestion that a solution might be reached by a last minute appeal to the governor at his residence in Milton, a great special town meeting was held in Boston in the Old South Church. Samuel Adams, a leader in the smuggling ring, but with strong rebel tendencies, was addressing the meeting of the citizens of Boston, telling

them that everything possible had been done to keep the tea out of the town, and that it would be necessary to bow to superior force; when suddenly, from the street was heard the sound of war-whoops, reminiscent of the old days when the red tribes raided a town. The citizens attending the town-meeting flocked to the door, to find the streets filled with what seemed like an army of red men, in Mohawk regalia, marching down toward the docks.

It would appear that, in the afternoon, as soon as it had become obvious that the ship captain would be out of town, crowds of people were brought in across the Charles River from Middlesex, and that it was these Middlesex rebels who were marching through the streets of Boston, disguised as Mohawks. The citizens of Boston themselves were practically all in the town-meeting seeking a peaceful solution of the difficulty with the tea; and the Mohawk regalia, considering that the Mohawks themselves were British allies, must have come from the supply captured by some Penacook tribe during the past wars; and, coming from Middlesex, that tribe must have been the Tribe of the Okamakammessets. The whole arrangement was started and finished, however, in such a shroud of mystery that, although thousands of people must have been connected with it, neither the citizens of Boston—even those friendly to the rebels—nor the ship captain, nor the governor and his militia, had the slightest inkling of what was coming; and so secret was it that nobody to this day has ever found out definitely who was in this unusual procession. As Julian Hawthorne says: "Who were they?—Never was a secret better kept; after six score years we know as little did King George's officers on that night. They seem to have sprung into existence solely to do that one bold deed, and then to vanish like a dream."

Whoever may have been in this strange procession, they marched down to Griffin's Wharf to the tune of war-whoops, boarded the ship "Dartmouth," on which the tea was still loaded, tomahawked the tea chests open, and threw their contents into the Bay. All night these "Indians" worked, until the last tea-leaf had gone to join its fellows in the gigantic brew of tea which was prepared that night, using the waters of Boston Harbor, and boiled on the fires of the Okamakammesset rebel spirit.

This incident, which has since come to be known as the Boston Tea Party, was not an important victory in itself, but it did have the effect of crystallizing sentiment on both sides. The smuggling associations hitherto had been hesitant about drastic measures; but now they would certainly be blamed for this destruction of the East India Company's tea, especially since some of them had been heard to say that the tea ought to be destroyed. The result was that the smugglers were forced into a rebel position, whether they liked it or not, and the Middlesex rebels had definitely gained them as allies. This "Tea Party" both strengthened the rebel line-up in America and definitely antagonized England—not so much against America as against Boston.

"No, never such a draught was poured
  Since Hebe served with nectar
The bright Olympians and their lord,
  Her over-kind protector,
Since Father Noah squeezed the grape,
  And took to such behaving
As would have shamed our grandsire ape
  Before the days of shaving.

No, ne'er was mingled such a draught

In palace, hall, or arbor,
As freemen brewed and tyrants quaffed
That night in Boston Harbor!"
-Holmes

This act of insurrection actually proved to be the turning-point which set America definitely on the road to revolution. The rebel feeling was certainly not over the tea; and the tax question interested only a small portion of those who were opposed to the British policy in America. But a secretly-arranged demonstration, sprung as a surprise in the same manner in which Andros had formerly been overthrown, was calculated to set off rebel fires in quarters having no connection with the tea troubles.

"Ah, little dreams yon quiet dame
Who plies with rock and spindle
The patient flax, how great a flame
Yon little spark shall kindle!
The lurid morning shall reveal
A fire no king can smother,
Where British flint and Boston steel
Have clashed against each other!
Old charters shrivel in its track,
His worship's bench has crumbled;
It climbs and clasps the Union Jack;
Its blazoned pomp is humbled.
The flags go down on land and sea
Like corn before the reapers.
So burned the fire that brewed the tea
That Boston served her keepers."
-Holmes

111. ***Correspondence Committees***. Ever since the war, the Okamakammessets had not wished to rely on the comparatively open association of the Sons of Liberty entirely for making public contacts, and had organized an intermediate group to maintain contacts with everyone concerned in Massachusetts. This society consisted of a group of "correspondence committees," picked at first by the Okamakammessets from among their sympathizers, to maintain communication with one another, and with both the Tribal Councils and members, and the more open organizations, such as the Sons of Liberty and the more rebellious town meetings, and by means of which suggestions could pass along quietly to the proper place at the proper time. These committees maintained their own messengers, based on the old Penacook courier system, using the same roads, riding secretly to transmit messages; and sometimes these riders also carried false messages for the authorities to capture.

Later, the Sons of Liberty followed the example, choosing their own correspondence committees on the same plan; and the example was later followed, after the "Boston Massacre," by the town meetings in many parts of New England. These various grades of correspondence committees representing different societies maintained contact with each other, in many cases not knowing exactly whom these committees they corresponded with actually represented. The tribe

itself, and other secret tactical organizations, were thus able to keep themselves out of sight of even the groups which were working among the people for a change.

This correspondence committee system centered about Middlesex County, which was the original home of the Okamakammessets. It soon spread over not only Massachusetts, but the rest of the New England provinces, and amounted to a secret restoration of the old New England Confederation. Vermont, which was officially part of New York, but which was actually maintaining itself independent of all outside authority including the British, affiliated itself with this system as an aid to maintaining its independence, although with a warning that no outside encroachments would be allowed.

The first attempt at affiliating with this correspondence committee framework outside New England was on the part of Virginia, which, as we have seen, although not in sympathy with New England's difficulties, had its own troubles with British authority. Virginia's correspondence committee, however, was not actually a secret association as were those in New England, but was in reality an open legislative committee to correspond with the New England rebels; and which, far from being a help, actually endangered the insurgents in New England. Virginia's example was followed by other Southern provinces, and this at least had the effect of a design for united action, but one which the New Englanders had to be on their guard against. The Sons of Liberty in New York arranged finally similar committees as a link between New England and the South, but these functioned merely as a communication link, as the New York organization had never been willing to undertake united action with anybody else.

112. ***The Boston Port Bill***. The news of the "Boston Tea Party" was, as may be expected, received in England by a general fury on the part of the authorities. This animosity was not directed against America as a whole, there never having been such a unit in existence politically; not even against the Province of Massachusetts Bay, whose responsibility in the matter was not obvious. It was directed against the town of Boston, where the trouble occurred, and which had already aroused considerable antagonism in England. It seemed to be largely an issue with the British government whether the British Empire could beat Boston, or whether Boston could beat the British Empire. Such recommendations were heard in Parliament as: "I would pull Boston about their ears, and wipe out that nest of locusts."

The final result of the winter's discussion in an enraged Parliament was the passage of what was known as the Boston Port Bill, closing the port to all trade, and abolishing the charter government of Massachusetts. The province, including Maine, was placed under a military government, and all town meetings were forbidden, bringing back approximately the same situation as under the Andros regime. The fact that Boston had overthrown Andros in a hurried surprised attack never discouraged the British government from trying the same experiment again.

Because all these actions of the British Parliament were taken in the King's name, as is the habit with the British government, the idea spread in America that it was the Crown that was to blame, but that England itself was on America's side. The fact remains, however, that it was Parliament that took action every time during this period, and that America was contending not with the British King, but with the Parliament, the representatives of the British people; and it was the Parliament that was so intent on taking revenge on Massachusetts.

To further punish the town of Boston, the capital was to be removed from there to Salem, where a hand-picked legislature was to be allowed to assemble provided they would obey the military governor of the province.

The new arrangement was to go into effect Wednesday, June 1, 1774. A large military force, under the command of General Gage, who was to be the new military governor of Massachusetts, was sent over to occupy the province, and especially Boston. A renewal of the Andros regime was expected.

The whole plan of this military government of Massachusetts was on the basis of collecting an indemnity, and the occupation was supposed to last until the East India Company was paid damages for the destroyed tea. This procedure called forth expressions of sympathy from the rest of the American provinces, such as: "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea," from the Virginia correspondence committee; while, in many places, supporters of the rebel movement started propaganda to ban the use of the "noxious word," tea. New York, however, where the military type of government had been ingrained in the people's habits for over a century, seemed to take the same attitude as England, that Massachusetts was being disobedient and was getting proper punishment.

In the meantime Middlesex County was preparing to disregard the new regime soon to be imposed on Massachusetts from England. Representatives from the town meetings assembled into a County Convention at Concord, which was to take charge of the new local administration. For enforcement of the peace in Middlesex, and to prevent the British military government from taking control in Middlesex, a local volunteer militia was gathered together through the various secret societies, meeting and operating in secret, and adopting the slogan "Ready at a minute's notice," a slight alteration of the Okamakammesset slogan, "Prompt when duty calls." For this reason the new under-cover militia became known as the Minute Men. Similar County Conventions and Minute-Men bands were quietly assembled in other counties of Massachusetts on the Middlesex model, and delegates from the various County Conventions met in Concord as a "Provincial Assembly" to coordinate all the work of the county associations and supervise an organized resistance to the new military regime that was being sent over from England to take charge of the affairs of Massachusetts. The County Conventions and the Provincial Assembly retained the real allegiance of the bulk of the population of the province (outside of the small aristocracy and bureaucracy, which was not important in Massachusetts outside of Boston itself). The program was to be, not a definite revolt against the new authority (since support for a definite rebellion against England would at that time have been difficult to muster), but a passive resistance, organized and orderly, to the authority until such time as further and more decisive action could be taken. This passive resistance was given the name of "civil disobedience," which was the entering wedge to casting off the shackles of British rule in America.

CHAPTER XX

THE PERIOD OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

113. ***A New Military Regime Enters Massachusetts***. General Gage was sent over from England to take charge of the new military dictatorship established in the province by the Boston Port Bill. As with the previous case of the Andros tyranny, it meant a dissolution of town meetings,

legislatures, and in fact everything that gave the people of the province any connection with the administration of the colony. In neighboring New Hampshire, which was wedged in between two parts of the province of Massachusetts Bay (Maine then being part of Massachusetts), and where the royal governors and the town meetings were still functioning as rival governments of the same territory, this military rule in Massachusetts, besides establishing a threat of the return of the Andros domination, was also enough to revive the old hostility between the two rival systems of government locally, the town meetings, which meant to say, the people of New Hampshire as a whole, naturally sympathized with the suppressed town meetings in Massachusetts on which they had been modelled. Connecticut and Rhode Island, the only provinces which elected their own governors, were naturally afraid of losing the self-government they had enjoyed all this time. Even the South felt that it was a threat to them in their battle for land in the interior if once the precedent of military occupation of an American colony should become established. In Pennsylvania, where the strain had been continuing between the people and the ruling Penn family, this military occupation and dictatorship in Massachusetts was naturally felt to be a dangerous precedent; while the "lower Delaware counties," which had been trying to break away from the control of Pennsylvania, naturally found encouragement in a civil disobedience movement such as was forming in Middlesex. In the Green Mountains, where independence had been practically an accomplished fact for years, the civil disobedience movement in Massachusetts was sympathized with, but naturally did not go as far as Vermont in defiance of British authority. Thus all the colonies of English origin, except the recently colonized New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, were definitely raged on the side of the civil disobedience organization in Massachusetts. Even little Bermuda, out in mid-Atlantic, felt the "representative institutions" they boasted of were now being endangered. But it was otherwise with the British possessions in America which were not of British origin. New York, which was still largely Dutch in speech after over a century of British rule, had always been used to considering government from above as the only natural procedure, and so had the tendency to sympathize with the military rule in Massachusetts; also the City of New York felt that it could derive benefit from the suppression of trade in the rival port of Boston. The Floridas, recently conquered from France and Spain, had never had any representative institutions to defend. The same thing happened with the French in Canada, although a small group of "patriots" there saw an opportunity to organize an insurrection and return to French rule; but the numerous small landowners, knowing the opposition of the "Bastonnais" to feudal tenure of land, were afraid of losing their estates; besides which, the Canadian efforts to expand into the interior conflicted with the claims of Virginia’s rebels, and the Canadians, since the Quebec Act, had a certain amount of British recognition on their side.

The actual commencement of the military authority in Massachusetts accentuated the split between legislatures and governors in the other colonies. The Virginia legislature set aside June 1, the date of the inauguration of the new Massachusetts military rule, as a day of mourning; whereat the governor ordered the legislature dissolved, and used military force to drive them out of the hall where they were meeting; the Burgesses then all went to a neighboring building, resuming the session, declaring themselves, and not the governor, to be the true government of Virginia.

Boston temporarily accepted the military governorship with a sullen determination to refuse to co-operate, and to resist under cover, as far as possible. The import and export trade of Boston being cut off under the new regulations (part of the punishment for the "Tea Party"), the Boston merchants were offered free use of Salem wharves for the emergency.

The military control of Massachusetts never penetrated far into the interior of Massachusetts, but confined itself largely to the seacoast, and most particularly to Boston, with a sub-headquarters at Salem, where it was hoped to establish a capital of the province to replace Boston. The whole regime, while intended to be an abolition of representative government in Massachusetts, was primarily a punishment of Boston for the destruction of the East India Company's tea.

In the interior of Massachusetts, and through almost all of Maine, the "civil disobedience" regime was in full effect, having its own peace officers, its own legislature, its own courts (the "committees of safety" that were formed to replace the town meetings if it should be found impracticable to call all the citizens together for a meeting), and its own militia (the Minute Men). Raids by the British militia, either to make arrests or to confiscate munitions of the Minute Men, were frequent, and repressions were common during these raids; but beginning with the effectiveness of the civil disobedience regime, directed from Middlesex County, the old Okamakammesset land, we may say that Massachusetts, except certain small seaboard areas, was functioning in point of fact independently of Great Britain, subject merely to occasional raids, which were generally met by peaceable forms of resistance as far as possible.

The military regime imposed by Great Britain was actually intended to be a renewal of the Andros tyranny which was overthrown in Boston in 1689; but General Gage was of a different character from Andros, in that Gage did not go out of his way to look for trouble. Faced with a hostile interior, he preferred to wait his time rather than risk too much by an immediate attack; and neither had he any intention of unnecessarily provoking another such revolt in Boston as "smote the crest of Andros down"; Gage was resolute when action was called for, but did not believe in unnecessary severity.

Thus, on June 1, 1774, the Province of Massachusetts Bay was divided into two regimes, neither of which had taken any part of the previous colonial government into its own formation. One was the British military regime, in Boston, and a few other seacoast places, which, instead of taking over the former colonial government, built anew on the basis of the militia sent over from England; while, on the opposite side of the picture, occupying the whole interior of the province, was the civil disobedience regime, which was actually independent of Great Britain and had no connection with anything in any of the other colonies, and which, likewise, used no part of the colonial government in the formation of the new regime. The regime built up by the "civil disobedience" went back to the town meetings, the meetings of the citizens of each town, and, discarding all the former superstructure, built everything anew.

Thus, in the other colonies, the movement against the British government had to be built up on the already existing legislatures, and was therefore a movement of one part of the colonial government against another part, so that even a successful revolt could only result in a continuation of the old regime in some form; but in Massachusetts, on the contrary, no part of the old colonial administration was used, and the change of administration in the area under control of the "civil disobedience" regime was not only independent, but completely new. Thus, not only did Massachusetts have the first independent regime in America of any of the white settlements; it was the only colony in which a complete break was made from the old order, taking over no officials , no assemblies, no departmental organizations whatever. Vermont, of course, formed really another exception, since it had been in a state of de facto independence for eighteen years; but, even there, there was a complete continuation in its entirety of the regime that had recognized a nominal allegiance to Great Britain, as contrasted with the complete break in Massachusetts.

Another characteristic of the "civil disobedience" in Massachusetts was the complete lack of visible leadership, which did not prevent the organization from functioning with perfect smoothness and accord. Of course, there was considerable under-cover directing done; but that was ordinarily not known to those taking part in the "civil disobedience" administration, who functioned without any actual known leaders, as is generally the way that New Englanders function best.

This date, Wednesday, June 1, 1774, which was intended by England to mark the complete subjugation of Massachusetts, was also the date of the commencement of an independent administrative regime, and is the date from which, at present, Massachusetts dates its actual independence. From that date on, the population of Massachusetts and Maine refused to recognize or obey the orders of the government of Great Britain.

114. ***Congress of the United Colonies***. The implied threat to void the charters of the other American colonies and to administer them direct from England became very much of a reality when the military regime was established in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Virginia became more anxious than ever to assert her charter "rights" of aggression into the interior, and an application was made to Great Britain to permit the incorporation of the "Vandalia Company" to hold the land between the mountains and the Ohio River. The request was refused, in accordance with the British policy of reserving for the tribes the land beyond the mountains.

At this denial, Virginia became suddenly solicitous about "rights" and "liberty," though the said rights apparently actually consisted of the right to steal land from others. So a call was sent out for united action in the form of a sort of revival of the Stamp Act Congress to send new petitions to Great Britain for mercy, and, as a result in September the "Congress of the United Colonies of America" met at Philadelphia, consisting of delegates from the various legislatures in sympathy with the protest at British policies. This Congress, like its short-lived predecessor of 1754, was known as the "Continental Congress," and considered itself as a renewal of the former experiment, whose author, Benjamin Franklin, was a member of the new Congress.

It must be remembered that at that time there was no American nation, nor was even British North America considered a single country, but as a group of a number of separate countries under a single sovereignty. The only connection, for example, between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was in their common subjection to England; and England saw to it that the various colonies made no attempt to get together for common action on the American side of the ocean. The formation of the Continental Congress, therefore, in September, 1774, was in itself an act of defiance of British authority, though having nothing whatever to do, except incidentally, with the "civil disobedience" trouble in Massachusetts. The Continental Congress was also not an attempt to make a single country out of the various colonies represented, but simply an attempt to organise some sort of concerted action for emergencies, as was the New York Congress of the rebel provinces in 1690. The Continental Congress was thus not as yet the creation of a federal authority, but was merely the embryo of such an organisation. It derived its sources, however, very definitely from the Continental Congress of 1754, which was of Iroquois origin, and from the old traditions of the New England Confederation and its successor the new York Congress, this being a line of descent tracing directly to the Penacook Federation.

The Continental Congress of 1774 represented colonial legislatures exclusively, unlike the abortive one of 1754, which represented the colonial administrations which were mostly appointed from England. Georgia, which was not recognized in the 1754 plan because it was a penal colony,

nevertheless had an organized provincial assembly, and was therefore represented in the Continental Congress, where their recognition of equality made them glad to join. In Penn's domain, the so-called Lower Delaware Counties, having a separate legislature from Pennsylvania proper, though under the same governor, were naturally considered as part of Pennsylvania in Franklin's original plan of 1754, but had separate representation in the Congress of the United Colonies, and were recognized as a separate colony there, though not officially by the provincial administration in Philadelphia. The unrecognized colonies of Vermont, Transylvania, and Watauga were refused representation in the Continental Congress because their legislatures had no regular standing that the other legislatures could recognize, besides the fact that recognizing them would have been denying the claims of the member colonies of New York, Virginia, and North Carolina; and this the Continental Congress had no authority to do. Virginia and North Carolina were in the Continental Congress mainly in order to protest against Great Britain's failure to recognize their claims to Transylvania and Watauga respectively, and therefore the Continental Congress had to respect those claims.

This Continental Congress had no authority over the respective colonies whatever, but was intended as a council of the colonies for action against encroachments by the British administrations. The colonies represented were: New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Lower Delaware Counties of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Continental Congress also having no executive power, there was no actual administrative head, the nearest thing to a head possessed by this Philadelphia organization being the chairman, or President of the Congress, who was actually nothing more than a chairman, with no authority whatever himself.

Although the Province of Massachusetts Bay was the actual center of the "civil disobedience" movement that was challenging British authority in America, it was not allowed representation in the Continental Congress mainly because of that very fact. The Continental Congress was a congress of officially recognized colonial legislative assemblies, and Massachusetts now had nothing like that to show. The military administration there had ordered the legislature at first adjourned to Cambridge, since Boston was being punished for the "Tea Party," and could not be used as an assembly place; and, as the first thing the legislature did was to send Governor Gage a protest at being convened at a distance from the provincial records, Gage immediately ordered the legislature dissolved. No further attempt was made to reconvene it, since the Provincial Assembly in Concord, which was in charge of the "civil disobedience" movement, was actually fulfilling legislative functions for all parts of Massachusetts not under direct watch of the military, and had the allegiance of the now outlawed town meetings, which were the people of the province. This Provincial Assembly, however, having no legal standing under British sovereignty, could not be recognized as a legislature by the Continental Congress, which accordingly had no representation from Massachusetts.

The Continental Congress of 1774, like its predecessor, the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 in New York, met long enough to draw up a single petition, and then adjourned. This document was a so-called "Petition of Rights," which was merely an elaboration of the theory of individual and colonial rights originally expounded in the Stamp Act petition, and consisted mainly of begging King George not to treat the other American colonies as he had treated poor Massachusetts. This had, of course, very little in common with the civil disobedience movement of Massachusetts, which had scorned mere petitions, and preferred to function through open defiance and through a system of secret organizations which could, at the proper time, act in measures of complete surprise.

The refusal of the Continental Congress to recognize Massachusetts's Provincial Assembly indicated how little sympathy there was between the two movements, the rebel movement of Massachusetts which was defying British authority on the one hand, and the Continental Congress which was petitioning the King for mercy on the other hand.

115. ***The Provincial Congress in Massachusetts***. The civil disobedience regime in Massachusetts included mainly the farmers looking for a restoration of their land, and the under-cover factory workers who wanted the right to work in the type of cooperation which Massachusetts had evolved for the conduct of its factories, where the workers were not nominally but actually in control of their work. The smuggling ring which had little sympathy with these elements, but was now forced to cooperate with them, and which the British considered as the leaders of the rebellious movement in Massachusetts, was mainly in the places actually ruled by the British militia, so that they and the civil disobedience were actually separated, though in communication with one another; and the rebels of the interior preferred to use the smugglers as their spies in British-controlled territory, a purpose for which the elaborate organization of "correspondence committees" was admirably adapted.

Upon the dissolution of the General Court (provincial legislature) of Massachusetts, General Gage called for election of a new legislature, to assemble in October at Salem. The entire province participated in this election, though it was known that the legislature was expected to be merely a "rubber stamp" for Gage, which is precisely what the representatives from the civil disobedience districts were instructed not to allow. Around Boston, and the other seacoast centers held by the militia, the loyalists, (or Tories, as they were called), who had taken refuge there from all over the province, elected a number of representatives, as did also some of the smuggling ring who naturally had to side with the "provincials," as the British called the rebels.

The first thing the General Court did at Salem was to elect delegates to the Continental Congress, as they could now do, being an officially recognized legislature acting in opposition to the British administration. Governor Gage, not intending to allow such actions, again ordered the legislature dissolved, and, on their refusal to adjourn, had them driven out by soldiers. The Tories in the legislature then acquiesced; but the remainder of the legislature, which was the majority, banded together quietly later on, re-organizing as the Provincial Congress, and adjourned to Concord.

The moving of the Provincial Congress to Concord, and taking the place of the old Provincial Assembly at the head of the "civil disobedience," was a disadvantage to the revolutionaries in supplying them a thread of connection with the old colonial regime, as well as with the military government established by the Boston Port Bill, therefore tending to end the discontinuity that, so far, the rebels in Massachusetts alone had achieved; but, even so, the Provincial Congress was largely kept in the background, and the County Conventions, especially that of Middlesex, took a more prominent place.

The election of delegates to the Continental Congress, and the adoption of the title of Congress by the provincial legislature, were intended as gestures of unity and co-operation with a Continental Congress that had so far refused to recognize Massachusetts. It was too late for the Massachusetts delegates actually to go to Philadelphia, as the Continental Congress of 1774 had already adjourned; but this action of Massachusetts was a move for the convocation of a new Continental Congress, which the other colonies, the ones represented in the Congress of 1774,

arranged for, and set for the following May in Philadelphia. The custom now became fixed of electing and convening a new Continental Congress every year.

The Provincial Congress, though it was allowed to be the nominal head of the "civil disobedience" movement, consisted more of representatives of the smuggling ring and other elements who only had a theoretical interest in what was going on, and were therefore not so rebellious in tendencies as the Middlesex revolutionary element required. Accordingly it did not hold the allegiance of the people in "civil disobedience" territory to the extent that its predecessor, the Provincial Assembly, which represented directly the County Conventions, held. On the other hand, its presence in Concord gained the rebels the sympathies of elements whose co-operation was needed at the time, and also made it possible to co-operate with the other colonies through the medium of such an incipient federation as the Continental Congress. So the Provincial Congress was allowed to function in Concord as the nominal head of civil disobedience, while the real allegiance of the people was retained by the County Conventions, and the town meetings and town Committees of Safety.

116. ***Aid From New Hampshire***. The province of New Hampshire, located as it is between Massachusetts and Maine, both of which were then under Massachusetts Bay military rule, and in both of which a "civil disobedience" campaign was organized, was in a peculiar position, as holding an important line of communication for the Massachusetts rebels. Since New Hampshire had always been under two rival regimes, the royal governors and the town meetings, which were merely at temporary peace with each other, the sympathy of the town meetings, which meant that of most of the people of New Hampshire, naturally went with the rebels of the neighboring province. The royal regime was, in fact, almost isolated in that province, which had the "civil disobedience" territory of Massachusetts to the south, and the similar region of Maine to the east, while to the west and northwest stretched the Green Mountain range, the home of the defiant and unrecognized colony which called itself Vermont. By sea, through the one harbor of Portsmouth, was the only line of communication New Hampshire had that was not controlled by either the Massachusetts civil disobedience system or the Vermont insurgents; and even that was so close to Maine that any strong rebel action across the Piscataqua might mean a blockade.

The people of the New Hampshire towns had generally expressed a certain sympathy with the people of the neighboring province. In Portsmouth, a protest meeting over the Boston tea affair had been held the previous winter at the same time that the "Tea Party" was going on in Boston; and this winter the people of Portsmouth, as well as in the neighboring regions of Maine, were preparing for a grand memorial on Friday, December 16, the first anniversary of the Boston Tea Party.

In the meantime, in Massachusetts, throughout the civil disobedience territory, the scattered British patrols that occasionally appeared were busy on the hunt for the ammunition that the civil disobedience regime was secretly making and smuggling to its minute men. The ammunition factory itself was located on a thickly wooded hilltop in Watertown, a Middlesex town not far from Boston itself, and from this location they had the advantage of being able to see a long distance without being seen themselves. The smuggling of powder and guns was usually carried on successfully, although sometimes the munitions were captured by the British militia. Occasionally such artifices as raised drawbridges, or causing small local fights with the militia, were used successfully to detain the patrols until the contraband munitions could be removed to a place of safety.

Smuggling into Maine, however, really required the co-operation of the people of the twenty-mile corridor of New Hampshire that separated the two parts of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Portsmouth being the New Hampshire town that had to take the brunt of this smuggling trade; it was also the capital and the only seaport of the province.

Since both the British militia and the people of Massachusetts anticipated clashes on the Tea Party anniversary, much smuggling of munitions went on in preparation for the sixteenth of December; and this included the sending of supplies across New Hampshire to the Minute Men in Maine; while the townspeople of Portsmouth also procured part of the smuggled ammunition to be ready for emergencies for their own anniversary celebration.

Governor Gage had so far not attempted to interfere with New Hampshire, which, being a separate colony and administered as a separate nation, was outside his territory; but this time he sent to the royal administration in Portsmouth to ask for aid in the suppression of the ammunition-smuggling.

The town correspondence committee in Boston received word of this move, and, on Wednesday, December 14, they sent one of their couriers, a Boston silversmith by the name of Paul Revere, to Portsmouth by way of the marshes of the New Hampshire coast, to warn Portsmouth townspeople and the Minute Men in Maine across the river, of the new move, and of the way the administration of New Hampshire was taking a hand in matters.

The messenger reached Portsmouth after an all-day ride, in the evening of the fourteenth, but too late to forestall action by the governor of New Hampshire. The smuggled ammunition had been intercepted by the British authorities in New Hampshire, and taken by the soldiers to Fort William and Mary, on the island of New Castle in Portsmouth Harbor. However, the appearance of the rider gave them new courage, and carried with it the suggestion of co-operation from the neighboring province. A group of citizens of Portsmouth banded together hastily, with such arms as they were able to assemble in Portsmouth, rushed over to New Castle, where Fort William and Mary, not expecting such a sudden onslaught from the rear, proved unable to keep the rebels out, with the result that the crowd entered the fort, seized the captured ammunition, and returned to Portsmouth with it.

This incident on the night of December 14, 1774, is now claimed by New Hampshire as the real start of the American Revolution, although it had no characteristics of a revolution about it. There was no actual defiance of authority; it was merely another of the numerous street riots that had been taking place in America for some time, on this occasion taken, on the spur of excitement, into the fort, but with no object of capturing anything but the smuggled goods they were after. There was no intention to challenge the army's right to occupy the fort, as was proved by the crowd's retiring as soon as they obtained the contraband they were seeking.

But, in the eyes of England, this action placed New Hampshire in the same rebel category as Massachusetts. Their hands were too full with Massachusetts at the time for them to be able to give New Hampshire much attention, but it became painfully obvious that New Hampshire was slated to receive punishment next, after Massachusetts should have been fully dealt with.

117. ***The Winter of 1774***. During the winter of 1774, Boston became more than ever isolated from the rest of Massachusetts. Military patrols interfered considerably with movement of people

about the city, and the military administration was afraid that too much contact with the Middlesex rebels might result in a flare-up of some sort in Boston. Governor Gage was under orders to arrest Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren as leaders of the revolutionary movement and ship them to England to be tried for treason (England considered that no colonial court had sufficient authority for such a trial); but Gage realized that these men were not really leaders of the rebels, nor even a great influence with them, so he postponed the unpleasant duty as long as possible, especially since he considered that premature action might provoke an uprising of some sort in Boston; and this atmosphere of secret conspiracy that surrounded him made him suspicious of any trivial occurrence.

To such a governor, the constant series of complaints that the citizens of Boston and the other points under actual military control kept pouring in on the slightest occasion was sufficient to give an impression as to the difficulty of his task; but still, he was enough of a military man to stand firm in spite of everything, and stick to his determination to knock the idea of resistance out of the heads of those Yankees in Massachusetts and Maine. But one particular complaint seemed to make a special impression on him. In December, when the boys of the Boston Latin School began coasting down the slope of School Street, in front of the school, as had been their habit every winter, one of Gage's officers, who was billeted across the street from the school, and was disturbed by the coasting, and who considered that sledding might interfere with military processions in the street, had the coast broken up so as to prevent the further use of sleds on that street. The school-boys met together in standard town-meeting style, drew up a complaint and delegated the principal of the school to present the complaint to the officer across the street. This was reported by the officer to Governor Gage, who ordered the coast on School Street restored, remarking that it was impossible to eradicate the notion of liberty from a people who acquired it from childhood. Gage could become hardened to complaints in general, but seemed to think a complaint from children was something to be feared. These children were the future Bostonians, and they were fast learning the art of passive resistance which was being promulgated from Middlesex.

We may note that the Boston Latin School of that day was an elementary school, not a high school as it has become at the present time, and it was then actually situated on School Street, at about the place where is now the hotel known as the Parker House; while the headquarters of the officer to whom the complaint was made is now the location of the Boston City Hall!

Anniversaries that the rebels (or rather, the "civil disobedients" and the seaport smuggling rings) might use as an occasion for celebration and gatherings, were most especially feared by Governor Gage, and at such times he always took special measures to see that no disturbance was attempted in the territory under occupation of his soldiers. The rebels themselves took full advantage of this, not to make special resistance on those days, but to work on his fears. The New Hampshire incident preceding the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party is a good example of this.

On Sunday, March 5, 1775, the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre, it was attempted as usual to hold in the Old South Church a memorial service for the victims of that incident. The Governor could not help seeing some sort of menace to himself in such a celebration, but was afraid to raise too much trouble. Dr. Joseph Warren—one of those whom Gage had been ordered to arrest—was scheduled to make the speech. The building was so crowded that the people overflowed into the surrounding streets, and stood so thick that it was with great difficulty that even Dr. Warren could get in. From the Province House across the street, Governor Gage himself was watching the crowd, ready to give orders to his regiment in case of the slightest sign of trouble. The subject

selected by Dr. Warren for his speech was "On the Baneful Influence of Standing Armies in Time of Peace," and it duly impressed the audience with the moral that was obviously intended, though not definitely stated. No attempts at rioting, however, took place, but General Gage felt that something was in the air, that some new form of resistance had been presented to the citizens of Boston without his knowing quite what or how.

But, with the coming of spring, a seemingly more dangerous anniversary was at hand—April 18, the anniversary of the overthrow of Andros, traditionally celebrated by the rebel elements in Massachusetts as a double anniversary, the 18th for the overthrow of despotism, and the 19th for the restoration of the popular administration under the Puritan regime. This seemed particularly ominous, as Gage was, in point of fact, taking Andros's place, and attempting to restore Andros's system of despotic and military administration. What might not the anniversary of Andros's overthrow mean for Gage? It was on that day then, that Gage determined to arrest the "rebel leaders" he was ordered to ship to England—Adams, Hancock, and Warren—and during that period he was going to make a real effort to crush the civil disobedience campaign in Concord itself, and take possession of Middlesex itself. But, when the 18th of April came around, it appeared that the three Bostonians that were slated for arrest were not to be found anywhere. All three, warned by the correspondence committee spy system, had disappeared: Dr. Warren was hiding, and Adams and Hancock had been sent into Middlesex County, to hide out there until they should have the chance to go secretly to Philadelphia and attend the Continental Congress, to which the Salem legislature had sent them as delegates.

Also, for no special reason except to put fear into the city of Boston, and to prevent any demonstrations on the 18th and 19th, Gage had the fleet in the harbor bombard Boston on the 18th. This is the standard idea the army and navy of England always have of punishing any recalcitrant community; in this case, it merely served to stir up resentment in many quarters where there had been none before, and consolidated the rebel's ranks.

During this winter there had also been considerable migration of the population, the Tory element in the interior of Massachusetts moving into Boston to avoid clashes with the civil disobedients, while the rebel sympathizers in Boston, to a large extent, moved into Middlesex and other interior points. But the Tories in many cases did not consider even the military protection in Boston as sufficient, and it was not difficult to see that more trouble was in store. So there was considerable migration of Tories from Boston to Canada and to New York; while, on the other hand, many rebel sympathizers moved out of New York, mainly to Philadelphia.

118. ***New York Attempts to Oust the Vermonters***. Vermont had been definitely assigned by England to the province of New York, but with New Hampshire issuing the land grants to settlers. The Vermonters never actually recognized New York's jurisdiction, and were prepared to resist any attempt to break up the town-meeting system of administration they had organized, but which was strictly illegal in New York. It was not entirely a defiance to British authority, since they had gone through the formality of acquiring land title from New Hampshire, so that their right to the land would be recognized in England.

But the Continental Congress of 1774, consisting of legislatures which were mostly at variance with the royal governors of their respective provinces, was encouraging Virginia in pressing its claims to land beyond the mountains where independent local governments had already been set up; and the hint to the New York legislature and its followers was only too obvious. The court sitting at

Albany, though royal by appointment, was, of course, not unwilling to extend jurisdiction at this time to suppress the Vermont rebels, at the same time hoping for a reconciliation with the people and its legislature, the interior of the province, unlike New York City, being in sympathy with the Continental Congress, and not above being bribed by an offer of new lands.

So some technicalities were found, according to which all the land grants made by New Hampshire were void, and New York province sued in its own courts to oust all the Vermonters. Ethan Allen, the head of the Vermonter's small army of defense, was despatched to Albany to defend the Vermonter's side of the case. Since he was not a lawyer but a soldier, his speech was not based upon legal technicalities, but upon the general principles of rights such as the New England rebels had been enunciating; and, as might be expected of such a speech before a court and in a community unmistakably hostile, the case, which had obviously been pre-judged anyway, was decided in favor of New York's own provincial claims, in a court decision bearing the full weight of British authority, as well as having the full support of the Continental Congress and of the New York Sons of Liberty. It was ordered that all Vermonters be ousted from their land; a thing which, considering the situation, was much easier to order than to do.

As Allen left the court house at Albany, he was surrounded by a jeering throng of the citizens, who, whether Tory or rebel, were all against the Yankee intruders in Vermont. They kept on shouting at him: "Now do you know you're licked?" Allen mounted his horse, shouted: "The gods of the mountains are not the gods of the plains," and rode off to Vermont to organize resistance. A new volunteer army, known as the "Green Mountain Boys," was organized by Allen in Vermont; and, to prevent undue opposition from the rebels elsewhere, Allen obtained a commission from his native province of Connecticut, so that he and his army should have some standing before the Continental Congress.

The Vermonters "did not know when they were licked," and it was just that characteristically Yankee trait of persistence which enabled them to hold out in what seemed at the time a most absurd defiance of British authority.

119. ***The British Raid Middlesex***. We have seen that, on Tuesday, April 18, 1775, the eighty-sixth anniversary of the overthrow of the Andros regime in Boston, the new military regime which England had intended as a restoration of the Andros regime forestalled possible demonstrations in Boston by bombarding the city, and that the three leaders of the Boston smuggling ring, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren, were sought by the soldiers and went into hiding, the two former in Middlesex, the latter in Boston. The rebel celebration of the anniversary was a two-day celebration, and the military dictatorship planned to show its power the second day by raiding Middlesex County, the very center of the rebels, and taking possession of the center of civil disobedience, Concord, as well as seeking the fugitives, Adams and Hancock.

The spy system that was kept up by the correspondence committees and by the tribal organization of the Okamakammessets was, however, in good order on such an occasion. Middlesex farmers who came to Faneuil Hall to sell their goods, as is still their custom, were commissioned to act as tribal spies, and kept their ears open for news of any hostile military move while they were in Boston. The news thus reached Concord in the early evening of the 18th, through tribesmen returning home from market, that a visit from the "duly constituted" authorities could be expected next morning, looking for fugitives and munitions, and to destroy the Provincial Congress and the entire civil disobedience organization.

In order to throw the authorities in Boston off the track, and make them believe that Middlesex was unwarned, it was arranged that the Boston correspondence committees should send out three messengers to Middlesex in the middle of the night, but as conspicuously as possible. This was arranged under direction of Dr. Joseph Warren, who sent out three messengers in a style somewhat similar to Van Corlear's ride through Manhattan Island when the British attacked New Amsterdam. These riders, operating by a set of signal lights that could be seen by the militia better than by the messengers themselves, started out through Middlesex shouting from door to door the absurd news "The British are coming"—absurd because Massachusetts was recognized British territory, and Middlesex itself had British patrols trying to keep order. The three messengers were Paul Revere, who started from Charlestown—the same messenger that rode to Portsmouth the time New Hampshire captured their confiscated ammunition—and two other messengers, William Dawes and a Dr. Prescott, sent to Middlesex by way of Roxbury. All three messengers were captured before they went far—as it was deliberately designed that they should be. It should have been obvious that, after the cautious way the civil disobedience regime had been conducted, a message of that importance would not be sent out with so little precaution, in such a dramatic and conspicuous manner, broadcasting the news to friend and foe alike in this manner. But the military authorities, who, as is frequently the case, fail to see through such pretext, were easily deceived by that ruse, and were now able to proceed on the assumption that they had actually prevented Middlesex County from getting any news of the impending raid. In point of fact, the Lexington committee of safety had circulated a notice of the raid to the townspeople at nine in the evening, about two hours before the three riders started out from Boston.

That night the soldiers were ordered to permit no one to leave Boston—though the order came too late to prevent this dramatic display of horsemanship. In all the surrounding towns, patrols watched carefully for any signs of demonstration, or any crowds massing in the streets; all of which, however, was no part of the civil disobedience plans. From start to finish, there were no mass demonstrations, making it extremely difficult for the British soldiery to find any mark to shoot at. One mass demonstration such as other countries find necessary for having a revolution or a disagreement with authorities, and the whole uprising could have been quelled with very little difficulty. But, particularly on the night when the military were looking for such demonstrations, all was serene in Middlesex—apparently. The soldiers on patrol in the metropolitan part of Middlesex met with no trouble or interference; and, outside of capturing the three riders with the false messages, nothing unusual occurred.

Of the actual transmission of the notice of the coming raid, the general public naturally had no knowledge. It was passed among the secret correspondence committees, through channels provided by the Tribe and by the Sons of Liberty organizations, aided by the committees of safety, which finally received the messages and spread the news to their followers in each town. But so secretly was this done that it never became publicly known, and the rider, Paul Revere, who, according to his subsequent affidavit, never actually went beyond the Cambridge hills, now is credited with warning the population. He and the other two riders, Dawes and Prescott, of course performed a useful spy service to the rebels by throwing the army off guard, and making the government authorities believe they wee making a surprise raid; but to the unknown members of the tribe of the Okamakammessets, who obtained the news by mingling with the farmers in Faneuil Hall, and brought it quietly back to Middlesex while they apparently had with them only a wagon emptied of its load of farm produce, belongs the real credit of notifying Middlesex County and the entire civil disobedience organization of the coming attack, and enabling them to resist in the most effective way that could be planned by joint action of the towns in and around Middlesex.

In the early morning of the 19th, the second day of the rebel anniversary celebration, marking the restoration of popular Puritan government in 1689, about five hundred soldiers were landed from the British ship Somerset on the Middlesex shore, in the swampy tide-flats where is now East Cambridge. Another contingent of five-hundred were sent out of Boston by land, through Roxbury and Brookline and over the bridge at the town of Cambridge (where the Anderson Bridge is now located), into Middlesex. All was quiet as they marched through these towns—even in Cambridge, the first Middlesex settlement they encountered. Beyond Cambridge, the troops from the Somerset joined them, and they continued along the very path that had been laid out as a post-road long ago by the Iroquois and Penacook tribes, and followed the highway into the heart of Middlesex.

The next town they passed through was Menotomy (now known as Arlington). It was dawn, and the streets and the town-house square were absolutely empty—most suspiciously empty, had the soldiers only been able to read the signs rightly. All the soldiers in this punitive expedition were surprised how foolishly easy it was, after all, to march into this dreaded county of Middlesex—when suddenly they found themselves being peppered with bullets flying in all directions. And still the square was as vacant as if the town had never been inhabited for a long time. The minute-men were there, watching the triumphal entry into Menotomy, and shooting at them from behind every picket fence in town, thoroughly invisible while they could see everything.

Had the army been able to shoot back, their morale might have been more easily maintained; but, as it was, it was impossible even to fire back. There was nothing to shoot at. And there, in the square at Menotomy, the modern Arlington Center, began the first real signs of revolution in America—the attack on the British army, on the representatives of all duly constituted authority in Massachusetts, by the townspeople of the little town of Menotomy, in Middlesex County, in the dawn of that eventful day, April 19, 1775.

The British troops, still highly irritated over this attack by an invisible enemy, though they had sustained no actual losses, continued their march. It was reported that the fugitives Adams and Hancock were hiding in the next town, Lexington, and they must hurry on to capture these dangerous characters, since the king wanted them shipped back to England for trial. It took another hour to march on to Lexington, where they again found an empty street. Their experience in Menotomy might have warned them against empty streets in Middlesex, but they had not learned yet how American fighting was conducted. The army passed by the very inn where Adams and Hancock were spending the night, and marched into the heart of the town of Lexington. Nothing was as yet to be seen, and, at the church ahead of them, the road forked, while behind the church, between the two branches of the road, was the town green, the park which forms the center of all New England towns. The British militia took the right branch of the road, and passed by the church, when they suddenly found themselves face to face with a couple of hundred minute men gathered on Lexington Green, and who had been invisible until then, due to the church obstructing the view. These minute men had been gathered there all night, expecting trouble, and preparing to meet it, with arms if necessary. Their captain had given them their orders: "Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon. But, if they mean to have a war, let it begin here!" This was a natural order under the circumstances, simply amounting to directions not to start a fight, but to be ready to meet it; but the last part of the order, turning out as it did to be prophetic, seems to have made an impression as though it had been so intended. At that, we may really consider that the war had already started, at Menotomy one hour earlier.

Faced with this defiant-looking crowd of minute-men, the leader of the British punitive expedition, Col. Pitcairn, shouted, "Disperse, you rebels!" Then, seeing that no attention was paid to his "reading the riot act," he called out again: Damn you, why don't you disperse?" Upon which the soldiers fired, killing seven minute-men. The minute-men fired back, but the soldiers went on along the road. Their chief objective was Concord, the headquarters of the civil disobedience conspiracy.

While this shooting was going on, the fugitives Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whom the army was seeking, took advantage of the excitement, and started out from Lexington, walking across country to Woburn, about four miles away. There they waited for an opportunity to get a stage to take them to Philadelphia where the Continental Congress was to meet in May. Adams and Hancock were elected as delegates to the Continental Congress by the legislature that Gage had dissolved in Salem, and, in spite of the army sent put to capture them, they attended the Continental Congress according to schedule.

The British army continued its march into Bedford, where they found similar trouble to what they had encountered in Menotomy, and at about seven in the morning they entered Concord, thoroughly irritated, and with their morale already badly damaged, in spite of their apparent victory at Lexington. Fighting invisible enemies on a long, hard march is not the best means of maintaining an army's courage.

In Concord, the same suspiciously empty streets. The rebel supply of ammunition there was discovered, and the British seized it to bring it back to Boston (which, as it turned out, they did in faster time than they had intended). In the offing, down the street, appeared a small group of minute-men similar to those at Lexington, but retreating rapidly. Although the militia had not intended to go beyond Concord, they started off in pursuit. The minute-men retreated across the bridge which crosses the Concord River at that point—the old Wamesset River which was the heart if the land of the Okamakammessets. The British followed in hot pursuit. At the bridge, they were forced to thin out, coming a few at a time over the narrow way. On the other side of the bridge, they found, not the small group of minute-men they were pursuing, but an aggregation of about three thousand waiting for them: the minute-men of all surrounding towns, who had poured into Concord during the night in order to be ready to meet the emergency. As at Lexington, the British soldiers fired; the fire was returned by a rebel force that outnumbered them, and the British, who, on account of the bridge, were not in a position to make much use of their numbers, and whose morale had been injured already by the earlier events of the morning, broke out in a panic. They ran—ran as hard as they could—all of the twenty-odd miles of the road back to Boston. The issue had been tried out between Middlesex and the British Empire, and Middlesex County was winning.

The word was sent out into the interior of Massachusetts of the victory over the raiders, in the cryptic form: "Their sun has set on Worcester and Middlesex." This might seem on the surface, to be a message of defeat; but, taken in connection with the famous British boast that the sun never sets on the British dominions, the meaning becomes obvious. The inhabitants were now rid of the military authority, and of the nobles who had been taking away their land and forcing them into servitude. From now on, no more saluting the lord of the manor; the farmers had regained the freedom they had traditionally enjoyed before the days of the infamous Governor Andros.

"He made obeissance, mute and slow,
Repaid by nod polite;
For such the way with high and low

Till after Concord fight."
- Holmes.

From Concord, the town that had served as the center of the civil disobedience campaign, now dated the foundations of an independent America, from the battle at the old Concord bridge on the morning of April 19, 1775. The province of Massachusetts Bay was now definitely beginning a revolution, and well may Massachusetts celebrate the anniversary, April 19, in memory of this occasion, which was also the anniversary of the restoration of popular government after Andros was overthrown. The rebels had made a good job of celebrating their anniversary.

120. ***The Pursuit***. The British troops retreated in panic from Concord, closely pursued by minute-men, who, in addition to the ones at Concord, came swarming from all directions ready to shoot at the fleeing soldiers. Rebel groups appeared all along the road, some showing themselves and firing, flying various rebel banners, prominent among which was the one set up by the Okamakammessets, the red banner of the red tribes, with the pine-tree which was the emblem of the Penacook peoples, and which had recently become a symbol of liberty.

"The people's spokesmen were pursued
By soldiers through the land,
While round them Bay Land's people, armed,
Arose on every hand.
They thus repulsed the tyrant's men,
As, floating at their head,
Appeared the Bay Land freedom's flag;
The banner of the red."

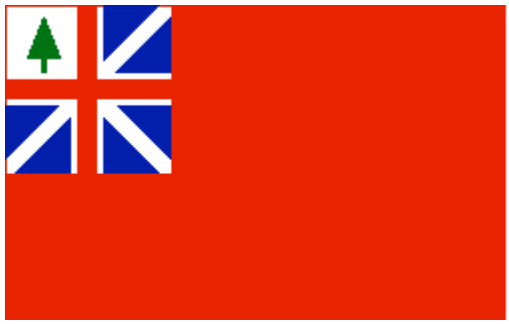
Though many groups of minute-men were visible, many more of them were not to be seen, but fired, in the fashion of the red men, from behind trees, fences, and any other hiding-places they could find. Through Lexington and Menotomy ran the pursuit; here the British army split, part heading for Charlestown and part heading for Roxbury. The part running towards Charlestown passed through Medford, where new groups of minute-men from distant Lynn and Salem were ready to greet them with rifles and bullets; but, as in Charlestown, they were met by more soldiers, who finally conducted them safely to the Somerset or to Boston. The other group, running through Cambridge and Roxbury, had a longer way to go, but did not have to rely on boats to take them into Boston. All along the way they were encouraged to better speed by shots from behind trees and fences, or sometimes from people whom they saw, though they were in far too great a hurry to return the fire. Through Cambridge thus, over the Charles River, across the plains south of the river, pressed the pursuit; then into the hill district at Brookline, where the road winds between the hills of the town. From their lookout points on Corey Hill and Aspinwall Hill the Brookline minute-men, themselves unseen, opened fire; no messengers had been needed to let them know what was coming, for from the top of Corey Hill they could see the army approaching over an hour in advance of their reaching Brookline. By now the panic among the British soldiers had grown remarkably, and, with Boston practically in sight, they redoubled their speed. Through Roxbury, where they encountered similar fire from the heights of Parker Hill and the Highlands, and over Boston Neck, the isthmus that then was Boston's only connection with the mainland, though now

the tidal flats on both sides of it have been thoroughly filled in. At the junction of the road in Roxbury which has since been given the name of Warren Street, they could see the minute-men from Dorchester approaching down that road, joining the pursuit. A reinforcement came out from Boston to meet the British, conducting them safely into the town, while the Roxbury and Dorchester minute-men, pursuing, halted at the isthmus, and dug themselves into a trench which they made across the isthmus at about the point where now stands the Northampton Street elevated station. Here they could remain unseen, and, with the fewest possible men, they could bottle up the authorities in Boston. The siege of Boston had begun, and, in that one day, April 19, 1775, the revolution had begun, the interior of Massachusetts had been cleared of all the duly constituted authorities, and the civil disobedience regime, now converted into an instrument of active opposition, was supreme in its own territory.

Minute-men in the following towns of Middlesex and its vicinity contributed to the fighting and pursuit on that eventful day, Wednesday, April 19, 1775, when revolution began in America:

Acton	Bedford	Billerica	Brookline
Beverly	Cambridge	Carlisle	Charlestown
Chelmsford	Concord	Danvers	Dedham
Dorchester	Framingham	Lexington	Lincoln
Lynn	Littleton	Medford	Milton
Menotomy	Needham	Newton	Pepperell
Roxbury	Reading	Salem	Stow
Sudbury	Watertown	Westford	Woburn

These thirty-two towns started resistance to the "duly-constituted authorities," and began a revolution which was to lead to America's independence. These thirty-two towns in Massachusetts may well be considered the nucleus of independent United States.



CHAPTER XXI

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

121. ***The Siege Begins***. After the hurried retreat from Concord, the authorities were fairly well secured in Boston by the rebels, who were actually in control outside Boston, with their own

governmental machinery and an army that was directly engaged in fighting the administration, though the rebels were not ready as yet to come out openly for independence, since such a move might lose them any hope of aid from outside Massachusetts. Those in power, and the people in Boston, were effectively cut off from all land communication, although it was still possible to enter and leave Boston by sea. It is true, the Boston Port Bill, which had in a way brought about this situation, and which was responsible for the military government, forbade ships from using the port of Boston, but that was easily taken care of by special military permits, which, on account of the emergency, were readily granted.

The rebels, on the day of the battle and the pursuit, had effectively cleared their territory of outlying British patrols, and then proceeded to the task of recapturing the large estates that had been taken away from their original occupants and given to various English aristocrats. The capital of the rebels was moved in from Concord to Watertown, so the insurgents might be better able to supervise military activities in the siege, which, at the same time, must be so conducted as not to appear to the rest of America to be actually a rebellion against the King, to whom the remaining colonies were still at least nominally loyal. Accordingly, while the true story of what happened at Lexington and Concord was well known to the Minute Men and to their followers in and around Middlesex, another version was concocted for public circulation. The tale was spread that the British militia had raided Lexington and Concord, wantonly firing into groups of peaceful citizens at Lexington and Concord. This account, being the one that was circulated outside Massachusetts, reached Boston soon by the sea route, and it became necessary for the British to take steps to combat the report, and circulating the interpretation of the event, which has now become the patriotic rendering in America, portraying the incidents of that day as a battle instead of as a massacre of unarmed citizens. A bulletin was posted in Boston by the authorities, stating what had happened. It is said that one morning a bulletin was found with a correction supplied by some humorous citizen; where the bulletin stated, "We were forced to resort to our arms for defense," someone had struck out the word "arms", and written in "legs."

122. ***Capture of Ticonderoga***. Vermont, of course, had presented for years a situation parallel to that of the "civil disobedience" in neighboring Massachusetts; and this tension was heightened by the order from Albany to oust all the Vermonters.

The fort of Ticonderoga on the west side of Lake Champlain, captured from the French in the Great Ohio War, was a British outpost that threatened the rear of both Vermonters and Massachusetts rebels; so after the civil disobedience in Massachusetts had fairly well intrenched themselves by the Lexington-Concord incidents, the next step was to assemble an expeditionary force from Berkshire County to attack Ticonderoga, securing it as they had done with military posts in Boston.

However, in this case, the "Green Mountain Boys," the independent army of Vermont, "stole a march" on them. Before enough volunteers could be mustered together in Massachusetts, the Vermonters, who were much nearer the fort in question, crossed Lake Champlain quietly and unexpectedly, and on the night of Monday, May 1, overpowered the sentries guarding the fort, who were not prepared for an attack. The fort was thus easily entered, and the commander of the fort was awakened from a sound sleep by Ethan Allen's thundering cry of "Surrender!" The commander himself, not even realizing that there was an enemy, and still retaining, even under such circumstances, the dignity expected of British officers on all occasions, answered: "In whose name?" And Allen, the leader of the Vermont army, replied: "In the name of Jehovah and the

Continental Congress!" The commander of the fort had no alternative but to surrender, and the American revolutionists now had a military outpost in the province of New York. Although the Continental Congress did not recognize Vermont, which had actually taken Ticonderoga, still Ticonderoga was not within Vermont's territorial claims, and the Continental Congress was therefore nominally the party to which surrender was made.

This capture of an outpost in the province of New York encouraged people in the upper portion of the province to express sympathy for the rebels. Even in the city of New York itself, far from this scene, and generally hostile to the revolutionaries, and all their works, a small group of minute-men were recruited who, realizing that the city was not safe for them, marched up the river to the protection of the Yankee conquerors of Ticonderoga, although not until one old Dutchman, with some show of bravado, appeared at the gate of the Battery fort in New York City loudly but uselessly demanding that they surrender their ammunition, and that they should send nothing to the aid of the besieged in Boston.

Ticonderoga was in Iroquois territory, and, while the Iroquois Federation managed to overlook the occupation of a fort on their ground by their supposed allies, it was different when that same fort was in rebel hands. The English settlers in the Mohawk Valley had been trying, like the southerners, to push into the interior and invade the Iroquois domain, but the British authorities were restraining them. Now, however, there was a tendency similar to that in the South, and rebellious demonstrations took place for the right of the settlers to establish their homes on Iroquois land. Thus a small revolutionary center grew up around Ticonderoga, whose main object was to attack the Iroquois.

The Iroquois Federation, then one of the greatest powers in America, held a council over the emergency issue, and finally decided that they were bound by the alliance to Great Britain that they had signed in 1634. All the Iroquois nations, except the Oneidas, declared war against the insurgents in order to support an ally that no longer recognized the alliance—but also for self-protection, which was a much more important issue to them.

123. ***The Mecklenburg Declarations***. It was well into May before word of the Lexington-Concord events reached the South; and the information that reached them was not of the battles and pursuit that actually took place, but the version that the Massachusetts civil disobedience regime was spreading—that the British militia holding the dictatorship over Massachusetts had deliberately gone into Middlesex, and fired on groups of peaceful citizens in the streets of Lexington and Concord. This account of affairs had made no impression in New York, where such incidents had been common and had been taken for granted; and was received even with some indifference in Philadelphia, where some peaceful settlement of the difficulty was hoped for; but in the South, where resentment against British authority was being stirred up for quite different and opposite reasons, such news was well calculated to arouse further agitation.

In Virginia the liberals raised storms of protest about liberty; but in North Carolina, in the interior, where the so-called Regulators were having their own clashes with the regular administration, the reports provoked more action.

On Saturday, May 20, 1775, the secret associations backing the "Regulators" in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina made up their reply to the supposed outrages of Lexington and Concord, in a document that stated that they could owe no further allegiance to a government and a king that

could do such deeds; and, with a great preamble about liberty and individual rights such as had been discussed throughout America for some time, they proceeded to declare themselves absolved from all allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain.

This document, known as the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," was a secret paper, passed around among the underground rebel societies, but was never publicly issued, and did not, in fact, become publicly known until some thirty years later. Its authenticity has accordingly been questioned; but the fact that, for instance, the "peaceful-citizen" version of Lexington and Concord warfare appears there instead of the battle news as disclosed later, indicates that the document dates from the period immediately following the Middlesex outburst. The fact that the document was not published at the time is, of course, no real evidence against its authenticity, as a secret group could hardly be expected at the time to publish a statement of that nature.

After the "undercover" organizations had resolved that they no longer owed allegiance to Great Britain, a public announcement was made on Wednesday, May 31, stating that a certain speech in the British Parliament had stated that the colonial governments were null and void (which had indeed been much the British attitude all along); in consequence of which measures were being taken to establish a new administration machinery in Mecklenburg County.

The Mecklenburg Declarations were not the first attempts in the British colonies in America to separate from British rule, since Vermont had been enjoying a de facto independence for seventeen years. The Massachusetts civil disobedience campaign actually created a regime independent of British authority, while the interior colonies of Vandalia, Transylvania, and Watauga were operating in actual defiance of England. But the Mecklenburg Declaration may be considered as the beginning of an attempt to put the defiance into words, though Mecklenburg did not show the resistance to authority that was to be found in Middlesex or Vermont.

124. ***Revolt in Maine***. The legislatures of the other New England colonies, fearing the same sort of extinction as had been delivered to that of Massachusetts Bay, sent over men to aid in the siege of Boston, although showing no resistance to constituted authority at home. This there grew around Boston an increasing insurgent besieging force, representing now not merely Massachusetts but the whole of New England. It was mainly concentrated in Cambridge, Brookline, and Roxbury. Unlike a standard European army, it was not held together by strict obedience to one man, but was a voluntary association of men bound together by a common cause. The general in actual charge of the volunteers was named Artemus Ward, who was rather an elected tactical advisor than an official who could enforce obedience from every individual. In other words, this army was under a democracy instead of a dictatorship.

This, and the "civil disobedience" outposts throughout the interior of Massachusetts, kept Massachusetts proper clear of control by the recognized authorities; but Maine, being a non-contiguous section of the same province, and therefore under the same military rule, was not covered by this administrative procedure. It remained for Maine to have its Lexington and Concord.

The military government in Maine centered around a was vessel called the Margaretta, stationed in Penobscot Bay, from which the British militia made raids on revolutionary centers throughout Maine. They had already burned down the town of Falmouth (now Portland) as a supposed rebel nucleus; but, on the whole, this ship was not successful in stopping town meetings

in Maine—even the royalists had to pretend some form of rebel sympathy in order to obtain permission from the town meetings to take any action.

Finally the minute-men of East Machias, a town on the shore of Penobscot Bay, determined to rid the community of the ship Margaretta which represented the British regime in Maine. A surprise attack was carried out on Friday, June 16, 1775, and the Margaretta was actually boarded by East Machias minute-men before the crew were able to do anything by way of resistance. The British ship fled, closely pursued by two row-boats loaded with Maine minute-men; the Margaretta was finally captured, and the red pine-tree flag was run up in place of the British flag which the insurgents had taken down. This incident ended British rule on the coast of Maine, although the revolutionary divisions in Maine continued to have skirmishes with British troops coming from Canada.

125. ***The Continental Congress of 1775***. Early in May, 1775, soon after the Middlesex raid, the second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. For the first time the recalcitrant province of Massachusetts was represented there, and the presence of the supposed revolutionaries in a body which considered its purpose to be one of conciliation was a problem, although the Massachusetts delegates were by no means the rebels they were supposed to be. The Massachusetts delegates were met at Frankford, a few miles outside Philadelphia, by a small reception committee from among the other delegates to the Congress, who warned them that, while talk of revolution and independence might be all right in Massachusetts, it would not be tolerated in Philadelphia; that the northern rebels and their supposed leaders were regarded in Philadelphia as malcontents, and that they must govern their speech accordingly. It became obvious that the Massachusetts delegates would be faced with the problem of forcing the rest of the Continental Congress into a position of supporting the Massachusetts rebellion, while not letting them know that such manueuvres were being conducted.

The Congress had originally been planned for Monday, the first of May, which, as we have already seen, had long been used by the Okamakammessets as a day of remembrance of white tyranny (being the anniversary of the declaration of the Pequot War in 1637), and which had recently been adopted as a grand day of observance by the parallel secret society initiated by the Lenapes, the Sons of Tammany (or Sons of Tamenund), among the colonists of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. This association, which had charge of most of the rebel sympathy work in these colonies, made Tamenund, the founder of the Lenape federation, its patron saint, had made May 1 as his saint's day. But, due to the delays of travelling in those days, especially with war conditions springing up in so many places, it was not until Friday, May 5 that a meeting was actually held.

The first resolution passed by the new Congress was one urging all Americans to remain loyal to the British crown. Then the problem came up of the Congress's attitude towards the uprising going on in Massachusetts, especially as regarded the events around Boston, where a group of insurgents were actually attacking a part of the British army. It was hard either to approve or condemn in this case; upholding the right of such rebel action would mean trouble with the government, not to mention that public opinion in most of the colonies was not ready for such opposition to authority; while condemning the revolutionary activities would equally lose the Continental Congress the backing of the New England colonies, and possibly even some Southern support, leaving only the middle colonies, which had been the least active in the matter of complaints against British interference.

It therefore seemed as though there was no way to turn, in the way of taking any definite stand on the question; yet it was too urgent an issue to ignore. To come out against the besiegers of Boston and their allies in Ticonderoga might lose Yankee aid; while indorsement of those rebel activities, which went far beyond the purposes of the Continental Congress, would possibly be displeasing to Southern delegates, and almost certainly to New York delegates.

Samuel Adams, one of the Massachusetts delegates, one of the fugitives from Boston who had escaped under the nose of the British army during the fight at Lexington, was, as might have been expected, in favor of the Congress's approving the minute-men's siege of Boston; he went even further, and proposed that the Congress itself take charge of military operations. This suggestion was partly due to his lack of complete sympathy with the purposes of the minute-men; since Adams himself belonged to the group interested in smuggling, and was therefore concerned mainly with the taxation problem. His proposition was that the Congress take over the combined troops of the various New England colonies operating around Boston, and erect them into a Continental Army, under a commander-in-chief to be appointed by the Congress; and, presumably to placate the South, though actually to force the South into participation as rebels, he further suggested that a Southern commander should be appointed. This proposal to a great extent overcame opposition from the South, and it was a case of North and South together against a divided sentiment among the delegates from the middle colonies. It was accordingly so agreed finally by the Continental Congress, and, on Friday, June 16, George Washington of Virginia was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, and sent to Cambridge to take charge.

126. ***The Attack on Charlestown***. The besiegers of Boston, during the spring of 1775, used the time to concentrate their positions in Cambridge, Brookline, and Roxbury, while the besieged British troops in Boston simply waited. The "waiting game" in the besieged city was tedious. All normal activities had suspended in the city almost immediately as soon as the siege began. The Boston Latin School, which had been involved in its rather unusual protest activities the previous winter, closed down on the nineteenth of April, immediately upon the return of the militia to Boston; and it was not long before all other activities of the city likewise ceased, especially since shipping as well as interior communication was at a standstill. There was nothing to do but wait. The soldiers took several steps to show their contempt for the population of Boston, especially for the places that had been used as revolutionary gathering-places. The Old South Church was converted into a riding school for the troops, and tons of earth were brought into the building to make it a better stable for the horses; while the records kept in the building, including the original records of the Plymouth Colony, were looted by the troops. Especially in view of the fact that theaters were much disapproved of by the people of Massachusetts, the militia in control of Boston during the siege converted Faneuil Hall into a theater, where the soldiers and officers themselves acted various dramatic pieces, both those composed in England and some impromptu pieces. The people, being equally idle and finding time heavy on their hands, made up various kinds of amusement, composing new variations when the old ones became too boring; thus a new type of dance, and a new card-game, both named Boston, originated during this period of inactivity.

This "waiting game," of course, helped to break down the morale of British troops in the besieged city. Occasionally, it is true, a cannon was fired from Cambridge at the Somerset or any ships that appeared in the Charles River; but such shots could hardly reach Boston. Thus, while the insurgents were solidifying their position surrounding Boston, the British were simply watching for signs of some new activity; their experience at Lexington and Concord was a warning against another attempt to invade Middlesex directly, while the trenches at Boston Neck (now the South

End) effectively kept them from leaving Boston by land. Watching and map-making seemed to be practically all that the surrounded troops could do; and the British army besieged in Boston certainly did make some very good maps of the city and its environs.

In the rebel camp, which had its headquarters in Cambridge, on the contrary, everything was activity. The Middlesex farmers, after driving out the Tory (royalist) owners of large estates, and thus obtaining more land through the activities of the minute-men and their allies from neighboring colonies, were glad enough to trade with the rebel camp, which, indeed, contained many of their own people. New contingents kept arriving from various parts of New England. The Provincial Congress, in nominal charge of the civil disobedience, moved from Concord to Watertown so as to be in closer contact with Cambridge, the revolutionary military headquarters. Cambridge became, for the time being, the actual rebel headquarters of America. Since it was desired to keep Harvard College going, and of course the belligerents wanted it as a means of training the youth of America to stand on the insurrectionist side, it was decided, for its protection, to remove it from the scene of military operations by moving the college temporarily to Concord, where it remained until the siege was over.

As the centennial of the declaration of Metacom's war against the Pilgrims, Saturday, June 17, 1775 was approaching, it was natural for a volunteer body under the influence of such a secret association as the Okamakammessets to choose that date as the time for the attack. It was planned to make the assault on Boston by the same route as the Puritans in 1630 made their charge on Boston's predecessor, the red town of Shawmut; consequently it was planned to occupy the Mishawum peninsula, which the British called Charlestown, preparatory to an advance on Boston itself.

Accordingly, early in the morning of the 17th, an expedition of minute-men set out from Cambridge for Charlestown. They planned to take possession of the isthmus known as Charlestown Neck, connecting Charlestown with the mainland of Middlesex, and then to occupy the northern one of Charlestown's twin hills, known as Bunker Hill. This elevation was not one which actually commanded the city of Boston at all, since another hill, Breed's Hill, lay between Bunker Hill and the Charles River which separated the Charlestown peninsula from Boston. Occupying Bunker Hill would, however, give the minute-men the advantage of a position close to Boston, and invisible to the authorities in the city; if they had a chance to strengthen that position, and with that support, they could advance on Breed's Hill, and be in a position to fire directly at Boston.

However, the tactics were not carried through as planned by those in charge of the civil disobedience campaign. The minute-men, arriving at Bunker Hill, became impatient at the idea of waiting there, where they were no nearer entering Boston than they were in Cambridge. And so, on their own initiative, they marched to Breed's Hill, where they dug themselves in—much closer to Boston, but under the watch of the British militia under siege in Boston. In the course of this advance, they also left Charlestown Neck unprotected against a possible landing party from the Charles or Mystic Rivers, so that a British force could possibly have landed behind the rebels and have cut them off completely. This strategy, however, was not attempted by the British, to whom the entire move was much of a surprise, and who did not know that the Neck was not as much intrenched as was Breed's Hill.

The British militia immediately dispatched forces to Charlestown, and, for no apparent reason whatever, set fire to the town of Charlestown, driving back into the flames all the inhabitants who

tried to escape. This action, which was quite plainly visible from Boston, added to the resentment of the population within the British lines.

The final result of the skirmish at the top of Breed's Hill was successful for the British administration militia—at least insofar as reaching the hill and driving the minute-men back may constitute victory. The minute-men, by advancing too far, had cut themselves off from their base, and, after two successful charges against the army, were finally forced to retreat for lack of ammunition. The Charlestown peninsula was now brought within the British lines, but at a cost of about a third of the British garrison in Boston. The minute-men, however, were able to establish a post close to Charlestown Neck, on Prospect Hill, in the region that is now the city of Somerville; and, in this way, even the defeat on Breed's Hill actually resulted in the minute-men's advancing their lines.

This was the only occasion between the beginning and the end of the siege of Boston that the besieged "ministerial forces," as the rebels called them, attempted a sortie from the city. The resulting victory had been too costly to encourage any repetition of the attempt, and the British army began to feel more respect for their besiegers. As General Gage commented, two more such victories and there would be no army left. The red pine-tree banner of the Penacooks was making itself strongly felt even in defeat, and the centennial of the declaration of Metacom's War was well observed.

It would seem that Dr. Joseph Warren, who had been caught in Boston during the siege, had managed to edge through the lines and participate in the hostilities at Charlestown, where he was killed.

This conflict was quite properly called by the British troops the Battle of Charlestown; but, for some reason or other, the Americans have given the combat the name of Bunker Hill, which is not where the fighting took place, but where the minute-men had planned to post themselves and had failed. The name has clung to such an extent that at the present time the monument on Breed's Hill commemorating the site of the battle, is also called the Bunker Hill Monument. The anniversary of the fray, June 17, which is also the anniversary of Metacom's War, is regularly celebrated in and near Boston.

127. ***Washington Takes Command***. In the meantime George Washington, the Virginian, was on his way to Cambridge to take command of the revolutionary military activities. He had already, as we have seen, been nominated for this post by the Continental Congress, and it was necessary for the minute-men to put military operations in his charge if any outside aid was to be expected.

On Monday, July 3, 1775, Washington reached Cambridge, and, since the minute-men and their allies from the other New England colonies staged a review on the Cambridge Common, Washington, standing under an old elm tree just outside the Common, took command of this military force, thereby placing it under control of the Continental Congress and constituting it as the Continental Army.

This placing of a volunteer army of Massachusetts workers and farmers under the discipline of a Southerner brought to an end the initial, or civil disobedience, stage of the American Revolution, and gave it more the character of a national war between America and England. Washington

himself, though, still remained unwilling to acknowledge that he was fighting England, or, indeed, anyone except certain officers in Boston; he still clung to his declaration "I love my king."

The minute-men had been a volunteer group, merely acting in cooperation under guidance of secret associations, voluntarily, and without enforced discipline; this, of course, was extremely distasteful to the commander-in-chief, to whom the monarchical discipline was an important item. As a result, many who had volunteered as minute-men now rapidly deserted, while Artemas Ward, who had been in command of the besieging troops until Washington's arrival, and to whom Washington had given a commission as major, found it impossible to get along with Washington, hence resigned and went home. The volunteer spirit which had started the Middlesex uprising was now being speedily crushed by Washington.

Even the red pine-tree flag which had just made such a showing in Charlestown was tabooed by Washington as too radical to be the standard of the true aristocracy of the South which he represented. For the red field of the Penacook pine-tree emblem, Washington substituted the red and white stripes of the coat of arms of the Washington family, the only concession to the Continental Congress which had appointed Washington to the command being that the stripes were made thirteen in number, for the thirteen colonies represented in the Congress. The pine tree in the corner of the minute-men's banner, to which they looked up as their emblem of liberty, was thrown out altogether by Washington, who substituted a British Union Jack to attest to his unswerving loyalty to the king. The result was a British flag, altered only by the introduction of a stripe design, which the British officers in Boston called "the rebel stripes."

Nevertheless, in spite of the changed atmosphere, the individual minute-men, now transformed into soldiers of the Continental Army, were still, in their own estimation, fighting for individual and colonial freedom, and pamphlets on the subject of liberty or equality or individual rights found circulation among them. Many were even optimistic enough to hope that a reorganization of the army under Washington would, in the long run, help the cause of individual freedom. It became a tradition around Cambridge that the elm tree under which Washington took command would last as long as America stood for liberty and kept out of connections with England. (Strangely enough, it was in 1917, when America entered the World War on the same side as England, and when wholesale repressions of civil rights were started, that the tree finally died.)

128. ***Attack on Canada***. At this time, although all the colonies from Maine to Georgia were represented in the Continental Congress which was lending support to the besiegers of Boston, and although all their legislatures had broken with the British administration, there were few parts of America in open rebellion, including mainly Massachusetts proper, Vermont, a small region around Ticonderoga in New York Province, and the Penobscot Bay region of Maine. In addition, there was an incipient state of uprising in the interior of North Carolina, and, beyond the Appalachian Mountain range, were the outlawed colonies of Transylvania, Vandalia, and Watauga, not exactly in insurrection, but settling where they were in direct disobedience of orders. England had as yet made little attempt to send over troops to the South or to the middle colonies, except for a concentration of troops on Staten Island, at the entrance to the harbor of New York, where military rule was the normal rather than the abnormal state. In New England, the British troops were almost entirely surrounded in Boston, and their only communication was by sea. But the grand headquarters of the British forces in America was in the walled and fortified city of Quebec, recently conquered from France. This fortress was a standing threat to the revolutionary outposts in Maine and Vermont, which were within fairly easy striking distance of Quebec. Accordingly a party started out from the

rebel center at Penobscot Bay across the Maine woods to Quebec, to attack the militarists in their own headquarters. Meanwhile, Montgomery's band, the insurrectionist sympathizers from New York which had fled for safety to Ticonderoga, seeing in a Canadian journey a chance to get a bit farther from New York, marched northward across the Adirondacks, through hostile Iroquois country, into Canada, and captured St. Johns and then Montreal, neither of which showed much resistance. Using Montreal as a base, Montgomery's New York troops proceeded down the St. Lawrence River to join the Maine expedition against Quebec.

The French population of Canada was very much divided in their attitude toward the invaders. While small armies of French "patriots" organized behind the American rebel lines in Canada, to free their Canada from the British conqueror, there were more among the French Canadians who were afraid that the hated "Bastonnais" might take away their land, and who thus rallied to the support of England. The insurgent "patriots" became known to the bulk of French Canadians as "Bastonnais." Even leaders of the revolutionary movement among the French Canadians were derisively styled by their opponents "Baston;" but the rebels, noting that "Baston" was also a common alternative spelling for the French word "bâton" (stick), made use of the title themselves. It was in the main largely the influence of the Catholic Church which kept the French Canadians loyal to England; the church took that side because England granted it almost complete control of the Province of Quebec.

The small "patriot" bands were naturally a help to the advance of both the New York and Maine armies in Canada, and the two finally joined and surrounded Quebec for a long siege, which went on almost parallel to the siege of Boston. In the case of Boston, however, the population both inside and outside the city was almost overwhelmingly favorable to the insurrectionists, while in the case of Quebec, in spite of the numerous patriot squadrons conducting guerrilla warfare outside the city, and the equally numerous attempts in the besieged city to stir up uprisings by secret handbills signed "Baston," the American revolutionaries found hostility from both the besieged city, and from within their own lines—especially from the "grand seigneurs" or Quebec feudal lords, who were afraid the Yankees had come to take their land away, and who made it hard for the besieging rebel forces to obtain supplies. An attempt of the British garrison to sally out of Quebec on New Year's Eve was repulsed, but finally, in May, after the siege had gone on for ten months, the American rebels, faced with the increasing difficulty of getting supplies in a country so largely hostile to them, finally retreated, and lost all Canadian territory they had gained. The French Canadian "patriot" troops, however, kept up this guerrilla warfare through the rest of the war for independence, and literature concerning the Bastonnai's doctrines of "liberté" and "égalité" and "droits de l'homme" had a chance to circulate among the French in Canada. But Canada itself was now definitely lost to the insurgents.

129. ***Evacuation of Boston***. After the failure to enter Boston by way of Charlestown, from the north, the minute-men had planned to attempt effecting an entry into the besieged city from the opposite direction, from the south side. On this side of Boston was the peninsula then known as Dorchester Neck, at present called South Boston, on which was a hill (then called Nook's Hill, or Dorchester Heights, but now known as Telegraph Hill) which overlooked Boston; not quite as close to the city as Breed's Hill, but having the added advantage of commanding the harbor as well as the town, so that, with Dorchester Heights fortified, the British military force would be cut off from sea as well as land communication.

Accordingly plans were being made in the early summer of 1775 to take up a position on Dorchester Heights, when an interruption took place in the form of George Washington's taking command of the besiegers. Washington thought the volunteers were too "undisciplined," requiring military drilling. It was also true that the minute-men were short in ammunition, though that was soon remedied; sympathizers in the mid-Atlantic island of Bermuda managed to capture the British naval supply of munitions on that island, and smuggled it to the Continental Army in Massachusetts.

Still Washington refused to act, but insisted on putting the "Continentals" through useless drills for months, to break them into that same against which they were rebelling. All through the autumn and winter this went on, while the Boston garrison still had sea communication, and was able to obtain reinforcements from England by that route. The ineffective General Gage, in command of the British forces in Boston, was replaced by Lord Howe, while among the insurrectionists surrounding the city Washington spent most of his time holding in a condition of inactivity an army with a definite plan of action and anxious to act.

Finally, on Monday, March 4, 1776, after this state of inertia had lasted about eight months, Washington consented to take action on the Dorchester Heights suggestion. Under cover of night, quantities of guns and ammunition were transported to Dorchester Heights, while at the same time trenches were dug and bulwarks erected. Enough men were employed to enable the work to be completed in a single night, so that by morning, Lord Howe's forces in Boston were surprised to find Dorchester Heights, which had been vacant the night before, completely fortified and apparently ready to attack not only Boston but the ships in the harbor. This loss meant destroying the only outside line of communication the British had, and Lord Howe immediately opened negotiations for an evacuation of Boston. Washington granted this request, and the British troops in Boston began preparations to depart. Several thousand Tories likewise made arrangements to leave Boston together with Howe's army, realizing that feeling ran high in the city, and being afraid of what might happen if left without royal protection.

In the meantime, the people of Boston were given reason to fear some final act of revenge from Howe, such as a burning of the town on evacuation. The selectmen of Boston obtained assurances from Howe that arson would not be attempted, and sent Howe's letter on the subject to Washington, asking for similar assurances from him. Washington, who was more meticulous about addressing and titles than the British general, and who looked down on New England's democratic institutions, replied that he could pay no attention to Howe's communication, because it was "addressed to nobody"! That was evidently Washington's opinion of the representatives of the citizens of Boston—they were to him, "nobody."

Although the English made no attempt to burn the town, a New York regiment in Howe's army went through the city with axes, breaking open houses, looting whatever they could find of value, and destroying much else. By March 13, the harbor waters were full of destroyed furniture from Boston homes and shops. The records of the Plymouth Colony, which had been kept in the Old South Church, turned up in England as late as 1910, in the hands of an Englishman who knew nothing as to how it came into his possession, except that it had been in the family for some time.

On the 16th, and the morning of the 17th, everything being ready for the evacuation, Howe attempted a last-minute attack on the Dorchester Heights trenches, but with no result. Finally, on Sunday, March 17, 1776, Howe, and his entire army, and eleven hundred Tories who were afraid to

remain in Boston, left the city and set sail for Halifax, although a British fleet remained for several months outside Boston Harbor, off Nantasket. Within a few hours after the British evacuated Boston, the Roxbury minute-men marched into Boston and took possession of Boston and Charlestown. Massachusetts, with the exception of parts of Maine and some outlying islands, was now definitely in revolutionary control, and could turn its attention to aiding the rebellion in the other colonies.

CHAPTER XXII

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

130. ***The Continental Army Moves to New York***. After the evacuation of Boston, the city was occupied by the Continental Army, which placed both Boston and the rest of Massachusetts, not under the civil disobedience regime that had started the original Middlesex uprising, but under the Provincial Congress, which was in reality an outlawed branch of the British administration of Massachusetts, and which actually contained British government spies among its members. Thus Massachusetts was now under a regime which was out of sympathy with the purposes of the minute-men, who, however, still retained control of local town administration in the interior of Massachusetts; and, with the capture of Boston, the smuggling ring of the port of Boston was enabled to take complete control of the Provincial Congress. This was the beginning of a definite counter-revolution in Massachusetts, which was to be consummated a few years later. This risk is always run by any revolution that admits into its administration any part, however small or insignificant, of the administrative machinery of the previous regime. The advantage that the civil disobedience regime had in its complete lack of continuity with the official rule, was now completely lost; and it was mainly that advantage that enabled Massachusetts to initiate the move for a revolution in America.

Although Boston was evacuated on Sunday, March 17, 1776, the British fleet remained off Nantasket, just outside the harbor, for some time longer. The Continental Army had to occupy the islands of Boston Harbor, and then engage in a sea fight with the fleet, before Boston was finally clear of the menace of the possible return of the "ministerial forces," on Friday, June 14.

In the meantime, Lord Howe's army, with the Boston Tories, had sailed for Halifax, where Lord Howe was able to obtain reinforcements from among the loyal inhabitants of newly-settled Nova Scotia, leaving his Tory passengers to take up their abode there. Many Nova Scotia towns at present date their foundation to 1776, and claim ancestors who fled from Boston to escape the rebels of Massachusetts Bay; while many others returned to New England after the revolution to become citizens of the new nation. The monarchists who took the chances of remaining in Boston were afraid of wholesale measures of vengeance from the occupying Continental force, especially from the minute-men; but nothing of the sort took place. No reign of terror was attempted, and even well-known monarchists were allowed to remain undisturbed as long as they behaved peaceably, with the result that most of them, in the course of time, forgot their antagonism to the rebels, who thereby lost enemies where they would have gained many by a policy of vengeance and terrorism. There was, it is true, confiscation of real estate left by the fugitives, especially at the top of Beacon Hill, where most of the English aristocrats in Boston lived; but much of this land was later paid for,

and even returned in the case of those who changed sides later. The confiscated land on Beacon Hill is now the site of the State House.

General Washington, however, affected to disbelieve the statement issued by Lord Howe that his destination was Halifax, and insisted on making preparations against Howe's landing in New York. New York, with its aristocratic institutions, in point of fact, interested Washington much more than the strong democratic tendencies of New England with which he found himself in constant opposition; and, with his army out of touch with such Yankee heresies as democracy and independence, Washington's personal contact with such New York aristocratic families as the Livingstons might result in considerable financial support for the Continental Army, as well as head off the rapidly growing agitation for complete independence which the army was beginning to acquire in revolutionary Massachusetts. After all, the Continental Congress was not in sympathy with the minute-men, and was merely supporting a warfare against certain individual officers who were alleged to be tyrants; to prevent the army from getting too far away from the stand of the Congress, it would be necessary to remove them from New England, where, now that Boston was captured, their presence was no longer needed. Accordingly, leaving a small portion of the Continental Army to harass the British fleet off Nantasket, the great bulk of the army was marched across Rhode Island and into Norwich in the province of Connecticut; from there the Continentals went by boat to New York, where they had mostly a sullenly hostile population with which to deal. On Staten Island, across the bay, was a large British camp, which, however, remained quiet as long as it was supposed that the Continentals were not fighting them, but merely acting as a local police for the city; and New York, true to its usual policy of submissiveness to whomever their rulers for the time might be, accepted the Continentals without resistance, although looking to Staten Island for their ultimate deliverance.

131. ***Independence in Rhode Island***. In the meantime British ships were busy on the lines of sea communication between Boston and New York, ranging mainly around the East Paumonok Islands, using Newport as their central base.

Massachusetts had by now achieved a de facto sort of independence, and, although no attempt was made to set that status down on paper, there was a strong tendency by this time in Massachusetts, especially among the former followers of the civil disobedience movement, to regard the community as no longer a British province, but as an independent nation, so that the name, "Province of Massachusetts Bay," the official name of the colony, was gradually being replaced in popular speech, though not officially, by the more independent title "State of Massachusetts Bay." (The term "state" had at that time the meaning of "government" or "nation," so that, in using this title, the people of Massachusetts were regarding themselves as an independent nation, owing no allegiance to any outside power.

Rhode Island and Connecticut differed from the other American colonies in that England had no direct part in their government, merely claiming nominal allegiance, although there had been attempts at interference with Rhode Island; and now Newport was being occupied by the British fleet, though the civil government had not as yet been interfered with. Consequently, there was no real necessity for such a revolution there as would have been requisite to remove British domination elsewhere in America, where England sent over her own governors, judges, and other officials. Rhode Island and Connecticut had, however, aroused English ire by sending help in that siege which had just ousted British forces from Boston, and from Massachusetts generally.

Not long after the evacuation of Boston, the British fleet at Newport began raiding the mainland ports of Narragansett Bay for food supplies and whatever could be taken out of the towns. The town of Bristol was bombarded after it had refused a demand from the fleet to give up all the food in the town for the use of the navy; which, as with the bombardment of Boston a year earlier, aroused antagonistic feeling throughout Rhode Island, to which the rebellion had previously been merely brought in from neighboring Massachusetts.

Also, both among the minute-men and among the New England civilians, the idea of "out-and-out" independence had been gradually spreading. As we have seen, the civil-disobedience territory of Massachusetts (which was now the entire province), as well as Vermont, had had a de facto independence or some time; pamphlets from all over America were now circulating rapidly, which gave form to this inchoate idea. A New York refugee in Philadelphia, Thomas Paine, who had become known by writing a pamphlet on "The Rights of Man" about the time the siege of Boston was beginning, now wrote another pamphlet, which gained great circulation all over America, called "Common Sense," presenting America as a properly separate nationality, urging that England had no claim on America, since England, far from defending America, was now wantonly attacking her, and instancing the sufferings of the "unhappy town of Boston" (which, according to the version the minute-men circulated outside Massachusetts, was not being besieged so much as suffering severe punishment at the hands of the British troops).

This idea of independence received its particular strength when Boston was evacuated, even though the middle and southern colonies still claimed allegiance to the king. But the bombardment of Bristol immediately brought Rhode Island around to a point of view which was already very much "in the air" in New England. Rhode Island had considered herself fairly immune from British interference, and bound to England only by allegiance instead of being governed from England as were the other colonies; so that, while Rhode Island was presumably less concerned with the question of independence than the rest of America, such an act of actual interference as the bombardment of Bristol meant a threat to Rhode Island's self government, and it became a choice of cutting loose or going under. With the British completely out of Massachusetts, and therefore shown to be not as invincible as they had been supposed, the remaining colonies felt less afraid of England, and better able to act for themselves; especially little Rhode Island, surrounded on two sides by Massachusetts territory, and able to rely on Massachusetts for protection in case of trouble.

Consequently, on Saturday, May 4, 1776, the legislature of the little colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations resolved to drop all mention of Great Britain or the King in its charter and laws, and to delete from the records anything implying allegiance to England. For the formula, "God save the King," with which laws and proclamations were concluded, was substituted the formula, "God save the United Colonies," the implication being that the Continental Congress was now the recipient of all the allegiance formerly given to His Britannic Majesty. Since the charter of the colony provided for no direct governing of Rhode Island from England, this renunciation of allegiance was all that was necessary to make the government of Rhode Island completely independent of England.

The fact that, in this case, independence took the form of a legislative resolution is probably what influenced the Continental Congress later to adopt independence in the similar form of a public declaration. Massachusetts had fought hard for its independence, and had won it without using unnecessary words about it; but to Rhode Island belongs the distinction of being the first

American colony to make a public declaration of renunciation of allegiance to England—the first American state to put itself down in writing as independent.

132. ***Independence Discussed by the Continental Congress***. The Continental Congress that assembled in Philadelphia in the spring of 1776 was not so over-anxious to protest its allegiance to the King as had been its predecessors of the two previous years. By the time the delegates from all the colonies assembled, the only irreconcilable loyalists appeared to be some of the New York delegation. Independence was a subject already widely discussed through America, though still much under cover. The evacuation of Boston by the British on March 17, and the ensuing declaration of independence by Rhode Island on May 4 (which Connecticut shortly afterwards seconded), made the question a very live issue, especially in New England, where independence was already almost an accomplished fact. In the South, there was no such readiness to accept independence as a solution of the difficulties, even though the Virginia "liberals," who sympathized more with the New Englanders than with the local aristocrats who were the main opponents of the administration, rather favored the idea of breaking loose from England. As we have seen, the secret organizations in the interior of North Carolina had already committed themselves for independence. But the Virginia liberals were hesitating, though hoping for some decisive action to mark their own anniversary, the centennial of the amnesty of the Bacon rebellion, which was due to be celebrated on July 4, 1776. In the middle colonies, New York, which carried with it the eastern part of New Jersey, had always been definitely hostile to the rebel movement, while Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, where there was some agitation against control by the feudal proprietary families of Penn and Calvert, were beginning to be mildly interested in independence as one way to remove their overlords, although it was still hoped that such extreme measures would not be required. Even among the super-loyal population of New York City there was already much discussion of what the people there deliberately mispronounced "Indepency," in spite of the fact that few had anything favorable to say on the subject.

As a result, when the question came to a vote in the Continental Congress, Saturday, June 29, eleven of the thirteen colonies were favorable to the proposition to appoint a committee to draw up an independence resolution; New York voted against this proposition, while South Carolina's vote was divided. When the resolution carried the Congress, several New York delegates resigned from the Congress, while the rest of the New York delegation, wishing to remain on the winning side, switched over, so that New York's vote was counted in favor of independence, too.

On that same day, June 29, a British fleet, upon rumors of disloyalty in the South, acted to forestall them by bombarding Charles Town, the chief port of South Carolina; this added much to the anti-British sentiment in South Carolina, and, when the news reached Philadelphia about two weeks later, influenced the remaining South Carolina delegates to sign the declaration of independence which had already been adopted.

The committee appointed by the Congress to draw up a resolution of independence met immediately. It was assumed that John Adams, a cousin of the Boston leader Samuel Adams, would do the actual drafting of the final resolution; but, as the Adamses' policy in the Continental Congress seems to have been to obtain Southern backing by forcing Southerners into responsibility, John Adams managed to shift the drafting work to the Virginian member of the committee, Thomas Jefferson, an outstanding example of the Virginia liberals.

That such a document, when published, would brand the entire delegation as traitors, and be a risk to the lives of all, was not overlooked; besides which, the Continental Congress was not so far removed from the secret associations supporting the rebel movement that it could not understand the need for some such action as misdating to render a possible treason prosecution more difficult, should it ever come to that. Accordingly it was decided to put a false date on the resolution in committee, before the Congress should receive it; and Jefferson, being a leader among the Virginia liberals, selected the Bacon amnesty centennial as the best available date, and one which would gain support in Virginia. Accordingly, not knowing just when Congress would pass upon his resolution, Jefferson affixed on the resolution the "faked" date of Thursday, July 4, 1776, the centennial of Amnesty Day of Virginia's Bacon rebellion, which represented the first recognition of representative government in the South. The Continental Congress passed the independence declaration on July 2; but it has been the day of the temporary victory of Virginia's revolt a hundred years before that which America has since been celebrating as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which is now reputed, on that account, to have been signed on July 4 instead of July 2.

The risk involved, and the necessity of secrecy were realized all too well by the Continental Congress, as is well instanced by the remark of Benjamin Franklin, the sponsor of the original Continental Congress of 1754, on that occasion: "Now we must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately!" Even in Philadelphia it was many days before any public announcement was made of the action, although the people in the city were awaiting the news eagerly; but a public announcement there before opportunity to gain definite support in other parts of America might have been a fatal mistake. The common story representing the news as being announced by loud ringing of the bell in the tower of the building where the Congress met is obviously impossible, as such a mode of celebration might be well suited to a victory of an established regime, rather than to the taking of a new and untried step in a revolution which was as yet merely feeling its way. One reason why it might become easy to suppose that the bell in that tower had been used to signal the signing of the Declaration of Independence was the remarkable coincidence that that particular bell, which was already about twenty years old, had nevertheless been cast with the inscription, quoted from the Bible: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." But it is enough of a strange coincidence that the Continental Congress should have been holding its meetings in a building surmounted by a bell carrying that inscription; unless, indeed, the building had been selected partly with that appropriate circumstance in mind as a proper place for an organization defending civil rights.

As the "United Colonies of America" were now resolved to be "free and independent states" (i.e., nations), the Continental Congress had to change its own title, the title of the federation it represented. The constituent provinces were now, by their own declaration, independent and sovereign nations instead of British colonies, and the name of "states" had to be substituted for "colonies"; so that the Declaration itself used for the first time the name of the federation as thus changed to meet the new status. The Declaration was entitled "The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America"; thus establishing the name of the American "continental" federation, now for the first time a federation of independent nations, as United States of America—which is not the name of a nationality (each state having its own particular national name), but a title merely expressing the fact that the entire republic is essentially federal in form.

From the same motive of secrecy, none of the signatures were in an avowedly official capacity, but simply grouped together by States without any distinctive labels, the "signers" being

all members of the Continental Congress who were not voting against the measure; while the signature of the president of the meeting, the same John Hancock who had escaped from Lexington during the battle there, naturally headed the list of signatures, and was much more conspicuous, although he did not, in that document, refer to himself as president of the meeting, since that would have been too dangerous. But, by the passage of the resolution, the President of the Continental Congress of 1776, John Hancock of Boston, automatically became the first president of the United States of America.

133. ***The Declaration of Independence***. The resolution of American independence, as presented to and accepted by the Continental Congress in 1776, was one of the most remarkable documents ever issued in the history of the world. The declaration proper is merely a paragraph at the end of the paper stating: "We therefore, the representatives of the United States, in General Congress assembled……do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

But the most interesting and remarkable feature of the document is, not the declaration of independence proper with which the document concludes, but the preamble and explanation which really constitute the body of the document. Probably the only precedent for issuing a declaration of independence in history lay in the two earlier documents of this same revolution, the Mecklenburg Declarations, and the Rhode Island legislative resolutions of independence; in both of which cases a written declaration of renunciation of allegiance was issued, although it was a secret and unpublished declaration in the Mecklenburg case. It was mainly from the Mecklenburg document that the general Continental declaration copied its preamble, which was really an apology, in a way, for going to the length of taking such a step as complete separation. The first paragraph is definitely an explanation of why it was deemed proper to issue a declaration at all on taking the step of renouncing allegiance:

> When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

The most remarkable feature of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence issued at Philadelphia on this occasion is, however, the declaration of inalienable rights, which has, in reality, a continuous American history dating back to earliest times. The form the declaration took was largely taken from the Mecklenburg Declarations of the previous year; the substance derives from the Stamp Act Congress petition of 1765, and that, in turn, from the claims of civil rights made by Massachusetts in its charter disputes at the end of the seventeenth century: that, in turn, is related to various declarations of rights enumerated in the earliest laws of the New England colonies, derived directly from the Penacook Federation. The declaration of rights on this occasion, however, differs from the previous ones, and differs from all similar declarations issued in other countries, in that

they are declared to be "inalienable," that is to say, rights which the individual cannot waive or surrender, and which are viewed as paramount to the government, and as actual limitations on the latter's rights and powers—in fact, as the sole basis on which any government can claim the right to govern its people. It is declared that, the people's inalienable rights being superior to even the existence of governments, it becomes the people's right and duty to overthrow a government and establish a new one whenever they find their existing government to interfere with their inalienable rights. Rights of individuals have been declared in other countries, but nowhere except in America have those rights been considered as actually limiting the powers of governments: in fact, it is entirely foreign to any European conception that the powers of a government can be restricted in any way, while such limitations have always been native to North America, and has remained in the traditions of Americans, both red and white, even though actual enforcement of those rights and limitations as against the government has been at times very ineffective. This declaration of inalienable rights, standing alone as it does in the world's history, and being concisely worded, is in itself a passage worth outstanding consideration:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

It may be noticed, incidentally, as another mark of the red-race ancestry of these rights, that the right of property, so frequently emphasized by governmental authorities as though it were the only "right" deserving of notice, is totally omitted from the list found in America's Declaration of Independence; while the right of revolution, which the authorities for obvious reasons have been at great pains to deny, and which they have constantly taught to be un-American, is not merely declared in the document which gave the United States its existence, but is recited and explained in detail. It is distinctly set out in the Declaration of Independence that only a government based on, and recognizing, the inalienable rights of the people, and "deriving just powers from the consent of the governed," is entitled to obedience or even existence, and that otherwise it is the people's right to abolish the government, establishing a new one in its place. This right, more than anything else, is the very foundation of the entire Declaration of Independence, and therefore of the existence of America as a nation. Not even the right of self-defense is conceded to a government as against its own people; for governments are expressly declared to derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

So impressed, indeed, was Thomas Jefferson, the drafter of the independence resolution, with this right of revolution as a necessity for a free people, that he actually considered that no people could remain truly free without having a revolution at least once every twenty years.

The Continental Congress, in issuing this declaration of independence, not merely brought into existence a new nation to take its place among the powers of the earth; it also brought into being a new concept of government, based on purely American rather than on European antecedents. As opposed to the European idea of "Divine Right of Kings," there was declared to the world on that

occasion at Philadelphia the new conception of governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and whose rights are limited by the superior and inalienable rights of the governed. The new nation may have never succeeded in putting this novel idea actually into effect; but as the characteristic ideal of the American people it remains, and all who claim to believe in America's Declaration of Independence, and all who claim to celebrate the anniversary of that declaration, should by the same token believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of any people to abolish any government interfering with their individual inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is only on this basis that America can claim to be a nation.

134. ***The Accusations in the Declaration***. The greater part of the Declaration of Independence, however, is not either the declaration of rights, or the resolution of independence proper, but an arraignment of the British government, directed specifically against the King, in whose name all official acts were done. It is emphasized, however, that the British people are equally guilty, as accomplices of their government, contrary to the assertions of the modern minimizers of the American revolution, who insist that the English people had no fight with America.

> Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and their magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace, friends.

The accusations themselves are illustrative of the heterogeneous character of the tendencies which led to the American Revolution; and it is noteworthy that the prohibition of manufacture and the imposition of slavery on America, two of the greatest sources of complaint in New England, were completely omitted from Philadelphia's arraignment of the British crown. But the establishment of the military regime in Massachusetts came in for its share of notice, the siege operations around Boston still being represented, according the usual version of the day, as a war of soldiery against an unarmed people. Examples of such counts of the arraignment are as follows:

> He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.
>
> He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise....
>
> He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power....

For quartering large bodies of troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states....

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments....

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

The implication is quite noticeable here that military power must be subordinate to the civil power, and that standing armies maintained among a civil population are in themselves objectionable; a basic keynote of anti-militarism found only in America, which not even the most radical libertarian revolt in Europe has ever been able to attain. It may also be noted that dissolution of legislatures by executive authorities, which still forms a basic part of all governments in Europe, republican as well as monarchical, is definitely set forth as a violation of the people's fundamental rights, and has actually been so treated throughout the entire period of existence of the United States.

Although the prohibition of manufacture, one of the most important of the original causes leading up to the Revolution, was omitted from the Declaration, as being the complaint of a poor element with which the Continental Congress refused to have anything to do, the same did not apply to the less important but noisier accusations made by smuggling rings, which were well represented in the Congress:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;
For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

Again, the Southern expansionists, who had been fighting through the Great Ohio War for conquest of the Illinois country, made a denunciation of the Quebec Act of 1772, which made that country part of Canada, and barred out settlement by the Southern aristocracy:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

It hardly seems consistent with the entire spirit of the Declaration of Independence to speak of the "free system of English laws," which was, apparently, precisely from what it was desired to escape. The charge, of course, really was, that the Ohio territory was reserved for the French of Canada, and for the original red inhabitants, rather than left open for Southern invasion and subjection to Southern aristocrats. Another count of complaint which appeared as a result of the expansionist element in the Congress, was the statement that England had prevented naturalization and immigration. This is particularly interesting in view of the number of people who had been contending, at various periods in the history of the Second Republic, that Americanism consists in limitation or exclusion of immigration and naturalization.

> He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

The last item in this count reveals it as an expansionist accusation; but other rebel elements of that time were also able to indorse the complaint against an anti-foreign policy. In fact, one of the potent arguments for independence at that time was that America, far from being of homogeneous origin, was in reality a mixture of all sorts of European national origins, such as the Dutch of New York and New Jersey, the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Swedes of the Delaware Counties, French and Germans in the Carolinas, and mixed nationalities who had been steadily migrating to all parts of America throughout colonial history. Exclusion of foreigners, therefore, was definitely an item of complaint.

On the allied subject of naturalization, mentioned in this count of the accusation, it may be noted that naturalization is a particularly American institution. Those traditions which America has inherited from Europe have never been reconciled to the idea of foreigners being naturalized, since nationality in Europe has always been a matter of heredity, and it was unthinkable for a vassal to cut loose from subjection his lord. In America, on the contrary, naturalization was part of the recognized order long before the white people came, and it has remained an American institution in spite of all European influence to the contrary; and on this subject, as on many others, the Declaration of Independence reveals the clash of interests.

The arraignment of the British administration (personified in the king, because all British governmental action is taken in the king's name) thus appears as a combination of conflicting elements, but as predominantly Southern as the declaration of rights in the same document is Northern. The Declaration of Independence mentions nothing of the items of complaint that had most to do with initiating a civil disobedience and a revolutionary movement in Massachusetts—the manufacturing issue, the land-aristocracy issue, and the slavery issue. Nevertheless it was that neglected element which started the revolt in Middlesex County in Massachusetts which actually made independence in America possible.

It needed all the country's aid
Before the monarch's men
Were beaten so they never could
To Bay Land come again.
The nation's independence thus,

Through this revolt was won
Which by the fight for liberty
In Bay Land had begun.

135. ***Federal Structure of the First Republic***. The Declaration of Independence made of America a nation which thought of itself more as a federation than as a republic. The primary issue from then on became nationality and independence, and it was on those questions that the rebels and the loyalists were split apart. Together with independence, the right to federate had been an important issue; while the form of government in America was never a primary issue. If America was to be independent, it was somehow taken for granted that a democratic form must follow; indeed, it does not appear that any argument was raised on that point during the revolution. In subsequent revolutions taking place in Europe, there was no issue of nationality, but only as to the form of government; but America was fighting rather to organize a federation than to become a republic; and this fact is reflected in the title of the new republic now established in America. The independent government in America has never at any time referred to itself as a republic officially, although it actually was the pioneer among republics; it was merely referred to as an American federation—the United States of America.

This federation, which, as we have seen, was organized two years earlier as a mere complaint conference similar to the Stamp Act Congress, was actually a loose federation of independent governments which could truly be called states. In this respect it resembled the Penacook Federation, from which many of its characteristics were definitely and directly derived. Like the Penacook Federation, it originated as a wartime alliance, although the elements which composed it were too incongruous to be properly federated under Penacook standards of federability. Many of the units of this federation were fighting for diametrically opposed purposes, and had nothing in common except the common enemy. Thus, Massachusetts and New Hampshire were revolting against a landed aristocracy and the slave trade, while Virginia and the Carolinas were battling for these very types of social structure. As a more incongruous combination, Pennsylvania was one of the most important members of the federation, while the Lower Delaware Counties, which were waging war mainly to separate from Pennsylvania, had also separate representation in the same Congress, and, in fact, by virtue of the Declaration of Independence, gained their separation, organizing under the name of the State of Delaware. The standard of federability was nearer to the Iroquois group of requirements (common origin and language) than to the Penacook requisites of common social institutions and interests. According to the latter standard, there should have been at least two federations, one consisting of the Northern states, and the other of the Southern states; the two having for the time being a common enemy and therefore being able to help each other, but nevertheless fighting in opposed directions—therefore bound to come into constant conflict, and more so within the same federation than if separated. Conflicts between those two divisions have characterized the history of the United States at all periods, and might have been avoided in large measure if the Penacook standard of federability had been adopted rather than the Iroquois, thus avoiding the costly error of federating together the incompatible elements of North and South, which still show every sign of being truly separate nationalities.

When the Declaration of Independence created the United States of America as a federation, this federation consisted of one constituent government Massachusetts, which had been completely rebuilt from top to bottom, retaining no element of the former administration; the other constituents, Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had already sworn off British allegiance, but which had made no alteration whatever in internal government; one more constituent, Delaware, which had just cut

itself loose from a neighboring state, and nine constituents in which there had been merely a revolt of the legislature against the governor and his administration. In addition, four unrecognized colonies, Vermont, Vandalia, Transylvania, and Watauga, were outside the federation trying to become members.

The direct descent of this federation from the Iroquois and Penacook and other red federations has already been traced. In the first place, the first United States federation was, in its inception, a revival of the Albany Congress of 1754 (or at least so intended), which, in its turn, had been directly suggested and guided by the Iroquois; on the other hand, it was a legitimate successor to the Stamp Act Congress, which was in itself a continuation of the Congress of rebel provinces in 1690, which derived from the New England Confederation, modelled largely on the Penacook Federation. The title, United States, was in itself a fairly good translation of the name Dakota (allied tribes), applied to the red federation of the upper Mississippi Valley. To follow the precedent of the Iroquois and Penacook Federations, the Continental Congress considered it necessary to draw up in documentary form a statement of the functions, powers, and organization of the federate administration, and to that end appointed a committee to draw up a constitution. This constitution was intended to express the form of federated government, in the same way as the world's first federation, that of the Iroquois, had done; but it differed from the Iroquois constitution in that the Iroquois Federation (likewise the Penacook) was formed by the treaty which served as a constitution, whereas, in the case of the Continental Congress, it was the federate organization which was formed first, and which drew up its own constitution. Despite this difference, in spite of the fact that the United States took form before any constitution creating a federation was drawn up, the constitution was regarded as the Iroquois and Penacook tribes regarded theirs, as a treaty between the governments which were constituent units of the federation.

The Declaration of Independence was a declaration of the independence of each individual state of the thirteen; it did not state that America was an independent nation, but that the states were free and independent states. All matters of ordinary law and administration were state matters; in fact, the individual States fulfilled every function expected of a nation in Europe; the Continental Congress, the federate portion of the organization, was merely conducting the concerted action of fighting the revolution, and even that was done mainly with the co-operation of the individual States. The Congress was, at the beginning of the United States, not so much a national government as a council of war, but formed on a permanent instead of a temporary basis. Delegates to the Continental Congress were elected annually by the State governments, who could recall their delegates at will; and the Congress was the supreme power in the federal organization. There was no single person who could be considered the head of the organization; the Continental Congress had no ruler or executive authority, but merely a presiding officer (President), whom the outside world considered a rebel ruler, as witness the British derision of "King Hancock," a misunderstanding similar to the Puritans' misunderstanding of the Penacook Federation when they called the Bashaba Metacom "King Phillip." The President of the Continental Congress was not the head of a government, but the presiding officer of a council, who, as the presiding officer, was properly called a President; but, on the basis of that precedent, the chief executive authority of republics has ever since been given the title of President, in all parts of the world.

Thus was created a type of organization new to the world of white men, although common among the reds—a federated republic. The First Republic of the United States, was not the same as the present government of United States. The First Republic, the one created by the American Federation, was a short-lived one, lasting but thirteen years, and then being overthrown.

Nevertheless, it was this First Republic which issued the Declaration of Independence, and which published to the world the ideas of the rights of the people.

New England thus revolted; and so the country o'er,
From Apalachee's mountains to ocean's salty shore,
Men rose against the tyrant, and federal union made,
As once by Quinnitucket the red men were arrayed.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

136. ***Proclaiming Independence***. The Declaration of Independence, once passed as a resolution in the Continental Congress, was then to be proclaimed in the various States. This had to be done anyway, since the Congress itself had no authority to pass laws for the States themselves. Accordingly, at various periods during the month of July, 1776, each of the thirteen States forming part of the federation issued its own proclamation, which was read to the people of the capital, together with a reading of the Declaration of Independence. In the case of New York, the procedure was different, on account of the known hostility of the people of New York City. The city was at the time occupied by the Continental Army which had just come from Boston; and the Declaration of Independence was privately read to the Army, as soon as the news arrived from Philadelphia, by their commander-in-chief, George Washington, who was personally opposed to the idea of independence, and who was therefore all the more anxious to suppress the news from the general public. The public proclamation was then made about two weeks later.

The title of State, used in the Declaration as a sign of independent government, was immediately adopted by all the colonies. In most cases, celebrations followed the proclamations of independence. In New York, the celebration was practically confined to the Continental Army—mostly New Englanders—who pulled down the statue of King George on the Bowling Green, melted it up, and made it into bullets, while the citizens, horrified at such disloyalty, remained sullenly submissive as usual, but made special efforts to secure deliverance from the British military camp across the bay on Staten Island.

In many cities, royal names in use for various localities were immediately changed. This was especially to be observed in Boston, where a number of streets received new names on that account. King Street, which was famous historically for both the overthrow of Andros and the Boston Massacre, could not be allowed to retain such a name, and its title was appropriately changed to State Street; while its continuation, Queen Street, became Court Street. In New York, the Continental Army ordered similar changes of names, which the people never recognized, and which did not actually become effective until after the peace treaty; Queen Street, which had been Perel Street under the Dutch, was to resume its old name, and be called Pearl Street; while Crown Street was called Liberty Street by the Continental Army. The names of Kings and Queens County on Long Island, and of the King's Highway near Brooklyn, however, remain unchanged to the present.

Lord Howe, the military governor who had been forced to evacuate Boston, came to Staten Island, in New York Harbor, with reinforcements for the British camp there, and, on Friday, July

12, replied to the Declaration of Independence with an offer of pardon for all rebels who would return to their old allegiance. This document was reprinted by the Continental Congress, and transmitted to all States.

Up to this point, Massachusetts had been fighting the British military authorities almost alone, except for a few isolated regions in other parts of the northern colonies. The Declaration of Independence, however, together with Lord Howe's reply from Staten Island, brought North America in general actively into the conflict. It was practically a declaration of war on both sides, and it now became a national war between United States and Great Britain, instead of the fight for a new form of government as it had been before. The American Revolution, as revolution, was practically over; what now began was the War for Independence. These two terms are usually spoken of as synonymous; but there is properly a distinction between the first year of the fighting, when there was honestly an attempt to overthrow established authority, and the subsequent fighting, which was merely a patriotic war on behalf of already established authority against a foreign power. The motivating forces in the two cases were entirely opposed to one another, being in one case opposition to established authority, and, in the other case, blind support of established authority. This is a risk run by every revolution, since success can convert what was previously rebel activity into blinder support of the established order than the previous regime ever demanded; and the danger is magnified when support of a cause and a principle is allowed to turn into support of a nationality and an administration; the true revolutionary can always take the former stand, but must of necessity oppose the latter, which all too frequently gains adherents in the name of a revolution which has failed in the very process of success. In this case, there was no longer the original rebel movement, but a patriotic and nationalistic one, which was rapidly deserted by many of the original Massachusetts insurrectionists, even though gaining the support of many former rebel sympathizers all over America; and a movement to which liberty meant, not the rights of the individual, but the separation of America from England irrespective of individual rights.

After the Declaration of Independence, Vandalia applied to the Continental Congress for admission as a fourteenth State of the federation; but Virginia, whose claim for independence had been mainly for purposes of aggression in the west, replied by sending an army west, subduing the two colonies of Vandalia and Transylvania, and annexing them to Virginia, alleging in justification an old charter of King Charles I, and in total disregard of the fact that this territory had in the meantime been under French possession!

As the Continental Congress was getting ready to draw up a constitution for itself in accord with the precedent of the Iroquois and Penacook Federations, it also, misunderstanding the purpose of such a constitution, urged all the States, when the proclamation of independence was transmitted, to draw up their own State constitutions. This was not the original purpose of the written constitution, which was that of a treaty between the units of a federation creating the federation, and defining its organization and functions. A State constitution, which was the constitution of an individual national government, could have no such purpose. But, as the original precedent for written constitutions was that of a treaty creating a federation of independent governments, the individual States adapted it so that it was virtually in the form of a written contract federating the people into a State, defining the functions and organization of the State, and the respective rights of the State and of the individuals. Connecticut and Rhode Island, in which, as we have seen, no actual change of government took place as a result of the American Revolution, made no attempt to re-organize, but continued under the same charters that had been granted to them by England. Besides, Connecticut was originally organized as a federation of towns, and therefore had the first federate

constitution of any white settlements; so that it was merely retaining the constitution that it had given itself, ignoring England, in 1636; and, in a way, the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island served as a basis for the constitutions of the other States. This reorganization of State governments brought them more nearly into line with precedents of the former colonial regime, from which the legislatures of the various States were actually inherited. However, it was several years before the States went through this reorganization.

137. ***England Recovers New York***. As we have seen, New York City at the time of the Declaration of Independence was occupied by the Continental Army, which had to deal with a hostile population looking to the British army camp on Staten Island for deliverance. So well was the hostility of the population in New York recognized that the news of the Declaration of Independence was suppressed there until the Continental Army had heard a private reading of the Declaration, and could be lined up in support of independence. Independence also meant that the Continental Army, principally composed of insurrectionists from New England, had to deal with new desertions, not only of many new recruits it had acquired in New York, but also on the part of many of the old New England rebels who were revolting against established authority and who were not interested in helping a new established authority conquer and subjugate a recalcitrant city. The public proclamation of independence, accompanied by the Continentals staging a demonstration on the Bowling Green by pulling down the leaden statue of King George, and melting it for bullets, served to increase the hostility of the city population against the revolutionaries.

On Friday, July 12, 1776, before the news of the Declaration of Independence reached New York, Lord Howe, the ousted English governor of Massachusetts, who had fled to Halifax on evacuating Boston, came to Staten Island in New York with a large reinforcement for the British camp there. A proclamation was then issued from the camp on Staten Island offering pardon to all such as would return to British allegiance, and it did have the effect of consolidating monarchist sentiment in New York City, but it had little effect in the rest of America, although the Continental Congress actually had this British proclamation reprinted and spread broadcast over the country.

On Monday, August 26, a night crossing was made by a large British detachment from Staten Island across the Narrows to the southwestern end of Long Island, at places which were then about ten miles outside Brooklyn, although now sections of Brooklyn known as Bay Ridge and Gerritsen Beach. From these landing points, the British forces spread during the night, occupying the whole western end of Long Island south of the Great Terminal Moraine (a high ridge which splits the island lengthwise), and by morning they had come to the moraine on the north and as far east as the town of Jamaica. Some of the Continental Army were stationed in Brooklyn, north of the moraine, and, the moraine being a natural defense, the passes in the ridge near Brooklyn were well guarded. A fight ensued at the moraine passes; but the Continentals had no guard at the pass on the Jamaica Road (now known as East New York), which made it a simple matter for the British to get north of the moraine by that route, and around the east flank of the Continental Army. The pass at what is now known as Greenwood Cemetery was held by the American forces several hours more, but eventually it became a British victory all around, and the Continental troops were forced to retreat and abandon Brooklyn to the British. A last stand was made by the Americans on Brooklyn Heights, on the shore of the East River near Brooklyn; but another fight there two days later forced the Americans to retreat over the river into New York itself, leaving the whole of Long Island in British possession.

Since the British were making visible preparations to cross the East River to Manhattan above New York, and since the city proved difficult for the Continentals to keep subdued, another retreat was made on Friday, September 13, to Murray Hill, where the Americans concentrated at about the present location of East 34th Street, leaving the city of New York to be entered by Lord Howe and his army. The city welcomed the British as a deliverance from the Yankee rebels, but enough rioting arose in the city over the event to start a serious fire, which burned a large part of the city. In spite of this catastrophe, the enthusiasm of the New Yorkers over the return of the British army was not a bit dampened, and the city remained loyal to England throughout the War for Independence. During the entire time that the United States was building itself up as a nation, a small British dominion including a large territory around New York and its surroundings had become quite firmly established, and the entire United States had been able to become thoroughly organized without New York and its surroundings forming any part of it. Through the War for Independence, New York was the British headquarters in America.

Even on Murray Hill, the Continentals were not able to hold their position for long. It was attempted to throw the American line across the entire island at this point, but before this could be done the British troops in the city started in pursuit, and were in a good position to circle the Americans from the west side. The Americans retreated over Murray Hill in a northwesterly direction, both to elude pursuit and to head off a British march up the old tribal trail that led up the length of the island. A temporary stand was made at the Long Acre, a deserted region on that trail, part of which was at a much later date converted into a city square called Longacre Square—now known as Times Square. After a hurried conference at the place now occupied by one of New York's great theater buildings, the Paramount Theater, it was decided that the Long Acre was a very weak spot to defend, and a further retreat was made to the high hills in the center of the Island of Manhattan (now Central Park), where a fort was established on the top of one of the hills west of Harlem Mere.

During all these retreats the American army actually received much aid from the civilian population, who were more anxious to see the Yankees leave than to see them come; in fact, it seemed to be quite agreed that they ought to be sent back to Massachusetts, whence they came. The fact that this aid in many cases took the form of women's detaining the British soldiers with an excess of hospitality seems to indicate that there was no antagonism to the British involved.

In the meantime further British forces were sent up the west side of the Hudson River, and occupied the portion of New Jersey which is near New York. To block their spread northward behind the Continental lines, some of the Continental Army were posted on the New Jersey Palisades, while, in Manhattan itself, the American troops occupied Harlem Heights (now called Morningside), while the British occupied the villages of Bloomingdale and Harlem, between which lay the hills on which the Continental Army had built their fortifications. The British were finally successful in storming Harlem Heights, forcing the Americans to another retreat northwards to almost the tip of the island, while a corresponding retreat was made across the river, establishing the American lines for a while at new fortifications called Fort Washington in Manhattan, and Fort Lee in New Jersey, located near the present site of the George Washington Memorial Bridge. Even these proved untenable, and the American forces left the island of Manhattan altogether, and returned to the American continent proper. In accordance with the civilian population's policy of helping the Americans to get out of there, it is said that when the American soldiers came down the first mainland ridge the women threw featherbed mattresses on the road to deaden the noise of

marching; from which circumstance that road, now a street in the Bronx, bears the name of Featherbed Lane.

The gradual retreat of the Continental Army proceeded in all directions from the city, until they had been forced to the Connecticut border on the east, to the Hudson River Highlands on the north, and to the Delaware River on the west. On Christmas night of 1776, a surprise return of American troops from Pennsylvania over the Delaware resulted in a temporary defeat of the British at Trenton the following day, and the western part of New Jersey again came into rebel possession. In Westchester County, the mainland north of New York, it was not found feasible for either British or Americans to occupy the place, so it remained a neutral ground, subject to constant raids from both sides, and actually ruled till the end of the war by two organized rival gangs of marauders who were known as the Skinners and the Cowboys.

138. ***"Burgoyning."*** As we have seen, Ticonderoga, which had been captured by the Vermonters at the beginning of the revolution, formed a center around which the revolutionary element of the state of New York was able to congregate. This ultimately meant the organization of an independent state over a region reaching from Lake Champlain to the upper part of the Hudson Valley, with Albany as a metropolis; it was to Albany that the Assembly of the province of New York fled when the Continental Army started retreating from the city of New York—as a result, Albany became the capital of the state of New York, and has remained so ever since; while New York City became the capital of British territory in the old English colonies of America.

In the same way as, in 1689, the French sought an outlet to the sea from Montreal by Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, the British armies in Canada, under General Burgoyne, attempted the same outlet in 1777, expecting thereby to effect a junction with the British forces under Howe in New York, and separate New England from the rest of the rebel country. The east side of Lake Champlain, Vermont, was too hopelessly rebel territory for the British to attack directly into their mountains; but on the west, or Adirondak, side, the British had the aid of their ally the Iroquois Federation; as a result of the combination, Ticonderoga was recaptured in July by the British, who proceeded triumphantly as far as the southern end of Lake Champlain, where, coming to the end of that water barrier, they had to spread out somewhat. An entry into Vermont was then attempted around the southern end of Lake Champlain, in the hope that this would form an easier way to get into that region which had defied England for nineteen years with complete success. However, the Vermont army, the "Green Mountain Boys," aided by the minute-men of New Hampshire, met them at Bennington on Saturday, August 16, 1777, and inflicted on the British a severe defeat which drove them back to the Hudson Valley. By this time reinforcements were arriving from the Continental Army in New Jersey. In September the retreating army of Burgoyne made a stand at Saratoga, when the Continentals joined the pursuit forces from Vermont and New Hampshire, and several skirmishes ensued at that point.

In the meanwhile, the British troops in New York, finding the American army weakened in New Jersey, made a drive across New Jersey and into Philadelphia, expecting that the capture of the rebel capital would end the war. In this case, however, the federate form of government, which Europe had never possessed, and could not understand, proved an unexpected source of strength, since the real capitals were in the states, while the Continental Congress, being a loosely organized federation with little to hold it to any one spot, simply moved from Philadelphia to Lancaster. The Quakers of Pennsylvania were neutral, but, since the British had the money, while the revolutionaries had none, it was the British who procured the supplies, there being even much

smuggling through the lines into Philadelphia, while the Continental Army had to spend a winter with little in the way of food or clothing, at Valley Forge, between Philadelphia and Lancaster.

But the volunteer groups in the north, with such aid as the Continentals were able to send them, were faring differently. They rapidly closed in on Burgoyne's army, and, after a few indecisive fights, the Vermonters and their temporary allies finally won out so definitely that, on Friday, October 17, 1777, General Burgoyne surrendered his army to the United States.

It was planned to send Burgoyne's army back to Europe from the port of Boston; but the Americans at that time had difficulty in arranging for the transportation of eight thousand men and their supplies, so they were sent to Virginia instead, to await some opportunity of transportation across the ocean. Many of them were Germans from the armies of little principalities in Germany, and who were rented out to England for the special service; and these expressed a preference for staying in America. They were allowed to become citizens of the United States, and remained in America, while the Englishmen in Burgoyne's army were later returned to England under parole.

This sudden victory, at the time when the revolution seemed losing in all directions and doomed to defeat, was a great surprise to the Americans themselves, and might not have been possible but for the intervention of the little independent republic of Vermont, which the United States no less than England regarded as an enemy, since they were defying the sovereign claims of the State of New York. But it was nevertheless this intervention of Vermont that turned the tide of the war definitely, at least as far as the north was concerned, and made it impossible for the British ever again to be a serious menace to the northern states, outside of the neighborhood of New York City, which was at that time more pro-British than England itself.

> "And, with defeat impending, in Freedom's darkest hour,
> The mountaineers descended and crushed the tyrant's power,
> From out these hills where Freedom for years had made its stand,
> O'erlooking Quinnitucket and guarding o'er its strand."

This victory over such a powerful nation as Great Britain immediately brought the revolution in America to the attention of the world, and, for the first time, Europe began to pay attention to America as a possible factor in international affairs. Lexington and Concord had been much more decisive victories; but the complete surrender of an army of eight thousand was enough to excite attention across the sea.

From this victory at Saratoga, there was in use in America for some time after that a new word, "to burgoyne," expressing the sudden and unexpected conversion of hopeless defeat into triumphant victory.

139. ***Foreign Aid***. The War for Independence proved an attraction for certain classes of European adventurers looking for some new quarter of the world to fight in. The first case was the Marquis de Lafayette, who had a small army of private soldiers of his own, and was looking for a chance to give them practice in warfare; they left France for Spain quietly, and sailed in secret for America, landing at Charles Town, in South Carolina, in the spring of 1777. The Polish aristocrats Kosciusko and Pulaski, and the Prussian Baron von Steuben, came over to America later on in the same way, although Lafayette's group of French was the only effective foreign ally the United States had in the War for Independence. Lafayette and his Frenchmen were with the Continentals at

Valley Forge, and later, in 1778, helped to drive the British out of the naval base in Newport, the only New England point the British still retained.

As the Marquis de Lafayette was one of the high French nobility, and in the king's favor, France followed up his departure officially with a diplomatic recognition of the United States as an independent nation—the first foreign recognition the United States had ever received. Benjamin Franklin was sent over as American ambassador to France, and became exceedingly popular in Paris, apparently as the latest Parisian fad.

This recognition of the United States was interpreted in London as an insult to the British Empire, and trouble immediately arose between England and France over the situation. Since the French government saw in this situation a chance to recover Canada and India, and in other ways to cripple England as a rival, there was no objection on the part of France to letting the matter drift into a war. The declaration of war was followed by a treaty of alliance between France and the United States, both nations pledging themselves not to make separate peace—an agreement which almost proved completely disastrous later on.

This sudden declaration of war by a neighbor resulted in a surge of nationalist enthusiasm in England, whose people had up to then comparatively little interest in the doings in far-off America. But a new nation was to come in on the side of France and America. Spain, finding England engaged with two enemies, decided that it would be a good opportunity to recover Gibraltar as well as some of it former Western Hemisphere possessions such as Florida, Belize, and Jamaica. So Spain concluded an alliance with France, and declared war against England; and Spain and France together started a siege of Gibraltar.

England now, being beset with enemies, proceeded on her old theory that "Britannia rules the waves," to take it out on neutral shipping in the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean, searching and seizing many neutral ships. As a result, the various neutral countries in Europe, including Prussia, Austria, Russia, and many others, formed an alliance called the Armed Neutrality, to protect their rights as neutrals, and particularly defining the rights of neutral ships on the high seas. Although only one nation of the Armed Neutrality, namely, Holland, became actually involved in the war, the entire alliance was a menace to England, to such an extent that, by 1780, very little English shipping was left on the ocean, England's supplies were to a great extent cut off, and an armed military force had to be kept in London itself to avert possible uprising at home.

140. ***Articles of Confederation***. In the meantime, the committee of the Continental Congress appointed at the time of the Declaration of Independence to draft a constitution for the newly-independent federation, was at work drawing up what it entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union."

The States themselves were also urged to show their independence by making up constitutions of their own to replace the charters which represented authority England had given them to have a government of their own. As we have seen, Rhode Island and Connecticut, whose charters gave England no control, and which had declared their independence before the Congress did, continued to function without any change in form of government, keeping their old charters; Connecticut actually had among its fundamental laws a compact which served the purpose of a federate constitution, being a treaty of federation of towns into a single provincial administration. In Massachusetts, the minute-men's organization, carried over from the civil disobedience period,

differed from the other states in that it was not based on the previous regime, and had no precedents but its own to follow or to overthrow. New Hampshire also differed from the other states in having participated in the revolution before the declaration of independence; but, unlike the case of its neighbor Massachusetts the revolt was definitely one of the legislature against the English-appointed governor and judges, and, even before independence was declared, New Hampshire proceeded to reorganize its government on a standard British model, with an elected executive to replace the governor whom it was desired to overthrow.

In New Hampshire, accordingly, during the year 1776, the legislature called together a special convention of towns to draft a constitution for the new government, this convention being largely modelled on the County Conventions of the Massachusetts civil disobedience. It was, however, part of the old government that was rebelling, so the British type of government was largely followed, but restricted by individual rights in a manner similar to that theorized about in the Declaration of Independence issued about the same time. As the old capital, Portsmouth, was recognized to be too easily accessible to the British authority, the reorganized State selected the town of Rumford, which was built on the site of the old capital of the Penacook federation, and which, after the battles opening the revolutionary activity in Massachusetts, was renamed Concord, after the Massachusetts town which had driven the British into a panic. The constitution which New Hampshire drew up was one emphasizing the rights of property, having in mind particularly the farmers' claims to the land as against the manorial lords whom the administration represented. Since the drafting was started before independence was declared, the new executive was definitely not the Governor, which meant the representative of England; the title of New Hampshire's new executive head was taken from that used by the Continental Congress, whose head was its President. Here, for the first time, the name President was used apart from actual presiding functions to denote the chief executive of a democratic government.

This constitution served as a model for other states. As we have already mentioned, Connecticut and Rhode Island made no change in their charters: in Massachusetts, the old civil-disobedience part of the state government constituted considerable opposition to following New Hampshire's lead, the same being true to a lesser extent of Vermont. The States generally, one after another, began to adopt constitutions based, not on the inalienable rights of the Declaration of Independence, but on the rights of property, with a central executive head who differed from a king or royal governor only in being elected, and with voting in the hands of property-owners (a qualification which had always been there in the South, but which England had had to impose on the Puritan colonies, and which Massachusetts' civil-disobedience system totally ignored).

Virginia had a peculiar problem in reorganizing the state government. There, the Church of England was recognized as the official church, and no tolerance whatsoever was shown to any other sects; but to reorganize with the Church of England as established church would have involved recognizing allegiance to the King of England as head of the church. At the same time, all the important personages were Episcopalians, and there was no revolt whatever against the church. It was finally decided to compromise by disestablishing the Episcopal Church, at least until that church could be reorganized under American control. Thus Virginia was forced to declare religious tolerance, contrary to all Virginian precedent, and even contrary to the personal opinion of such prominent citizens as George Washington, who would have preferred to retain the established church had it been possible to do so. The same problem appeared to a lesser extent in the Carolinas and Georgia, where, although the Church of England had been the officially established church, it had actually less following, and where religious tolerance had long been recognized.

State constitutions, however, were a departure from the original purpose of the written constitution, which was a treaty of federation, although in the New Hampshire case it was begun as if it were to be a treaty of federation between the town meetings, on whose long-standing rivalry to the British regime the revolution there was based. The Articles of Confederation were essentially the sort of written constitution that the original constitutions among the red people were; and there, as the original purpose was adhered to, the original red model was followed, rather than the British pattern of government drawn up by the states whose revolution was conducted by legislatures inherited from the old regime. However, in this case, the fact that the federation was formed *before* its constitution instead of *as a result* of it, had an important effect on the functioning of that constitution.

The Articles of Confederation began with the declaration: "The style of this Confederacy shall be the United States of America," and then went on to establish a form of government, declaring the status of the confederation as a "league of friendship" between the states, and reserving to the states the full sovereignty that belonged to any nation. It was provided that Canada could enter the federation at any time on application, but that admission of any other state would have to be passed upon by Congress. The Congress itself was specified as composed of annually elected delegates sent by the state legislatures, subject to recall at any time; the number of delegates for each state was to be from two to seven, according to the quota contributed by the state to Congress (the federation, under the First Republic, had no taxation powers). However, it was not left to money contribution to determine the actual vote of each state in Congress, since the Congress was required to vote by states, the delegation from each state having one vote, and the vote of nine states being required to pass any resolution (this being intended as a requirement of a two-thirds vote). Amendments to the Articles of Confederation could be made upon ratification of all states; and the Articles themselves were to go into effect upon ratification by all the states.

As to the functions of the federation, they consisted, under the Articles, of war, peace, treaties, diplomatic relations, post offices and post roads, coining money, and a few other special items; besides which, provision was made for Congress to contribute arbitration commissions in case of disputes between states on any subject whatever. The existing diplomatic relations (as of 1777, when the Articles were drafted) with France and Spain were confirmed by the Articles of Confederation. No executive or judicial functions were created, and all laws of "United States in Congress assembled" were to be considered treaties between the states, to be enforced by individual states. In addition, certain miscellaneous agreements between the states in regard to mutual privileges of citizens were written into the Articles of Confederation, such as an agreement providing that citizens of each state should have the full civil rights of citizens in any state, and should be allowed free ingress and egress in all states.

Although this constitution was proposed by Congress in 1778, it was not until 1781 that it was ratified by all the states, so that, during the period of actual fighting in the War for Independence, the Congress of the United States functioned without any definition for its powers and form other than the common consent of the states. During the four years of this period, the Continental Congress acquired new functions not mentioned in the Articles, but likewise not forbidden by them, and which have sometimes been treated as illegal usurpations, even though it was not any documents, but the development of the revolution that constituted Congress’s actual authority, so that such new functions were in no sense illegal. Since the Articles of Confederation were considered largely as a written confirmation of the actual state of affairs, it followed that such new functions as Congress acquired pending ratification were continued after the Articles went into

effect. It must be remembered that the First Republic was not actually formed by the Articles, but by the Declaration of Independence, the Articles being merely a later confirmation of what was already done.

Among other things the Congress did in completing the organization of the federation, besides drafting a constitution, was deciding on a flag for the federation. For this purpose, the mullets or starfish of the Washington family shield replaced the Union Jack of the "mongrel" flag George Washington had introduced at Cambridge, with a result that almost completely removed the original red flag of the minute-men. The thirteen red and white stripes of the "rebel stripe" flag were retained by Congress's resolution of Saturday, June 14, 1777, but the design in the corner was blue with thirteen of the Washington starfish emblems arranged in a circle. On this arrangement has been based the flag of the United States ever since, though for many years the North and the South had different interpretations of the stripes, since in the North it was the original red with six white stripes, while in the South it was white with six red stripes. That internal split in the federation was thus reflected in an actual difference in the federal flag.

The First Republic never actually coined money or established a money standard, though authorized to do so by the Articles of Confederation. But, before the Articles were ratified—in fact, about the time they were first proposed—the Congress, like many governments short of funds, issued paper money, as did many of the states. Although English money was still the basis of reckoning in America, most English coins in America during the war were badly clipped, and, since most of America's foreign trade was then with Spanish possessions, the main sort of money in circulation was Spanish. The states still continued to issue their notes in terms of shillings and pounds; but the Continental Congress issued its notes principally in terms of Spanish money, the unit of which was the peso, known to the English as the piece of eight, the doubloon, the piaster, or the dollar. So it came about that "continental money" was issued in terms of Spanish "dollars"—a fact that was later to determine the American basis of currency. Soldiers were largely paid off in "continentals," which, towards the end of the war, became almost valueless for a while. The expression "not worth a continental" or "I don't care a continental" arises from this circumstance.

The Articles of Confederation themselves were largely based on the Iroquois and Penacook models of a federate constitution. The federation as it existed was a temporary wartime alliance—in origin thus similar to the Penacook Federation—but the Articles declared the Union to be perpetual, that is to say, a permanent organization, without any self-imposed time limit. The Union governed by these Articles did not last long; and the entire spirit of the Articles of Confederation is against the later interpretation which used the "perpetuity" of the Union as justifying the use of force against recalcitrant states. Under the First Republic, each state could do what it pleased practically without restriction, and change its type of government to suit itself.

141. ***The War in the West***. After the surrender of Burgoyne, the British had to concentrate on the defense of New York, enabling the Continental Army to advance the following summer and recapture Philadelphia; and the little British dominion about New York became settled down to a long and steady siege. This little dominion covered Long Island and Manhattan and Staten Islands, and New Jersey as far west as the Watchung (or Orange) Mountains. The mainland of Westchester was subject to raids from both sides, but occupied by neither, and ruled by gangs, as we have seen, the British confining themselves to maintaining a guard at the King's Bridge, connecting Manhattan with the mainland.

After the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, the victorious rebels of New York State turned their attention largely to the conquest of Vermont, which really won the victory; but in this plan they were never successful, though the "Green Mountain War" continued long after the War for Independence was over. The Iroquois Federation, which was still the most powerful political factor on the continent, and which had helped Burgoyne in his advance from Canada through their territory, now came directly in contact with the Continentals. Since the first rebel demonstration in New York State had been for the purpose of forming white settlements in Iroquois territory, an active war against the Iroquois was started by the Continental Army, and particularly by the State of New York. Settlers were sent up from Pennsylvania to invade and occupy the Wyoming Valley, the mountain pass which formed the southern entrance to Iroquois territory, while other groups of settlers from the upper Hudson valley invaded Iroquois territory proper. The Iroquois armies, naturally resenting this wholesale invasion of the Federation's territory, attacked and wiped out these settlements in the summer of 1778. The following year General Sullivan of New Hampshire, leading a large part of the Continental Army, took the war into Iroquois territory, where the Continentals inflicted defeats on the Iroquois armies, led by Thayendanagea (sometimes called General Brandt). The Iroquois federation, as a political power, had now practically ceased to be of any importance, and, with its army surrendered, an armistice was concluded giving the State of New York control over the Federation territory. The Federation, however, has continued to function ever since, and still claims national independence, which was recognized by the United States as late as 1917, when the State of New York claimed and took over complete control over such Iroquois as remained within its limits.

Farther west were the Shawnees and the remnants of the Lenape Federation, who were at first inclined to be friendly with the rebels, and made overtures to that effect to the authorities of Pennsylvania, which held many outposts such as Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) and neighboring forts. However, the stream of settlers who were coming out to that region, and to the south side of the Ohio River (the former colony of Transylvania, now under Virginia), regarded all the red tribes merely as obstacles to their settling this territory, as though the land belonged to the settlers and not to the red men. Consequently, in spite of the red men's willingness to tolerate settlements, clashes were inevitable, especially when the settlers began to claim large tracts of land under individual ownership. Finally, the settlers near the Pennsylvania forts, who had long been anxious to secede from Pennsylvania on account of the state's willingness to ally itself with the Shawnees and Lenapes, forced the issue by killing two envoys of the Shawnee Nation, who had come to negotiate for an alliance. A hasty attempt was made to revive the old Ottawa Federation in the Great lakes region, and alliances were arranged with Cherokee mountain tribes (who, being closely related to the Iroquois, naturally aligned themselves on the same side), and with the Maskoki nations in the South, as well as with the British western headquarters at Detroit. The Lenape federation, whose affiliate, the Sons of Tammany, had been the moving spirit behind the revolution in the middle states, issued its own Declaration of Independence, modelled on the one the United States had issued.

This alignment of tribes promptly declared war on the United States, although it was only the western settlers and the Southern "land-grabbers" who were inclined to prosecute the war to any extent on the white side.

In 1776, shortly after the Declaration of Independence, we have seen that the Transylvania and Vandalia colonies were taken over by Virginia, which had claimed for its aristocrats the ownership of lands there. This action was followed by North Carolina's similarly conquering the Watauga

settlements; then South Carolina and Georgia claimed, though they did not attempt to settle, strips of land in the western region. In 1779, Virginia, finding herself, through the newly-acquired territory of Transylvania, in the front of the new war against the interior red nations, sent out an army under George Rogers Clark to conquer the Illinois nations west to the Mississippi, and the British fortifications of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, in that area. This army set out and captured these forts with their surrounding settlements, and had temporary control over a bit of territory extending north and east from the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. This was done in spite of the fact that Virginia itself was being invaded by the British and had to call in Northern help for defense at home while their own army was a thousand miles to the westward seeking new lands to conquer. In fact, George Washington and the prominent Virginians were proclaiming the newly-conquered realm in the west as the refuge to which Virginia could move in a body when the British should conquer the coast country.

Virginia now proclaimed the annexation of the entire territory as far west as the Mississippi, and as far north as the Great lakes, though actually in possession of but a small portion of the region, and though the war on the red allies was not, on the whole, a successful one. This claim was based on an old charter issued by England in 1609, and which, as far as concerned western territory, had been nullified by subsequent treaties with France, besides having been issued at a time when European monarchs were free in giving title to land not in their possession. In addition, the territory claimed included the headquarters of the British forces at Detroit, which did not come into United States possession till long after the end of the First Republic. Virginia attempted to organize a temporary civilian government for its "overmountain territory," erecting "Kentucky County" to cover the original Transylvania colony, south of the Ohio River, while the entire region from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes, most of which was not in actual Virginian possession, was organized as "Illinois County."

At about the same time came New York's acquisition of a sort of suzerainty over Illinois terrain, and, since the Iroquois claimed the Lenapes as part of their empire, though the Lenapes refused to acknowledge this, it meant that the State of New York laid claim to land as far west along the south shore of Lake Erie as the Cuyahoga River, conflicting with Virginia's attempt to annex some of the same territory on the basis of a temporary victory hundreds of miles farther west. In addition, Massachusetts and Connecticut, whose original charters extended westward indefinitely, and which had ceded to New York their strips only from the Hudson valley to the Delaware River, laid claim to strips of land across Virginia's claim of "Illinois County."

The war in the west was thus strictly a war of aggression on the part of the rebels—aggression by the settlers against the red tribes, and by the State authorities along the coast against the settlers. Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, all had their western claims definitely marked out, the Virginian claim covering most of the territory which Washington had tried to take away from the French in 1755 in the north, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts had their western claims, though the two latter states made no attempt at actual military conquest in the west. The only southern state was Maryland, organized on the same feudal and slavery basis as the other southern states, and therefore requiring the same sort of unlimited expansion to keep its aristocracy in power; but unfortunately, Maryland's old English charter did not call for any western claims as did the others; while the remaining northern states had but little interest in extending their territory westward. Accordingly, Maryland, in an effort to cut itself into some of the rich claims to western territory, gave notice that she would not ratify the Articles of Confederation unless the states claiming the territory northwest of the Ohio River (Virginia's "Illinois County") would relinquish

their claims to the Continental Congress. Accordingly Virginia, already invaded by British forces, and afraid of losing much-needed outside help if the Articles of Confederation failed to materialize, gave in to the necessity, agreeing to cede the giant "county" to the United States. This action was followed by New York and Massachusetts and Connecticut giving assurances that similar action would be taken, resulting in Maryland's ratifying the Articles of Confederation, which thereupon went into effect, but with the Congress saddled with a new function not specified in the Articles, that of governing a new territory which was actually in the hands of the red tribes.

The war against the Shawnees and Lenapes and their allies was going on in the meantime without any marked decision, and white settlers sailing down the Ohio River to invade Kentucky had many conflicts with hostile attackers from the "Indian shore," as the north shore of the river came to be called. In 1782, the Shawnees were forced about twenty miles back from the upper part of the Ohio River, and immediately settlers from the coast began to pour in. The first organized attempts to sell land to settlers came, however, not from the South, but from New England; and "Ohio Company" (named for the group of Virginian aristocrats who originally invaded the Ohio valley in 1755) was formed in Boston, at the present site of the Boston Stock Exchange, and sent out from Boston the first group of settlers to the new Northwest Territory (excepting the old forts at Vincennes and a few other points). This first Ohio River community of newcomers was given the name of Marietta. Other settlements, mainly of New Englanders, were made along the north bank of the Ohio River, such as Chillicothe and Losantiville (the latter name meaning the town opposite the mouth of the Licking River, consisting of L for Licking, *os* meaning "mouth" in Latin, *anti* meaning "opposite" in Greek, and *ville* meaning "town" in French).

142. ***The "Commonwealth."*** As we have seen, during the war the various State legislatures followed New Hampshire's example in drawing up constitutions reorganizing the State governments much after the old model, the legislatures which led the rebellion being largely inherited from the former regime and therefore, in the long run, having to return to that form. In Massachusetts, the case was different in that the framework of the State was new, though the Provincial Congress was primarily organized under the enemy regime, and afterwards "went over" to the rebels; it thus, unlike the other states, became an issue as between the legislature, and the people who were the original prime movers of the rebellion. In other words, the legislature of Massachusetts, finding itself in direct opposition to the existing state governmental machinery, was attempting to overthrow that machinery and substitute its own, against the opposition of the County-Convention rebel machinery which belonged to the civil disobedience regime. The adoption of a constitution in Massachusetts was thus an issue between the hold-over part of the government, as represented by the legislature and the merchants with their smuggling ring, on the one hand, and the town-meeting and county-convention organization, on the other hand, representing the farmers and the workers in the old secret factories, which had now largely come out into the open since the territory of Massachusetts was no longer under British occupation.

The legislature was naturally the side of the government of Massachusetts recognized by the Continental Congress, and therefore by the Continental Army, the minute-men supporting and representing the other part of the Massachusetts administration being either subdued by Washington's iron discipline, or scattered among the people and no longer effectively organized as they were in 1774 and 1775. Accordingly, the legislature could be expected to encounter little immediate resistance to a direct attempt to organize the Massachusetts government as it pleased. Accordingly the Massachusetts legislature called together at Cambridge in 1779 a convention representing the larger property-owners of the state, and adopted a new constitution modelled

almost entirely on the New Hampshire one, recognizing most particularly the rights of property, and abolishing completely the old County Conventions and all the rest of the administrative machinery organized by the old civil disobedience movement. It also created the office of Governor, a single executive head of the government to take the place of the old-time British governors, and gave to this centralized administration much of the functions which towns and County Conventions were then handling. This new regime, being practically a counter-revolution against the "State of Massachusetts Bay" as established by the Middlesex rebellion, adopted, instead of "State," the title or "Commonwealth of Massachusetts." For the red pine-tree flag of the civil disobedients was substituted a white one, which has become the basis for the present flag of the Commonwealth. This new regime, controlling as it did the militia, had no difficulty in taking possession of Massachusetts upon its organization in 1780.

The first point of attack by the property-owners was the factories, which were owned by the workers in them. As many of the merchants in the "Sons of Liberty" had lent money to start the factories in the days before the rebellion, it was easy for them to claim mortgages on the factories on these grounds, and one by one the factories were taken over by private individuals and their workers given the choice of getting out, or working at whatever terms the new owners dictated, thus imposing a new slavery on the workers of Massachusetts, who had started the revolution for freedom. The hide-away food products plant at Dorchester Lower Mills, for instance, was converted into a private chocolate factory which still bears the sign "Established 1780." The same procedure took place with most of the other "hide-out" factories, though the Continental Congress managed to hold on to the munitions manufactories at Springfield and Watertown. The "Manufactory House" in Boston was simply confiscated and closed up by the new owners, to whom the printing of paper money appeared more attractive than the actual manufacture of goods; they obtained a charter for this purpose from the "Commonwealth" shortly after the end of the war, in 1784, as the Massachusetts Bank, one of the first banks in America.

Of course, it was not to be expected that either the workers or the farmers (who were equally hard hit with the new foreclosing policy under the Commonwealth), and, in many parts of Massachusetts, where the old civil disobedience regime had succeeded in going into hiding instead of being broken up completely, there were many attempts at reviving civil disobedience. The Okamakamessets treated the Commonwealth as a revival of the old British royal regime, and considered themselves at war with the Commonwealth as they had been at war with the British administration. Sporadic riots of workers and farmers against the Commonwealth took place as the result of the Commonwealth's sustaining the series of foreclosures on farms and factories, and it flared up into open revolt for a short period in 1782 at Hatfield. But the supporting association that the civil disobedients had built up in 1775 was no longer there, and nothing could really be done until it was possible to reorganize support for the revolutionary movement among farmers and workers of Massachusetts.

One incidental result of the Commonwealth, however, was the complete abolition of slavery in Massachusetts. This was not intended by the counter-revolutionists who established the Commonwealth. The constitution, as adopted, merely echoed the Declaration of Independence's formal statement that "all men are created equal;" but such was the pressure of wartime sentiment in the state, that, when the Commonwealth was established, this provision was interpreted as completely outlawing slavery—the first complete and definite abolition of slavery in America, or, for that matter, in the entire white men's world. It is true that slavery was never recognized by the civil-disobedience regime, and this is probably what made it impossible for the Commonwealth to

re-establish slavery. The only difference was that the civil disobedience movement did not have to specify in writing any such rule; while the Commonwealth, being organized on a red-tape basis as were the old British regimes, had to formulate it as a definite judicial decision. In this matter the other New England states, and Vermont and Pennsylvania, quickly followed the example of Massachusetts, so that, by the end of the War for Independence, the only two states north of Mason and Dixon's line still recognizing slavery were New York and New Jersey.

143. ***The War in the South***. In 1779, Sir Henry Clinton, the new British military governor at New York, sent out an expedition under Tarleton and Cornwallis to raid the coast of Virginia. Since most of the rebellion in Virginia was in the interior, it was easy to take over the tidewater region of the state, especially as Virginia's army was then some thousand miles away capturing forts in the Illinois country. The British soon spread out over the entire coast region south of Chesapeake Bay. In Charleston, South Carolina, a small insurrectionist force hid in the cypress swamps near the town, and succeeded in maintaining a constant though fruitless guerrilla warfare.

The Continental Army soon sent troops to the aid of the South, and New England minute-men were soon busy trying to hold Virginia for the rebels while Virginia's army was away conquering new Western territory. In spite of this, with General Greene's boast that he would "burgoyne Cornwallis," the British succeeded not merely in overrunning the entire coastland in the South, but in capturing all of South Carolina, so that the state government had to move into North Carolina temporarily in order to function at all.

> "What means the Old Dominion? Hath she forgot the day
> When o'er her conquered valleys swept the Briton's steel array?
> Now, side by side with sons of hers, the Massachusetts men
> Encountered Tarleton's charge of fire, and stout Cornwallis, then;
>
> "Forgets she how the Bay State, in answer to the call
> Of her old House of Burgess, swept down from Faneuil Hall,
> When, echoing back her Henry's cry, came pulsing on each breath
> Of Northern winds, the thrilling sounds of 'Liberty or Death!'"
>
> - Whittier

In 1780, however, the British attempted to conscript citizens of the Carolinas into the army, and immediately a new rebellion flared up. By this time, England was, as has been described, afraid of trouble at home, while a large part of the army was removed to India and to Gibraltar to hold those regions against enemy attacks, and this defense was too important to make it possible for England to send any troops back to America. The new rebellion immediately swept through the Carolinas and Georgia, and drove the British back to the seaports of Charleston and Savannah, where the various loyalists from the South gathered. Around the two seaports a condition almost approaching an armistice prevailed, and, by the end of 1780, even before the fighting had ceased in Virginia and around New York, the Carolinas offered amnesty to any of their loyalists who would swear allegiance to the state and return; many took advantage of this offer, and it brought many citizens to the side of the United States of America who might otherwise have remained hostile. The same thing had happened before, in New England, after the evacuation of Boston.

In the meantime, fighting continued in Virginia, where there was a great concentration of Continental and French forces. In 1781, the centralization of French armies in Virginia resulted in a naval defeat of the French in the West Indies; but at about the same time the combined Americans and French cornered the British at Yorktown in Virginia, not far from the ruins of Jamestown, Virginia's original settlement. On [Friday,] October 19, 1781, Cornwallis was finally forced to surrender his army to the United States, ending hostilities around the neighborhood of New York. The British in Charleston and Savannah gradually withdrew to New York, and only there and in the west was there any continuance of warfare. Virginia, in the meantime, had lost much of its western conquests, being forced to defend itself at home.

An attempt at negotiating an armistice on the New York front in 1780 had resulted in General Arnold, on whose initiative the negotiations were carried on, being accused as a spy, and compelled to take refuge in New York. In August 1781, the Prince of Wales came to New York as a British officer, and was given a great ovation on Broadway by the people of the city. He later, in 1782, organized a raid on the Thames region of Connecticut, capturing for a short time the towns of New London and Groton; but the British were finally forced back on Long Island. Meanwhile, along the Hudson River, fighting practically stopped in 1782, and the entire Continental Army concentrated up the river at Newburgh, about sixty miles from New York.

After the surrender of the main British army at Yorktown, George Washington, now in his home land, proceeded to organize aristocracy for future conquest of America, by forming the army officers into a secret society with himself as president, and with membership to descend in the hereditary male line in the same way as European titles of nobility, to the eldest son, the object being to take control of politics in America and in all the states, and ultimately to overthrow the First Republic and establish some form of oligarchy with Washington as the dictator. The secret lodge took its name from the ancient Roman dictator Cincinnatus, and thus called itself the Society of the Cincinnati. In this manner George Washington contrived to sow the seeds of conspiracy against the very Continental Congress which he was at the time supposed to be serving. Their emblem was that of ancient Rome officialdom, the fasces.

But, after the cessation of active hostilities, other tendencies than Washington's aristocratic plans began to manifest themselves. We have already seen that in New England there began a serious attempt to revive the original minute-men's revolution which Washington and the Continental Congress had contrived to swerve so far from its original purpose. Besides this, the Continental Army began to rebel against the complete absence of any attempt to pay them for their service after the discipline and unquestioning obedience which Washington and his officers were exacting. The first such attempt took place among some Pennsylvania troops at Morristown in New Jersey in the spring of 1781, before fighting had actually stopped; but the fact that the British, thinking they had turned loyalist, tried to enlist them, sent them back into the Continental ranks. However, in 1782, by the time that the condition was almost one of armistice, this consideration did not come up, since the Continental soldiers no longer felt that the cause of American independence would require them to remain loyal to their officers; then General Gates took up the cause of the strikers at the Newburgh headquarters where most of the army was now concentrated, and helped to draw up literature calling on the army to demand payment from Washington. The circulation of this literature, however, was carried out too openly, and Washington was able to head off the movement by calling the army together before plans could be perfected, and holding the officers off with profuse promises as well as threatening them with a possible British attack if they persisted in wanting to be paid.

In the meantime, as the result of the surrender of such a large portion of the British army, as well as the close siege maintained against England itself in the English Channel by France and Holland, an administrative crisis resulted in spite of the success of British arms in other parts of the world, such as India, Gibraltar, and the West Indies, and even the British capture from Holland of the great continent of Australia. The result was that England started peace negotiations during 1782 with all the enemy countries, thus involving in principle the recognition of the independence of the United States.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FIRST REPUBLIC

144. ***Peace Negotiations***. The attempt to conclude a peace after the War for Independence demonstrated how little help an alliance really was in carrying on a revolution. The United States and France had agreed not to conclude a separate peace with Great Britain, and subsequently France and Spain had made an agreement not to conclude peace till Gibraltar was recaptured from England. This left a situation in which the United States was apparently left to prolong the war indefinitely and risk further of its newly-won independence merely in order that Spain might recover Gibraltar, Spain not being a direct ally of the United States.

The French diplomats tried to use this *impasse* to force a treaty of peace which would give Spain the entire shore of the Mississippi, and extending eastward about halfway to the Appalachian Mountain range, the rest of the region west of the mountains to be set aside as Indian Territory, to be half under United States protection and half under British protection. This might have made a satisfactory settlement as far as concerned the original minute-men movement of New England, which was not concerned about territorial expansion and conquest; no actual American settlements had been made west of the area outlined in this proposition as to be under United States protection; it would have settled at one stroke the major portion of the Northwest territorial dispute between the States; and it would have provided for some sort of international guarantee for the rights of the red tribes who lived or had been forced west of the mountains. The British occupation of Detroit and the lower Michigan peninsula would have still been recognized by the proposed general peace. It would, in fact, have been a most satisfactory settlement as far as concerned the original purposes of the American Revolution; but it was hardly to be expected that the "land-grabbing" aristocrats of Virginia, after already capturing a few forts near the Mississippi, would consent to surrender them to either England, or Spain, or that they would agree to any terms giving the red men any rights on the land that the "land-grabbers" wanted to seize, or that their subjects wanted to settle on. The South, and especially Virginia, was insistent on controlling and owning all territory up to the Mississippi River.

Accordingly, since settlement of peace seemed impossible by the regular diplomatic channels, the United States, in spite of its treaty with France against a separate peace, proceeded to negotiate directly with England, on the theory that they had not revolted against British control only to be dictated to by France. The French diplomats complained strongly at the violation of the treaty of alliance, but England was much more willing to come to terms with the United States than were France and Spain, who were looking merely after territorial gains for themselves wherever possible,

and since France, in its weakened condition after its defeat in the Great Ohio War, was in no position to turn against United States, nothing could very well be done to prevent negotiations for separate peace.

A separate peace between United States and England was thus agreed on early in 1783. This treaty, instead of recognizing the United States as an independent nation, followed the true federal form, and started out by stating that Great Britain recognized the thirteen states (naming each state individually) as free and independent states, under the joint name of the United States of America. In this way the treaty could not be interpreted as taking away from any of the States the full and complete sovereignty they claimed under the federated form of the First Republic. Of course, by this treaty, the United States acquired international recognition, having previously been recognized by only France, Spain, and Holland, its allies in the war; but, now that Great Britain recognized the independence of what was formerly its dependency, the United States now took its place as a recognized nation, enabling diplomatic relations to be opened with all European nations except Russia, which withheld recognition of the United States till 1805.

The treaty delimited the area to be recognized as independent under the United States, the western boundary being the Mississippi River, as Virginia had demanded. The Great Lakes served as the northern boundary in the west, the center of the lake channel being followed down the St. Lawrence River as far as its intersection with the 45th parallel. The northern boundary east of the St. Lawrence was recited in terms similar to those used in the royal proclamation of 1763 in defining the boundaries of the Province of Quebec, giving as the boundary of the United States the St. Croix River, a line north from its source, then the height of land separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those falling directly into the Atlantic; then the 45th parallel to the St. Lawrence River. The "height of land" referred to was then understood to be the southern watershed of the Areostook River valley, where a provincial boundary between Massachusetts and Quebec had been surveyed and marked after the Great Ohio War; and along this "height of land," which in reality differed slightly from the extremely literal treaty interpretation, the boundary between Canada and the United States was actually laid out. In the south the line of demarcation was the pre-war boundary between the provinces of Georgia and East Florida, the boundary between West Florida and the United States being fixed at the 31st parallel, making West Florida a mere narrow strip of coast. Since no peace was yet made with Spain, and it was still uncertain as to whether the Floridas would finally be English or Spanish territory, there was some question as to the validity of England's recognition of the Florida boundary, inasmuch as Spain claimed West Florida to extend much farther north, to the mouth of the Yazoo River. A secret clause in the treaty agreed to the more extended limits of West Florida if that province was to be retained by England. At the time this treaty went into effect, England had already agreed to cede the Floridas to Spain, but the peace treaty with Spain had not yet been signed, so that Spain considered the treaty with United States as a sort of fraud, and claimed a strip of territory north of the 31st parallel as part of West Florida; but here the United States had the advantage of a prior treaty, as well as of actual possession.

It was also provided by the treaty that British loyalists in America should be given the opportunity to emigrate to British territory. Most of these were already concentrated in New York and Charleston, and, on the evacuation of Charleston in 1782, those irreconcilable loyalists there who would not accept South Carolina's amnesty offer went either to New York or to Nova Scotia. And, in the semi-armistice conditions that prevailed on most fronts during 1782, numerous American loyalists contrived to get to Canada and New Brunswick, though in the latter locality they were regarded as Americans, and therefore enemies, and suffered more persecution than they would

have it they had stayed at home, many of them finding their way back to the United States, cured of their loyalty to the British Empire. Under the peace treaty, King George fixed four points on the Canadian border as concentration points for American loyalists desiring to find a home under the British flag, and most of them were conducted into the region north of the Great Lakes, where considerable land was given them (as usual, being taken away from the red tribes that already lived there). This emigration later became Upper Canada, and is now the Province of Ontario. A large proportion of Canada's population being sprung from these American monarchists (termed there United Empire loyalists, and given the title U.E.L., after their names), it has resulted in Canada's remaining loyal to the British Empire, but nevertheless deriving many of its institutions from United States directly rather than from England.

The peace treaty was signed early in 1783, and was proclaimed by the Congress of the United States, as well as by the various state legislatures, on Saturday, April 19, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord which started the war.

War still continued with the Iroquois Federation, and with the Shawnee-Lenape alliance in the Great Lakes country; but, in 1784, peace treaties were made with these tribal groups. The Shawnees and Lenapes were pushed twenty miles back from the Ohio River by the peace, and the Iroquois granted permission to New York State to settle their territory. The Iroquois general Thayendanagea, known in English as Brandt, led an emigration of a large part of his people into Canada, where the Iroquois Federation, still claiming its independence as a nation, now holds its councils, and where the first joint loyalist and Iroquois settlement was named Brantford, after this general. Many of the Iroquois have also remained in the United States, but also claiming the original national independence of the Iroquois Federation.

145. ***Evacuation of New York***. On Tuesday, November 25, 1783, the British Army sailed from New York for Nova Scotia, taking with them about 12,000 American monarchists who were now concentrated in New York. This concentration of loyalists in the single city during the period of the war had made New York the most populous city in North America during the war, but only until the evacuation, after which it became again the small town it had been before the war. The following day, the Continental Army entered the city from the north, and was received and welcomed by a citizens' committee appointed by the British army to preserve order in the city during the one-day interregnum. Although most of the people of the city, even those left there after the sudden emigration, were also loyalists and regarded the rebels as invaders in their town, they nevertheless gave a great welcome to the incoming Continental Army, in the same way as the city had welcomed each successive change of sovereignty in the seventeenth century. They were always ready to cheer for the winners.

The "Skinner" and "Cowboy" gangs that had been marauding through Westchester County during the entire war, while they were between the opposing lines, were now unable to operate in the country districts, and moved into New York City with the army, forming small "shanty" settlements on the outskirts of the city, chiefly on the east shore of Collect Pond, along the road known as the Bowery, from where they were enabled to continue their predatory activities on the people of the city.

At Frances' Tavern, in New York City, George Washington assembled the Society of the Cincinnati, presumably to say good-bye to his officers, but actually to arrange for keeping the organization together and functioning while its members were scattered over the states, so that they

would be able to work under cover in the various states to overthrow the First Republic to make way for some form of Cincinnati control. Then Washington sent in his resignation as commander of the army, and prepared to return to his Virginia estate, presumably retiring from public life, but really active in the Cincinnati conspiracy, since he remained president of this society. The day after the triumphal entry into the conquered city of New York, the Continental Army crossed the Hudson River to the town of Paulus Hook in New Jersey, where they were dismissed by Washington as he left for Virginia. The farewell took place at the main cross-roads in Paulus Hook, the crossing that is now known as Grand and Washington Streets in Jersey City.

Thus the United States acquired a city full of loyalists, at much unnecessary trouble and risk. This city had never been part of the United States during any of the period that the Confederation was in process of construction, and the acquisition of New York City was in reality more in the nature of annexation of new territory by treaty than an actual recovery of lost territory. The value of such an acquisition to a country trying to build up and maintain a new experiment in government could not but be doubtful.

As is common with some people who suddenly find themselves in enemy territory, the people of New York City immediately hastened to prove to the conquering State authorities that they had individually been on the rebel side all the time. Various acts of individuals in helping the revolutionary army get away from New York in 1776-7 were generally adduced in evidence. And, though in other states the ex-monarchists who were willing to swear allegiance to the state had already been granted amnesty, even before cessation of hostilities, a certain amount of persecution of monarchists (really by other monarchists anxious to prove their conversion to the new flag) went on for a while in the parts of the States of New York and New Jersey near New York City.

By now, the only place within the treaty limits of the United States still remaining under British occupation was the region of the three upper Great Lakes, two peninsulas largely commanded by the British garrisons which still stayed on at Detroit and Michillimackinac. England retained this region throughout the entire period of the First Republic, alleging as an excuse the failure of the States to pay indemnity for fugitive slaves captured during the war and not returned.

146. ***Post-Revolution Migrations***. With the coming of peace, new shifts in the population took place. We have seen that the peace treaty provided for the emigration of American monarchists to British territory, and this emigration meant the loss of over half the population of New York City, which gained a partial compensation in population in the shape of immigration of the Westchester bandit gangs into the city. Also, some of the rebel sympathizers that had left that city at the beginning of the war now returned to reclaim their houses and other property which had been confiscated by the British army. Confiscation of Tory Property was undertaken on a large scale in the city of New York. It was even attempted to pass a law in the state legislature of New York making it possible to convict of "Misprision of treason" almost anyone who had lived within the British occupation area during the war; but it was practically impossible to condemn a city wholesale in this manner immediately after acquiring it. One of Washington's army aides from that city, a member of the Cincinnati by the name of Alexander Hamilton, earned considerable support in New York and its vicinity by successfully representing the Tories' claims to New York City properties as against the pre-war "rebel" occupants.

It is estimated that about 100,000 emigrated after the peace treaty from United States to British possessions, some to the Bahamas, but most of them to Canada. While it is true that in almost all

parts of America the press and the churches attempted to stir up mob spirit against the Tories as individuals, it was only in New York State that any official measures were attempted against those who showed willingness to swear allegiance to their state, or that any signs of mob action appeared. During the rest of the First Republic period, many of the Tories, finding this to be the case, filtered back into the United States and became citizens of their respective states. As the States, one after another, at the insistence of Congress on observation of the treaty of 1783, repealed their laws regarding confiscation of Tory property, the return of former American loyalists was facilitated, and they were allowed to become citizens of the United States, which most of them did. It is possible, however, that the return of the monarchists to citizenship was premature, as, had their full citizenship been delayed until after the First Republic had a better chance to organize more firmly, the overthrow of the First Republic and the establishment of the Second Republic might have been made more difficult. One remarkable result, however, of this rapid assimilation of the monarchists, was that then United States is practically the only republic in the world without an organized monarchist movement.

While the Tories, particularly the Tory city of New York, presented a problem for the new republic to deal with, there were other movements of population. Although there had been some revolt against British rule in Canada and Bermuda during the American Revolution, these revolts had not been successful, and they remained British territory. It has even been sometimes claimed by Bermudians that their islands were deliberately forgotten in the peace treaty, either because of their distance from the American mainland, or because they were not represented in the Continental Congress, which certainly showed little disposition to cooperate with any administrations that were not in the federation. After the war was over, it was only natural that many of the Bermuda rebels, and many French Canadians who had either participated in the rebellion of 1775 or had been sympathetic with the rebels, came across the border into New England, particularly into Vermont, whose border was only seventy miles from Montreal, and whose government, being still independent of the United States and at war with New York and New Hampshire, was much more ready to admit Canadian immigration.

The First Republic had very little immigration, however, from across the Atlantic, though many soldiers who had come to America during the war, both as allies and as enemies of American independence, stayed on to become citizens of the newly-created republic. On the Continent of Europe, too little was yet heard of events in such a distant corner of the globe, and few people would go such a long distance, in any event, merely to try cut a new form of organization which they did not understand. But Ireland, where a certain amount of resentment had long been smoldering against British rule, presented a different situation, since there had been some tendency there to watch the situation in America before starting an open uprising. But, with America successful in breaking away from England, the effect on the Irish was not so much rebellion as emigration, and many Irishmen came over to America to get the benefit of the insurrection that had already taken place.

Another unusual situation was that of the French troops who had been in American to help the revolution. They had originally come over merely because paid to do so by an adventure-seeking aristocrat, but they returned to France wondering at the strangeness of all they had seen. Even their leader, Lafayette, commented with astonishment on the fact that there was nothing in America to correspond to the peasant class of all European countries; and the "liberty" and "equality" that these soldiers had been hearing about all through the war in America could not help making some impression on them, though they could not understand anything so contrary to all they had ever

heard of. So they all returned to France with hazy ideas on liberty and equality, after they had seen for themselves that something or other which was different from what they had been used to, could somehow be made to work. In view of this observation it is hardly surprising that, after the return of the French army from America to France in 1784, some confused discussion of "liberté" and "egalité" was beginning to circulate in France.

147. ***The Green Mountain War***. Vermont, which had become independent long before the rest of America, and which had never been recognized by the Continental Congress, due to its being considered part of the state of New York, was within the treaty limits of the United States, but had a government of its own which was *de facto* independent of the United States. It was actually an independent republic, and had been so in point of fact since 1758, but Great Britain had definitely ceded its Vermont claims to the United States by the peace treaty of 1783, so that the First Republic, and particularly the State of New York, was faced with the same problem of subduing Vermont that Great Britain had. During the entire period of the existence of the First Republic of the United States, this was never accomplished, and Vermont remained an independent republic till 1790.

In 1777, Vermont had unsuccessfully applied to the Continental Congress for admission to the federation, and had adopted a constitution similar to those adopted by the other states. In the case of the other states, the adoption of a constitution defining and limiting the powers of government might be interpreted as either defining the State's place in the federation or as replacing the charter which represented England's control before the revolution. But Vermont represented the first instance in which an entirely independent and centralized republic adopted a constitution limiting the rights and powers of the government, without having previously any charter of outside control. The constitutional limitations on the powers of the government in Vermont represented entirely this limitation deemed necessary to insure control of the government by the people and to protect the rights of the individual.

During the war, Vermont had co-operated with the Continental Army, though its own army, the so-called Green Mountain Boys, was not under Washington's command, and it was probably for that reason that it functioned more efficiently than the Continental Army. Such important rebel conquests as the capture of Ticonderoga at the beginning of the revolution, the Battle of Bennington which checked the British invasion of the Lake Champlain district, and the final surrender of Burgoyne's army which cleared the North of British troops, were victories of Vermont's army rather than of the army of the United States. It is safe to say that without the aid of Vermont there might have been no United States, though the rebellion would very likely have been successful in many parts of New England, particularly in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine.

It will be remembered that, after the Great Ohio War, Vermont was assigned by Great Britain to the Province of New York, to which the Vermonters would not submit, since it would involve extinction of those town meetings which the New Englander considered so essential to liberty. Since the Continental Congress was not originally a revolutionary body, and recognized only those legislatures which had some claim to British recognition before the war, it followed that the First Republic of the United States would treat Vermont as part of New York State, in accordance with the British division of the territory. After all the aid Vermont had given the United States towards independence from England, the United States was trying to conquer Vermont because Vermont had no British charter!

It may be said, however, that this effort was not so much that of the federation as of New York State. We have seen that the Albany courts, before the revolution had started, declared the Vermonters' occupation of their land to be illegal, because their grants had come from New Hampshire, whose claims to the land New York did not recognize. Now, after the war was over, the independent state of New York tried to enforce this judgment made by a British court in Albany. However, invasion of the mountain district inhabited by the Vermonters proved practically impossible, and New York had to content itself with constantly raiding and harassing Vermont's western frontier.

New York's claims extended east of the Connecticut River, but Vermont had as yet no definite borders in any direction except the Canadian frontier on the north, where, besides the treaty boundary, the existence of the loyalist town of St. Armand blocked any attempt to spread north of the 45th parallel of latitude. An investigation of New Hampshire's ancient British charter disclosed that its limits were placed sixty miles back from the ocean, and consequently Vermont claimed boundaries extending to within sixty miles of the Atlantic. A number of towns on the east shore of the Connecticut River, such as Hanover, which till then had been considered as indisputably in New Hampshire, being exempt from New York's territorial claims, now welcomed Vermont's attempts to annex them, partly because taxes were lower in Vermont than in New Hampshire, and partly because dissatisfaction at Cincinnati infiltration into the government of the United States made those towns welcome a chance to leave the Union. The towns in the valley of the Connecticut River, on both sides of the river, considering their interests to be somewhat different from those of the Green Mountain region proper, soon set up an independent government of their own, which they called the State of New Connecticut. This was the region which had been the last stronghold of the Penacook Federation during the Great Ohio War, and on the head-waters of the Quinnitucket, the Penacook peoples' old river of liberty, and it almost seemed as though the Quinnitucket was still fighting for someone's liberty, though it was not quite clear whose.

In the middle of this situation, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which considered itself to be a restoration of the old Puritan regime and consequently inherited all its territorial claims, reasoned that as, during the Cromwell period, they had made claims as far north as Lake Winnipesaukee, which they had later, under royal restoration, been forced to cede to New Hampshire, it followed that Massachusetts claims west of New Hampshire were not thereby extinguished, thus entitling Massachusetts to about half of Vermont. The result was a remarkable conflict of claims in Vermont, with an actual war going on between Vermont and New York. The formation of the new republic of New Connecticut, taking away about one third of the territory that New Hampshire considered free from outside claims, resulted in New Hampshire's re-asserting its former claim over the whole of Vermont—claims which the Vermonters would have been more willing to recognize than those of New York, since they would not thereby have been ousted from the land. Consequently they were ready to deal with New Hampshire for peace, so that Vermont relinquished its claims east of the Connecticut River in exchange for New Hampshire's relinquishing its claims west of the river. The revival of those Massachusetts claims which had once temporarily wiped New Hampshire off the map altogether, induced New Hampshire to make a settlement, but the interpretation of the terms was never agreed upon completely, since Vermont claimed that it had merely given up beyond the farther shore of the river, while New Hampshire claimed the middle of the river as a boundary. This boundary dispute, involving as it did only water, was allowed to go on for a long time, and was not settled till 1932, when a federal decision was given in favor of New Hampshire.

The incipient state of New Connecticut was thus partitioned between Vermont and New Hampshire, and the agreement proved easy enough to enforce, since the initiative for forming the new state was mostly on the New Hampshire side of the river, and, lacking Vermont's support on that side of the river, the whole plan fell through. In the same way as Massachusetts' threatened intervention forced New Hampshire to terms with Vermont, so the assertion of New Hampshire's claims conversely made it necessary for Massachusetts to give up its claims to southern Vermont, and by 1785 the only boundary Vermont still had undefined was the western boundary, that between Vermont and New York, where the state authorities of New York were still trying to evict the Vermonters on the judgment obtained before the revolution, in 1774, and where, as a result, a state of war still prevailed.

> Does the Old Bay State threaten? Does Congress complain?
> Swarms Hampshire in arms on our border again?
> Bark the war-dogs of Britain aloud on the lake?
> Let them come—what they can, they are welcome to take!
>
> -Whittier

The independence of Vermont was proving a good example to the two southern transmontane regions which had been formerly the unrecognized colonies of Transylvania and Watauga, and which, after the Declaration of Independence, were invaded and conquered by Virginia and North Carolina, respectively. The former Watauga colony was the first to rebel, in 1784, when, following the offers of the various states regarding the land north of the Ohio, North Carolina, apparently tired of defending the Wataugan settlers in the various skirmishes the Wataugans insisted on constantly getting into with the red tribes, offered Congress a two-year option on the territory. The Wataugans had no notion of submitting to rule of a strange body in which they had no representation, and representatives from various settlements in the territory involved in the proposed cession got together at Jonesboro and resolved, in true Declaration-of-Independence style, that they were a free and independent state, and these representatives constituted themselves the legislature of the independent State of Franklin. After this, there were two parties in this district, one of which elected representatives to the legislature of the State of Franklin, while the other faction elected representatives to the North Caroline legislature, and, when it came to enforcement of conflicting state laws, the condition was practically of civil war. Finally, in 1786, when North Carolina withdrew its offer to cede the territory to Federal control, the North Carolina party gradually gained support, and the independent Franklin party became weaker, until North Carolina was enabled again to take possession of the region by force, and John Savier, the governor of Franklin, who had previously been governor of Watauga, had to escape for a time, though he later returned.

A similar revolt took place at about the same time in the former Transylvania colony, the legislature formed there giving their new independent state the title of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. This nomenclature did not gain as much support in its region as did the "State of Franklin" to the south of them, but it contrived to hold on longer, and all Virginia's military efforts at suppressing the rebellion in what Virginia called "Kentucky County" were unsuccessful, and Kentucky, like Vermont, remained a *de facto* independent republic, though the precedent of Vermont indicated that the federal government of the First Republic could give Kentucky no recognition whatever.

148. ***The Northwest Territory***. We have seen that the dispute over the land between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the same territory over which the Great Ohio War had been fought, and for possession of which Virginia entered the fight against England, almost blocked the permanent organization of the federation called the United States of America. Virginia claimed the entire territory west of the Mississippi and north to the Great Lakes, a claim which would have given Virginia one third of all the land within the treaty boundaries of the United States; and Virginia further had possession of several forts and outposts in what that Commonwealth was pleased to style "Illinois County." New York claimed all the territory which the Iroquois Federation had ever claimed as part of its empire, extending south to the Ohio River, and west to the Cuyahoga, as by the truce of 1779, and later by the peace treaty of 1784, the Iroquois had surrendered territorial title to the State of New York, not to any other state or to the United States. Massachusetts and Connecticut each claimed that they owned a continuous strip of land whose westward extent was only bounded by the treaty limits of the United States, namely, at the Mississippi River; and, as the Hudson Valley, which was the State of New York, cut directly across these strips, Great Britain had had to intervene before the revolution to give to New York a strip between the Delaware River and a fixed boundary east of the Hudson; but neither Massachusetts nor Connecticut considered that that extinguished their territorial claims west of the Delaware River. This situation resulted in four states holding conflicting claims to a territory which had once before this started a world-wide war.

Little Maryland, which had no claims to any of this territory under its British charter, but which controlled Virginia's access through the mountains to the "Illinois" region, as Virginia called it, forced a showdown by holding up the Articles of Confederation until the various states claiming territory in the Northwest should cede their claims to Congress. At first Virginia stormed over this action, and threatened to have Maryland divided between Virginia and Pennsylvania; then came the British invasion of Virginia, and Virginia, whose own army was busy asserting that state's northwestern claims, called on the whole confederation for aid—and then Maryland was in the position to threaten Virginia, which now needed Maryland's help badly. So Virginia promised "to be good," and give "Illinois County" to the United States in Congress assembled; and the other three states involved gave similar promises, so that Maryland ratified the Articles of Confederation, and the First Republic was able to organize on a permanent basis. At this time the Congress, though it had as yet received no actual land–only promises–passed a resolution (in 1780) that all land which Congress should receive would be used for public purposes, and was to be erected into states on the same basis as the original thirteen states.

However, not all the dispute was over Virginia's claim. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed strips of territory extending from the Delaware River west to the Mississippi River; and there was about three hundred miles between the Delaware and Pennsylvania's western boundary, with which Virginia had nothing to do. Connecticut's claim conflicted with Pennsylvania; while the Massachusetts claim passed through territory which the Iroquois Federation in 1784 surrendered to New York. Immediately after the campaign against the Iroquois in 1779, Connecticut sent settlers to the Wyoming Valley, which was in the disputed territory, and Pennsylvania called for federal arbitration of the dispute. This arbitration was really a test of the First Republic's ability to hold the allegiance of the states; and it passed the test wonderfully. The federal arbitrators decided in favor of Pennsylvania in 1782, and, though under the First Republic the federal authority had no power to force obedience from the states, Connecticut submitted, and relinquished its claims within Pennsylvania's boundaries. The Connecticut settlers, however, stayed on, willing enough to be citizens of Pennsylvania. In the winter of 1784, however, after a disastrous flood of the Susquehanna River which destroyed many of the settlers' homes and farms in the Wyoming Valley,

the appeals for flood relief that naturally followed seemed somehow to arouse the wartime antagonism between the two states over that territory, and the Pennsylvanians began to remind themselves that the Wyoming Valley settlers were invaders; so that, instead of granting relief for the flood victims, the governor sent troops of militia to evict the Yankees from the valley. This was done with much unnecessary violence, resulting in self-defense on the part of the settlers, to which the militia retaliated by wholesale massacres, those who were not deliberately killed being driven out into the woods and told to find their way back to Connecticut. However, since part of Pennsylvania's constitution under the First Republic called for the assembling of a board of censors every seven years to determine if the constitution had been violated, and to take remedial measures, the meeting of this board in the spring of 1785 immediately picked on the Wyoming Valley military evictions and massacres as a flagrant violation, and brought about the punishment of some of the militia officers responsible for the outrages, and the survivors of the evicted settlers were indemnified by being given additional land in the Wyoming Valley. From this source grew many of the settlements that are now so thick in the Wyoming Valley, including such towns as Scranton and Wilkes-Barre.

Massachusetts' western claims of territory were purely theoretical during the war, since the claims east of Lake Ontario were held by the Iroquois, and those from the Detroit River to the Mississippi River were in British possession, and remained so in spite of the peace treaty during the entire period of the First Republic. But, after peace was made with the Iroquois in 1784, New York State suddenly came into possession of the eastern portion of the very strip Massachusetts was claiming. Again the First Republic proved its ability to settle the dispute; and it was apparently done with the same aversion to the creation of non-contiguous territory that had characterized the settlement between Pennsylvania and Connecticut. In this instance, there was no such clear case for New York as Pennsylvania had had in the other case, because the territory was not within New York's original limits, and the contest of land title was between title obtained from the red nations, which New York showed, and title obtained from a British charter, as represented by Massachusetts. The settlement finally proposed by federal arbitration in 1785 contained a curious recognition of the claims of both states. The Iroquois Federation having been the actual possessor of the land, and New York being their appointed successor, New York's claim to the land was to be recognized; but, since land titles before the revolution came from the king, and Massachusetts had some claim to be his successor there, it was to be stipulated that distribution and sale of public lands was to remain under Massachusetts control. Then Pennsylvania interposed the objection that the proposed boundaries of New York would interpose a narrow strip of land between Pennsylvania and lake Erie, thus cutting Pennsylvania off from access to the lakes. The result was that Massachusetts accepted the arbitration award on condition that both Massachusetts and New York would sell to Pennsylvania a triangle of land which would give Pennsylvania a lake port; on that basis, New York also accepted the decision of the arbitrators, and New York took possession of the Iroquois country, with Massachusetts in charge of land titles, and land for a port on Lake Erie was annexed to Pennsylvania, which later started on that ground a port which was appropriately named Erie. It was also specified in the arbitration award that Massachusetts should only be allowed to dispose of land to settlers that had been acquired for the purpose from the Iroquois Federation, a condition which was lived up to under the First Republic, but which was constantly evaded under the Second Republic. As a result of this arbitration awarded by the First Republic, the region in question, though an integral part of the State of New York, has been largely settled by New Englanders who, under the guidance of those of the Iroquois who did not go to Canada after the war, developed the modified form of the New England and Iroquois traditions of freedom which built that "upstate" which has long been the pet aversion of dictatorial New York City.

As for the region west of the Appalachian Mountain range, it presented a difficulty--its natural means of communication with the outside world did not lie through the Atlantic coast of the United States, but down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico; and, in that direction, West Florida and the New Orleans region constituted a barrier. The trade of this western region was mainly through New Orleans, which was then a Spanish port; and when, in 1785, as a result of the dispute over the West Florida boundary, Spain closed the lower Mississippi to American vessels, the rebelling states of Franklin and Kentucky threatened to send down their armies to take New Orleans and West Florida. The movement of the western region, particularly the southwest, toward New Orleans as their natural outlet, was an important one; and, in the attempt to develop the Northwest Territory, it was considered necessary to supply some corresponding outlet in the north—towards the Atlantic—since only that could keep the west tied to the federation.

The Northwest Territory itself was in reality the result of the United States' being unable to keep the westward-moving settlers from constantly encroaching on tribal lands. The war for independence had resolved itself west of the mountains into a war between these settlers and the various western tribes, and it was much easier for the government to conclude peace treaties than to enforce them, so that a state of war was practically a fixed condition west of the Appalachian range. Kentucky and Franklin were examples of regions which largely revolted against the parent states because the latter would not support all this warfare. Many freebooters inhabited the Northwest Territory who contributed to this state of affairs by making raids on white settlements disguised as red men, and throwing on the tribes the blame for the commission of atrocities such as the tribes themselves would not have been likely to commit.

In 1784 Virginia finally lived up to its promise to cede "Illinois County" to the United States. This was a vast area comprising the entire region from the western boundary of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River, and from the great Lakes to the Ohio River—about six hundred miles from east to west, and from two to five hundred miles from north to south. While Virginia gave the region the name of Illinois, the Kentucky settlers generally knew it as the "Indian Shore," a name which was already becoming sometimes abbreviated to Indiana; while Congress named it the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, a long title usually abbreviated to Northwest Territory, and sometimes also called Ohio Territory, so that the region was now variously entitled Northwest Territory, Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, all of which names at that time meant the same vast stretch of land.

As the problem arose of how Congress was to govern this vast domain—for the Articles of Confederation, the constitution of the First Republic, had no provision whereby Congress could govern any territory except through the medium of state governments—the temporary solution was to establish a military government, and General St. Clair was despatched to Marietta, on the Ohio River, as governor. In the meantime, Thomas Jefferson, the Virginia liberal who had been largely instrumental in inducing Virginia to give up its claims to the region, presented to Congress a plan of government for the Northwest Territory, which consisted of dividing it into ten states to be called Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenispia, Mertopotamia, Illinois, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelispia. These states were to be self-governing, like the original states of the federation, but under a certain amount of supervision from Congress, and were later to be admitted to the federation on the same basis as the original states. A plan for the general emancipation of slaves, to be completed by 1800, was also inserted. The plan was opposed by the Cincinnati, since George Washington still claimed that land as his personal estate, and would hear of nothing resembling democracy out there. Washington finally managed, through the Cincinnati followers in

Congress, to have Jefferson appointed as ambassador to France, and, with him out of the way, the plan for a democratic form of organization in the Northwest Territory was dropped.

Although Virginia and New York gave up their claims early, Connecticut and Massachusetts waited. In 1783, after the proclamation of peace, Connecticut issued another proclamation stating that the area between the 41st and 42nd parallels of latitude, from the western boundary of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River, was a part of Connecticut, and was not to be settled by anyone without special license from the State of Connecticut; and, for the purpose of issuing such settlers' licenses, and for dealing with the red tribes in the region thus claimed, the State of Connecticut despatched to the mouth of the Cuyahoga River a special agent by the name of Moses Cleaveland, who had been an officer in the Continental Army. The trading post thus established by the Connecticut River, under the Second Republic, became a city named Cleaveland after its founder, though the spelling has been simplified to Cleveland. In 1786, Connecticut, though it kept its promise to cede its claims to Congress, did a bit of Yankee bargaining in doing so, inasmuch as it held back 120 miles of the strip in question, comprising a piece of lake shore from the Pennsylvania line to beyond the old French settlement of Sandusky (originally Sandouske), which was to be finally ceded under special conditions, namely, that the sale of public land go into a school fund for the Northwest Territory, that no slavery be allowed there, and that a university be built and maintained in that region. This reserved area, thought finally transferred into United States possession in 1800 (still as "Connecticut's Western Reserve") and later incorporated into the State of Ohio, is still considered by Connecticut as Connecticut territory merely occupied by Ohio under conditions, and such cities as Cleveland, Akron, Lorain, Youngstown, and Sandusky, are considered by Connecticut as its own cities. The region still claimed by Connecticut is known to its inhabitants as the Connecticut Reserve or the Western Reserve, and the condition as to a university is observed by the maintenance of a "Western reserve University" at Cleveland.

At about the same time, Massachusetts, though its claims were still clouded by British occupation continuing throughout the period of the First Republic, ceded its claims to Congress under similar conditions to those of Connecticut, reserving a small area around the city of Detroit (at that time actually occupied by a British garrison) for purposes similar to those specified for the "Connecticut Reserve;" the university condition in this case was later satisfied by the establishment by State of Michigan (after it was formed out of part of the Massachusetts claim) of a state educational institution called the "Epistemiad," and now known as the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, about thirty eight miles west of Detroit.

Thus, by 1786, Congress had clear title to the entire Northwest Territory, except for the two "reserves" established by the New England states which had been claimants, and except for the occupation of the northwestern portion of the territory by British troops; Virginia also set aside a "reserve" to be given to veterans of the Continental Army desiring to settle there. The problem of organizing some form of civil government for the territory by Congress became more urgent than ever. In May, 1787, this difficulty was finally provided for by a Congressional resolution called "Ordinance of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River." This resolution, in view of the conditions in the Connecticut and Massachusetts Reserves, definitely abolished slavery in the territory; it also guaranteed freedom of religious belief throughout the territory, in substantially the same form as had been done a century and a half before in Rhode Island. It was to be governed, not democratically in several states, as Jefferson had planned, but as a unit under a governor to be appointed by Congress, with an elected legislature in an advisory capacity, Congress itself being the supreme authority. The territory was to be divided later into not less than three nor more than five

states, not while under federal control, but as soon as they were ready to be admitted into the union on the same basis as the other states, which the ordinance defined as being when each territorial division should attain a population of 70,000. Division lines were laid out between the future states in the Ordinance, first on the basis of three states in north and south strips, the first division line running directly north from the north bend of the Ohio River, and the next division line the Wabash River and a line directly north from a specified point on that river. It was also provided that an additional boundary could be created at an east-west line through the south bend (southernmost point) of Lake Michigan, the three states specified to be south of that line, and lake Michigan the boundary between the states to be formed north of that line. This division comes very close to the state lines that have since been established in the former Northwest Territory, though there has been a slight shift in some of the boundaries.

The problem of placing the Northwest Territory in contact with the states, become more acute since Spain had closed the mouth of the Mississippi to American trade, resulted in two rival canal plans. Virginia desired what was called the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, connecting the Ohio River with the Potomac River a few miles below the Great Falls; for this it was necessary to cross Maryland territory, and it was Maryland that had supplied the snag that had forced the territory into federal control. It was doubtful if Maryland could be induced to surrender a site for a terminal canal port on the Potomac River. This was George Washington's favorite plan, for in that way his own home on the Virginia side of the Potomac would get direct connection with the Ohio lands he had been trying to seize for many years, and the prospect of a new port city to be built on the Potomac so close to his home would make an excellent headquarters for either Washington personally, or the Cincinnati Society to assume control of the United States. On the other hand, the state of New York was trying to create an outlet across the territory just acquired from the Iroquois, and connecting lake Erie with the Mohawk River. This "Erie Canal" would mean a boom for the land which Massachusetts was trying to sell in the formerly disputed Iroquois territory, so that the plan had considerable support in Massachusetts. It obtained backing from Connecticut, because it meant settlement of the Northwest through the Great Lakes instead of the Ohio River, and thus would build up the Western Reserve. Above all, the plan was approved in the Hudson Valley, because it meant that the Northwest's navigation would reach the ocean through the Hudson, and make New York the nation's chief port instead of the small town it had become since the Tory evacuation. But the secret order of the Cincinnati, plotting for a dictatorship of the United States under George Washington, worked for the Chesapeake canal plan, seeing in it a possible entering wedge for an overthrow of the First Republic.

CHAPTER XXV

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

149. ***Conflict of Economic Systems***. The American Revolution and the war for independence were not the product of any single class of society, or any one element fighting for any one purpose, but rather a combination of many conflicting elements and groups, fighting for purposes which were not only widely different, but in many cases directly conflicted with one another. The First Republic was therefore bound to be a reflection of this condition—not the representative of any particular element, but a federation which gave all elements of the revolution, from laborers to

aristocrats, opportunity to fight it out among themselves. Under the First Republic any one of the states could take the side of the workers and farmers entirely, or it could take the side of the aristocrats altogether, or it could have an internal revolution, without any interference from the United States. Such was the government of the United States, as created by the American Revolution. Of course, it was hardly to be expected that any of the elements which fought in the war for American independence, and which had nothing in common but a common enemy during the war, would be satisfied with such a compromise government after the war was over, so that the First Republic could continue existing only as long as it was able to preserve the balance between these various classes.

We have seen throughout the course of this history that the entire development of the colonization of the European settlers in America manifested the conflicts resulting from the contact of two widely divergent systems of social organization. On the one hand, there was in America, before the white invasion, the highly developed organization of the original American peoples, which, in the case of the New England nations, was substantially the type of society described in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence (which obviously fails as a description of anything that the white people have produced at any period), a completely democratic, federated organization, recognizing the rights and equality of all individuals, and without any property institutions. Going southward, this gradually changed character to the partly oligarchic but still largely democratic and non-property organization of the middle Atlantic coast, and to the despotic and slaveholding nations of the Maskoki in the South. On the other hand, from Europe the invaders imported a totally alien form of organization. This was the so-called feudal system, according to which all land was held by a chain of owners arranged one above the other, each being a slave to the one above him, the highest being the king (in Catholic countries, the Pope was an overlord to even the king), and the lowest being the serfs or peasants who worked the land, and whose work supported the entire series of overlords. Every tenant everywhere in the scale was part of the "real estate" of his lord, and was bought and sold as part of the land. Activities in the towns, where some production and distribution of miscellaneous articles took place, was organized on a similar basis, the activity being generally chartered by the king or some smaller lord to groups of their city serfs, called burghers or *bourgeois*, who made articles which they sold for money, part of which went to the lords. Even among these there were various ranks, slaves to one another; so that the entire system was one of universal slavery.

It might well be expected that the economic systems of Europe and America would not harmonize, and both were so highly organized that neither could fully prevail when they came into contact, as happened during the course of the seventeenth century. The settlers from England and France attempted to transplant their feudal system of social and economic organization into a land where a totally different type of organization had already been developed. The actual result was the development of a sort of mixture of the two, of varying quality and as yet of several different degrees of consistency, but a mixture which had little resemblance to either of the original ingredients.

In the South, where the white settlers already found a system of slavery and despotism in force, there was comparatively little difficulty, the feudal system as it was attempted to introduce it into that part of the country readily adapting itself to the institutions of slavery, but mostly importing the actual slaves from Africa, where also slavery was highly developed, and an aristocracy, based on slaveholding, and descended from the English aristocracy, became the ruling power in the South. The slaves raised on the "plantations" of Virginia had to be sold to support the

increasing aristocracy, and the "indentured servants" (whites sold for a limited period into servitude), who were, during the colonial period, an important part of the slave system, had to have new land to accommodate them (of course under the aristocrats' rule). So that maintenance of this relic of the feudal system resulted in a new form of the institution of slavery, which differed from feudalism itself, as well as from slavery in its African or Maskoki forms, in requiring constant expansion, especially in Virginia, which was constantly getting into trouble with its neighbors to fill its ever-expanding territorial needs. How the bladder would burst when the limit of expansion was reached, yet remained to be seen; and Southern participation in the American Revolution was consequently part of this expanding process, a fight for new land and more power for the aristocrats.

In the North, a different situation prevailed. There were two kinds of settlement in the North, those of the refugees (such as Plymouth, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut) and those founded by lords on the Virginian model, where it was actually attempted to transplant the feudal system (such as Maine, New Hampshire, and New York). In no case did it prove possible either to establish a full-fledged feudal system in America, or to establish firmly slavery or indentured servitude in the North, where the systems already prevailing among the original peoples of that part of the continent were totally inconsistent with such institutions. As a result, a totally new system of organization was beginning to appear among the Pilgrims from their earliest settlement, based largely on Penacook institutions, but on which were engrafted many ideas brought over from Europe, such as money and private property, which themselves took on new forms in the new system of organization.

The result was that the New England colonies started from the beginning to develop on totally new lines economically. Money and property had, it is true, been introduced from Europe; but it was attempted, together with these, to introduce the individual freedom and initiative found among the red men, though without the closely-knit tribal productive organization which would really make such a thing universally possible. As a result, production and distribution were undertaken not by the community acting through the individuals, as among the tribes, nor through the closely-knit feudal groups, which it became impossible to establish, but by individuals acting by and for themselves, and in direct opposition to other similar individuals, so that, instead of the individual co-operation that the red tribes had, was substituted an individual warfare which was due to the whites' taking over part of the red institutions without taking over enough of the necessary conditions to be able to make them function as they were supposed to. Since, under these conditions, with the introduction of money and property, no individual could take charge of any economic functions without the necessary start in that direction, it became necessary, where more than one person had to work together, to introduce paid employees, who were paid a certain amount to produce a greater value of commodities or other services. This, as we shall see later, necessitated an expansion which differed from that of the slavery institution in the South in being a trade expansion instead of a territorial one. This economic system, depending for its functioning on the use of money as capital, and operated mainly by the holders of such capital, has for that reason become known as the capitalist system. The Puritan re-migration to England around 1640, and the subsequent Puritan revolt in England, introduced the seeds of this system's organization into England, and from there the system spread into Europe, though at the time of the American Revolution it had not succeeded anywhere in the so-called "Old World" in taking on the degree of importance it had in America, where it originated.

At the time of the American Revolution, these two systems, capitalism in the North and slavery in the South, were active in the revolt for opposite causes, and, for reasons having to do

with the nature of their hybrid origin, both systems were trying to operate under a curious combination of legislative democratic forms taken from the red men of America and pseudo-feudal legalistic forms imposed originally from England, neither of which actually fitted either the Southern or the Northern systems. These two systems, however, in spite of the tribal democratic forms of government in which they were working, were both radically opposed to even these forms, and were trying to oppose them and replace them by some sort of oligarchy or aristocracy. To that extent, under the First Republic, both these forces were working together to overthrow the First Republic in favor of some more oligarchic type of administration that would serve as a better tool; this anti-government campaign was led by the secret conspiracy of the Society of the Cincinnati, headed by its President, George Washington, who was pretending to have retired from public life.

The two systems above described, however, were not the only ones which had arisen and were functioning, or attempting to function, at the time of the American Revolution. We have seen that both of these hybrid systems, the capitalist system in the North, and the slavery system in the South, lacked the balanced adjustment that the parent systems had originally possessed, and therefore both had an uncontrollable tendency to unlimited expansion, a sort of economic elephantiasis which could not be cured in either system without the complete destruction of the system itself. But there were, on the other hand, systems arising which embodied the balancing elements that the parent organizations in both Europe and America had. Chief among these was the system of undercover factories that had originated subsequent to the great Ohio War in Massachusetts and Rhode Island as well as neighboring regions; this was an attempt, in reality, to adapt the democratic organization of the red people as far as possible to the needs of the new peoples that had invaded the country; and it was this system that was originally, as we have seen, the prime mover in initiating the Revolution, though the two aristocratic systems had managed at an early stage to push the workers' factory system into the background. Still, it was to a great extent this system that impressed the democratic form and principles on the government of the First Republic—a fact which made it all the more urgent for the two aristocratic societal plans, if they were to survive and have the immense growing space they needed, to throw off as far as possible the democratic shackles that the new workers' system was imposing on them. This workers' system, however, remained largely loyal to New England, and the counter-revolution of 1780 in Massachusetts, establishing the "Commonwealth," bade fair to make it possible to suppress the "upstart" democratic organization.

There was also an attempt, during the eighteenth century, to restore the feudal "guild system" of production in the part of Massachusetts formerly the Plymouth Colony, and have production and distribution organized by workers operating individually by and for themselves, but under strict mutual regulation by common agreements binding each trade. Prominent among these attempts was the organization of the making of shoes in the town of Brockton. This plan, however, lacking the regulating force from above that made it possible for it to live in its original home environment, did not thrive in America, and never became of great importance.

The First Republic was, then, an arena of open conflict between these various economic systems attempting to gain control of America, chief among which were the capitalist and the slavery system, on the aristocratic side, and the workers'-factory and guild system, on the democratic side. The First Republic could remain as it was so long as none of the systems was able to take complete control of the country; but it must necessarily be doubtful how long this balance of power could be kept up.

150. ***Currency Under the First Republic***. Although the Constitution of the First Republic gave Congress the power to coin money, minting was never actually commenced during the short period that the First Republic was in existence, and a confusion of foreign currencies, predominantly English, was in circulation in America during that period. Practically all coins used in this country during the War for Independence were badly clipped, since each user took his commission in the shape of a few scraps of metal scraped off the coin, and at one time the Congress had even ordered the same done with coins issued to be used for pay for to the soldiers. Since trade was mostly with the Spanish colonies during the war, the only new coins to come in were Spanish ones, while English money, which had remained in America all through the war, became so badly clipped that English currency was at a heavy discount. Although the Continental Congress, which was the leading authority of the First Republic, never actually coined money of its own, it issued notes, commonly known as Continentals, for payment to the army, and, due to the difficulty Congress had in financing itself (under the First Republic, it depended on contributions from the States), these "Continentals" became almost worthless, at one time dropping to a thousandth of their face value. During the war, many of the states also issued their own paper money; among these were Massachusetts (the "State," not the Commonwealth) and Pennsylvania. Although English currency remained the money of account, it was mostly Spanish money that was actually in circulation. The Spanish peso, worth a bit over four shillings before the war, and quoted in various parts of America after the war (due to the depreciation of English currency) at rates varying from five to ten shillings, became the actual unit of value in practice all over America. This coin had long been known in England and in New York by its Dutch name, dollar (originally from Joachimsthaler, named after a Bohemian silver mine), and it was in terms of "dollars" that the "Continental" notes were made out, though the various State paper moneys were issued generally in terms of pounds and shillings. The lowest currency unit, for small change, was the Spanish real, an eighth of a peso, known as pistareen ("little peso") in New England, and in some other states by abbreviated words denoting the prevailing rate of exchange, as "fip" (standing for fivepence) in New York, or "levy" (short for elevenpence) in New Jersey, while, whether it was a five-penny bit or an eleven-penny bit, the term "bit" for a Spanish real became quite general throughout the First Republic. So that, in reckoning amounts of money in America, there was the official State reckoning in pounds, shillings, and pence, which was a depreciated reckoning, while the people, as well as to some extent the Congress of the First Republic, used actually the dollar, which was eight bits, and the bit, which was an uncertain and varying number of pence, according to the exchange rate. Although the "bit" has ceased to exist as an actual unit of currency, the expressions, "two bits" for a quarter-dollar coin, and "four bits" for a half-dollar are still used in many parts of the United States.

In addition to English and Spanish currency, money of many other nations was in common circulation in America as small change, making a confusion worse confounded out of the currency system. The first attempt to establish order here was on the initiative of the State of New York, which, although it could not restore to par either foreign coin or Continental paper, had to do something to enable its conquered port to function, the city of New York being practically entirely dependent on its merchants for its existence. The result was that New York State, shortly after the annexation of the city, worked out a system of "money of account"—not actual coinage—but intended to be fixed units in terms of which accounts could be kept and prices fixed, and in terms of which actual currency could be evaluated. This was done by taking the "dollar"—the Spanish peso—as the basic unit of value; and, by identifying the "fip" with the depreciated shilling, the table of values for New York State became: 12 pesos make one shilling, 8 shillings make one dollar. The dollar, and the "York shilling," represented Spanish coins in actual use in the United States, and the

only new element was the introduction of an artificial unit, represented by no actual coin, for measuring small change—the "York penny," amounting to one ninety-sixth part of a dollar. As the use of "York pence" and "York shillings" as units of money measurement spread over the United States, and even Canada, it became quite natural to reckon the "York penny" in round numbers as 100 to a dollar.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the Congress of the First Republic had the power to coin money, though this was more easily said than done. Amid the welter of foreign currencies, and with "Continental" paper money badly depreciated, the Congressional committees appointed each successive year to struggle with the problem were unable to reach a solution. But, in 1785, Thomas Jefferson, who was on Congress's committee that year for the purpose, finally came in with a definite report, suggesting a system of currency of the United States. The prime basis of this was the fact that, in practice, the York penny had been undergoing a conversion in popular use to the hundredth instead of the ninety-sixth of a dollar, and it was this unit that Jefferson proposed to embody in his coinage system. The money standard was to be silver, with an auxiliary gold currency for large amounts (copied from the Spanish basis), and the dollar was to be the main unit, to be divided into tenths, hundredths, and thousandths, the two former subdivisions intended to correspond approximately to the York shillings and the York pennies, though by no means identical with any former units. For names for these decimal fractions of a dollar, names were selected which were supposed to indicate the numbers 10, 100, and 1,000, respectively, namely, "dime" for the tenth part of a dollar (from French "dime" meaning tithe or tenth); "cent" (meaning 100 in French) for the hundredth of a dollar, the popular version of the York penny; and "mill" (French "mille" meaning 1,000) for the thousandth part of a dollar. But, when the Cincinnati sympathizers in Congress disposed of Jefferson by making him ambassador to France, this proposition, like Jefferson's plan for democratic government of the Northwest Territory, was permanently tabled, especially as the conspiracy to overthrow the First Republic would stand better chances of success if the Congress could be prevented from stabilizing American currency, so that the First Republic could be discredited. So Jefferson was left to propound to the French people his ideas on the advantages of a decimal system of currency, and (as he had suggested in his report to Congress) of weights and measures.

151. ***Church Reorganization***. The American Revolution and the War for Independence had considerably weakened most of the religious organizations in America, and it was impossible for them ever to regain their former strength. The main citadel of religious domination and intolerance during the war in America was Virginia, where the Episcopal Church still ruled with a high hand, though the exigencies of war forced its disestablishment as an official church, at least until it could be reorganized so as to no longer owe allegiance to the British crown. The war once over, the Episcopalians in Virginia, and also in the rest of the United States, made haste to accomplish that reorganization. This was done separately in the North and in the South, parallelling the purposes for which the North and South had revolted. For, not only in Virginia but in most of the South, the leaders of the revolt were from the old English aristocracy and were good Episcopalians, and the South really was attempting to set up a semi-official Church of Virginia which would also have influence throughout the South. But in the North most of the followers of the Episcopal Church, except for the Southerners recently settled in the North, were the Tories, though many of them, especially in New York City and the Paumonok Islands, were now claiming rebel sympathy. There were now no bishops of this church in America, since these had left in the early stages of the revolution, being direct representatives of the king as head of the church, and the Church of England would not ordain anyone as bishop unless he would swear allegiance to the making of

England as head of the church. As a result of this impasse remaining long after the end of the war, it became doubtful how long the Episcopalian Church could keep its own organization going under the new conditions, forcing Virginia to adopt an act of complete religious tolerance in 1785, totally foreign to the ideas of most of those sponsoring it, though it was actually drawn up by the Virginia liberal element, and particularly by Thomas Jefferson, who had long been working towards just such an end.

In 1785 two Episcopal ministers managed to become bishops to the satisfaction of their congregations, at least until something better could be had. The difficulty consisted in getting a chain of ordinations which would, according to the church's beliefs, reach continuously back to St. Paul. To go to an Episcopal bishop in England would mean a demand for allegiance to the king, while to go to a Catholic bishop would similarly mean that allegiance would be sworn to the Pope, which would, of course, be still less acceptable. Among the Northern ministers of this church, who consisted mostly of Tories, and who constantly looked to England as their guide, the idea finally came that certain Episcopalian bishops in Scotland had never recognized the overthrow of King James II in 1698, and had never since then sworn allegiance to the king. So one of these ministers, a certain Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, went to Scotland and got himself ordained Bishop of Connecticut, though the diocese for the time being covered practically all of the northern states, and he later on operated from Long Island, where he had previously been during the war as a Tory.

The Episcopalians of Virginia, many of whom had actually participated in the revolution, disdained to go to Great Britain for any such purpose, as one of their ministers, named Mason Weems, and the minister of George Washington's own parish, went abroad, presumably sent by the Cincinnati on this errand for the purpose of restoring the church organization to its pre-revolutionary powers. Weems found some Protestant bishops still functioning in Denmark, and he underwent at their hands an ordination ceremony in Latin, with the result that he came back as the Episcopalian bishop of Virginia. It was this bishop who, shortly after the overthrow of the First Republic, wrote a highly flattering but mendacious biography of George Washington, which was responsible for many of the myths which now cluster about Washington's name, particularly the famous tale of the hatchet and the cherry-tree—and the highly incredible story that Washington could never tell a lie.

So the Episcopalian church was reorganized in America, by this writer of historical mythology in the South, and by a returned Tory refugee in the North. But other offshoots of the Church of England, such as the Methodists and the Congregationalists, also needed reorganization, and, during the period of the First Republic, this was largely done, though none of the churches was ever able to get back any of the measure of power even among its own followers that it had had before the war. In spite of the fact that the American revolution never specifically had religious liberty as one of its purposes, and although the First Republic never made any official declarations on the subject, nevertheless a weakening of church power was a natural effect of the revolution, while the issue of religious tolerance throughout the United States worked itself out naturally under the equilibrium of conflicting forces that was so characteristic of the First Republic.

The case of the Congregational Church in Massachusetts was anomalous in this respect, because in many ways it was strengthened rather than weakened by the revolution. This church, being a democratic organization, controlled from below rather than from above, and being largely identified with the same town meetings which had engineered the beginning of the revolution, there came a tendency to regard opposition to this church as opposition to rule by the people. In many

towns, the town government and the local unit of the Congregational Church were one and the same thing, so that to a limited extent it became an established church in Massachusetts for a time, in spite of the fact that the "Commonwealth" coup, deriving its support from the Episcopalian Tories, and from other non-democratic elements, refused to recognize this. So that Massachusetts presented the highly anomalous situation during the First Republic of a group of would-be rulers fighting to disestablish the church, as against a people clinging to the church in the name of democracy. But even here, a parallel effect of the revolution was in decentralizing the church into a number of disconnected town units, bound by no particular tenets or central organization. After the "Commonwealth" took control of Massachusetts, it was through this peculiar democratic, decentralized church organization that the skeleton of the old "civil disobedience" association, though in highly disjointed form, was preserved, at a time when even the official town meetings were closed by the Commonwealth authorities to all but the propertied. This property qualification had existed all the time in the other States except Massachusetts, as it had been a natural growth in the South and had been imposed on New England by the British authorities; but in Massachusetts it was when the Commonwealth was established and the original State government overthrown, that property qualifications for voting were restored; and it was largely through the machinery of the Congregational Church that the framework of the original democracy of the revolution was preserved during the period of the First Republic.

Other churches than the ones just considered, required no reorganization as a result of the revolution. The equality of religious sects, however, was not legally recognized as yet in most States, though it was under the First Republic that this issue was fought out. Catholics were much discriminated against except in Maryland; this was true even in the States where the laws provided for the widest religious tolerance, and this was probably largely because their centralized organization might be inimical to the sovereignty of the State governments themselves. The first Catholic church it was possible to establish in the states outside of Maryland, was started in Boston in 1789, during the closing months of the First Republic.

152. ***Land and Trade under the First Republic***. The war had brought most trade of the United States almost to a standstill, and it was now attempted to reorganize it, with the old-time smuggling ring now in the position of respectable importers. There had been practically no shipbuilding during the war, since rebel shipping was treated by most nations as piracy; and it naturally took a long time to restore the set-back of the long war. Very little money circulated, as a result; and, even after the war, the attacks by the pirate ships of Algiers and Morocco, who not only attacked shipping at sea, but made slave raids on the American coast, blocked to a great extent efforts at restoring international trade in America. The longer this situation continued, the worse matters became, since the traders were able to employ few people, thereby lessening the amount of money in circulation. Both the Cincinnati and the supporters of the workers' factory system took occasion to blame the government of the First Republic for the resulting economic depression, the former on the ground that the Republic was too inattentive to the rich, and the latter on the ground that the confederate administration was favoring the rich as against the poor. As usual, the one who tries to please everybody succeeds in pleasing nobody.

This crisis was accentuated when, in Massachusetts, the "Commonwealth," on attaining power, began to confiscate the workers' factories that had been the backbone of the original revolution. The State, before the counter-revolutionary coup that ushered in the Commonwealth, had printed paper money, and considerable borrowing was done by farmers in paper money from the merchants who had been the pre-revolutionary smuggling ring; also the same merchants had lent most of the capital

before the revolution to start the workers' factories, and, after the revolution, with the depression conditions setting in, they claimed mortgages on both farms and factories. In the early years of the Commonwealth, payment of these debts was demanded in gold and silver, on loans which had mostly been originally made in paper money, and the paper money was withdrawn after the peace in favor of foreign money (the exchange being, of course, made at a discount), so that really the payments demanded were far in excess of the loans originally given. The workers' factories were thus all confiscated, and either operated by private capitalists or closed up altogether. The capitalists of Massachusetts, as well as in other parts of the United States, felt the need of a bank to handle this confiscation. In Boston, they organized for this purpose, in 1784, in the building formerly occupied by the now confiscated textile factory on Tremont Street, the Massachusetts Bank, thus starting an organization which has since become one of the nation's largest banking institutions, now the First National Bank of Boston. Similarly, in Philadelphia, in the same year, the Bank of North America was organized, and, in New York, two banks appeared, one being called the Bank of New York, while the other was a canal company, the Manhattan Company, which also handled money deposits. With these banks organized, the work of confiscation of farms and worker' factories could proceed unchecked, especially in view of the fact that the state governments were beginning to become instruments of the capitalists.

The economic crisis which commenced at the close of the war was purely one of post-war reconstruction, and was not one of the great world-wide depressions which, in the later history of the capitalist system, were to shake the world's entire economic organization. The main difficulty was to get some sort of manufacturing started; and the workers' factories, which were rapidly being confiscated, were the only organizations in America with facilities and organizational equipment for this. The rising system of the capitalists was trying to accomplish the same end, but as yet it lacked the proper forms of organization in America to develop manufacturing. It was therefore attempted, as the workers had done before the revolution, to organize "associations" for promoting different sorts of manufacture—only in these new associations, not labor but capital voted: one share of capital, one vote; and these "associations" were, one by one, granted charters by the state legislature similar to those that the colonies had formerly received from the English Parliament, thus beginning the modern type of organization, the commercial corporation.

Both during the War for Independence and after it, both the workers' factory system and the capitalist attempt to start manufacture had been trying hard to introduce new inventions, the former plan introducing them mostly by cooperative effort so that no definite individual could be marked out as the inventor, while the latter system worked exclusively on individual inventions. Thus, the concealed workers' factory on the Neponset River between Dorchester and Milton, in its attempt to provide transportation for its food products before the revolution with being noticed, had provided a road made for two plank tracks, leading to the river some distance below the factory (since, before the revolution, leading the road directly to the factory would have guided the authorities there); and, after the revolution, these planks were reinforced with grooved stone tracks—one of the first railroads in existence, though it was a horse-car line. After the succession of the "Commonwealth" to power in Massachusetts, this road was taken over by the state authorities and operated as a regular highway—but there the new invention was. Again, individual inventions were tried out during the First Republic, though the Second Republic largely suppressed all inventions for a time. A good example was the invention of Fitch, of Hartford, Connecticut, who constructed a boat operated by steam-engine, which ran regularly, transporting freight and passengers, between Hartford and New Haven during the last years of the War for Independence, and, after the peace,

operated for several years—in fact ran the rest of the duration of the First Republic—between Hartford and New York.

As the northern sates were now controlled by the rising capitalist class, the last outstanding exception, Massachusetts, being removed by the advent of the Commonwealth regime, it was natural that the authorities in these states should try to promote inventions by individual capitalists, while what was left unconfiscated of the workers' factory system was still introducing its own manufacturing improvements—in fact, forced to do so, in its last fight for existence. States such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania began, as England had done before, issuing to inventors patents giving them a monopoly right to their invention in the State; since, in England, where manufacture had already arisen on an individual ownership basis, this was a means of assuring that the individuals would continue to own, and in these American states it could very well serve the purpose of putting down the attempt to organize manufacture on the basis of group ownership by workers.

What the capitalists particularly desired to do in order to get their own manufacturing system started, was to import some invention into the United States in which manufacture had already been organized on a definitively private-capital basis; and the most outstanding such invention was the English spinning-jenny. "Associations" were organized in various states for this purpose, but, since England would not allow plans of the machinery to be taken out of the country, it was necessary to find some way to smuggle the plans out of England. Tench Coxe of Baltimore was the chief person engaged in this attempt, but it was not until 1786 that he managed to smuggle into the United States actual plans for the spinning jenny. In the meantime, an "association" promoted by the Commonwealth regime in Massachusetts had succeeded in securing the services of a Scotchman who had worked on the machinery in the cotton mills in England, and who knew enough about the workings of the machinery to reconstruct--with variations of his own--similar machinery in Massachusetts. It was not until 1787 that any efforts were under way, however, for actual construction work, and then two rival spinning-jenny plants were being built, one by Tench Coxe and his "association," at Pawtucket in Rhode Island; and the other by the Massachusetts "association" at New Bedford in Massachusetts. The old-time hide-out workers' factory which had been established before the revolution, manufacturing textile goods at the old tribal weir in the abandoned Okamakammesset town of Wamesset, was confiscated under the Commonwealth regime by the Lowell family, who proceeded to remodel the factory after the plan of the New Bedford mill, starting the textile factory settlement which grew into the city of Lowell.

In the country, confiscation of farmers' land was going on with equal rapidity, so that much of the land that the farmers had acquired as a result of the revolution, especially in the Middlesex uprising in Massachusetts which began the revolution, was now rapidly coming into the hands of the large merchants who, as the pre-revolutionary smuggling ring, had financed the war and, on that heading, claimed mortgages on the land acquired by that means. On the other hand, American conditions necessitated a more fluid condition of land ownership, to ease the territorial expansion pressure from which the colonies, especially Virginia, had suffered. To this end, it had been attempted, even long before the revolution, to modify the inheritance laws, but England, interested in creating large estates for her own lords, had declared all those attempts void, and enforced in America the English rule of primogeniture (inheritance by the eldest son only). This legal procedure was duly modified after the war in all the States, so that all children inherited equally.

153. ***The Soldiers' Demands***. It is not to be supposed that, during the process of confiscation of farm lands and of workers' factories, no opposition was shown. The reaction resulting from the growing power the Cincinnati were acquiring, brought about opposition to both state and federal governments from two directions; one from the workers and farmers, who were fighting to avoid confiscation, the other from the ex-soldiers, who were seeking payment for their services during the war, and were consequently urging heavier taxation and more confiscation in order to pay them. In the spring of 1785 a group of ex-soldiers appeared before the State House in Philadelphia, to demand their pay from both Congress and the State Legislature, both of which were in session in that building at the time. In this case, Congress contrived to leave the building secretly and, since they had proved mobile during the war, having little to hold them to one spot, they promptly reassembled forty miles away, at Princeton in New Jersey. Later on, to avoid recurrence of this attack by the veterans, it was decided to take the Congress to New York, where most of the war veterans had fought on the British side, and could therefore have no claim on Congress--where also the growing Cincinnati element in Congress, with its pro-aristocratic tendencies, could feel more at home than in Philadelphia, which had been the capital during the greater part of the Revolution. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the Congress of the First Republic made no efforts to raise enough funds to pay off its army; but the decentralized form of that government made that difficult, and in fact put the bulk of the burden on the individual States, some of which had been imposing heavy taxes to raise the funds, resulting in further confiscations of farms and of all appurtenances of the guild and co-operative organizations, thereby further breaking down the more democratic parts of the First Republic, as well as arousing a greater spirit of revolt in the farmers and workers—the latter particularly in New England, where the workers' factory plan had been most highly developed.

The effort to raise federal funds was handicapped largely by the fact that practically the only way Congress could raise its own expenses was by voluntary contributions from the States, which were charged what might be called membership dues for nesting delegates to the confederation organization. There was, it is true, little difficulty in collecting these State dues, though in 1788 Virginia defaulted, and consequently had no representation in Congress that year. Also it was attempted to raise loans abroad, though the First Republic, on account of its loosely federate organization, could give little security; and European nations, insisting on reduction of the diplomatic standing to terms they had been used to, kept repeating in vain their query as to whether the United States was one nation or thirteen. Nevertheless loans were actually raised in France and Holland, leaving the equally difficult problem of repayment of the loans. In addition, a series of constitutional amendments—the only ones ever submitted to the States under the First Republic—proposed by Congress, giving the Congress power to impose import duties, under certain limitations. Two of these amendments failed to get more than a small number of ratifications (under the First Republic, unanimous ratification by the States was required for a constitutional amendment), but a third was proposed which specifically described the taxable commodities, limiting the duties to 5%, and this amendment was ratified by twelve States, but was rejected by New York, whose seaport wanted ocean trade, but no land trade; and was therefore much more ready to attempt breaking up the federation by importing customs barriers against United States trade, as indeed New York State actually did in 1787. So that in this field Cincinnati influence had been successful in blocking all attempts of Congress to obtain funds, and Congress was almost forced to turn its attention once more to its own property—the Northwest Territory—as a possible source of revenue.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SHAYS REBELLION

154. ***The Rhode Island Coup***. In the meantime, the workers and farmers were preparing their resistance to the encroachments of the richer groups, especially in New England. We have seen that riots had started in Massachusetts from this source as early as 1782, before the peace treaty, as a sort of abortive revolution against the Commonwealth, largely by the same workers and farmers who had supplied most of the army and following for the old "civil disobedience" regime of 1774-6. But after the peace, and especially after the beginning of the economic depression of 1785, these elements, again backed by the old secret organization of the Okamakammessets, tried seriously to rebuild the old "civil-disobedience" regime on the old basis, still starting on a basis of a rival enforcement regime resisting the constituted authorities, but not trying to replace them until the "civil disobedience" had been sufficiently built up. In New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, parallel organizations appeared, though without the same past experience at "civil disobedience" that their fellows in Massachusetts had had. The semi-underground "Sons of Liberty," which had come out into the open after the declaration of independence, could now no longer fulfil their original function, so the Okamakammessets had to build up a new following of the same sort in Massachusetts—groups of workers and farmers who met under cover in small numbers, unknown to their fellow citizens, so that they would apparently spread their ideas as individuals, and who recognized one another by the name "Jo Bunker," which was the hail they gave one another.

In Rhode Island, on the contrary, where independence had been gained by legislation without any change in government whatever, and where there had really been no revolution in the first place, the attempt was to organize politically in order to get control of the legislature. This attempt on the part of the poorer elements was much impeded by the property qualifications for voting which England had imposed before the war, and which Rhode Island retained by pure inertia, having, as we have said, never really had a revolution at all. Nevertheless, though the qualifications for voters for governor and judges were too high for the workers and farmers, many farmers still did have enough so-called property to be entitled to vote for the legislature, and even many workers had saved up enough to be entitled to that particular voting privilege. The result was that this goal of capturing the legislature of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations was accomplished in May, 1786.

And now came the most difficult part of the problem, namely, now that they had the legislature, what they were going to do with it. The governor and the judges looked down on this legislature as rabble, while the large financiers and landowners outside the state showed their contempt by dubbing it "Rogues' Island;" to which the group in power in Rhode Island replied with the name "Red Island," which happened to be the correct interpretation of the name. Agreement within the state government was impossible, but the legislature was able to overrule the governor's veto under the old charter of Rhode Island. Still the problem remained what to do with the legislature, now that it was captured; for all that a legislature could do was to legislate, and lawmaking does not cure economic difficulties, as a general rule.

There had, however, been those, especially among the farmers, who felt that the root of the land difficulty lay in having to pay back in full-value currency debts contracted originally in paper

money, so that the remedy consisted in the legislative direction, of issuing paper money to relieve the farmers, as well as to redeem the old institutions formerly operated cooperatively by workers; and, for the workers, to get some form of manufacturing—any form of manufacturing—under way. The very fact that these groups now had legislative control made them keep all measures within the limits of governmental power, as specified in the Rhode Island charter, so that nothing more radical than a program of inflation and industrialization could be attempted. This of course, got nowhere, but merely scattered the impression in America that the way to help the poorer element was to follow the shining example of Rhode Island and issue paper money; correspondingly the aristocrats and financiers, who had been ready enough during the war to get out so much paper money that it "was not worth a continental," now went into a panic at the very mention of the idea.

Paper money was issued by the State of Rhode Island, accordingly, with the particular object in view of forcing its acceptance in payments for debts; and, to this end, it was provided that anyone refusing to accept such money when offered payment for a debt could be summoned to court, where the debt would be declared cancelled. This was the legislature's idea of a means of turning the courts, formerly an instrument for confiscating farms and factories, into a means for confiscating the debts instead. However, the courts were not in the hands of the same elements as the legislature, and the result was that the Supreme Court of Rhode Island ruled the inflation law null and void—because, forsooth, it violated property rights guaranteed in the charter granted Rhode Island by King Charles II of England! And, though the legislature used their charter privilege of ousting the judges from office for this decision, the precedent remained, and the so-called Trevelyan case of Rhode Island has remained a precedent, extensively used later on by the Second Republic, for the courts' declaring unconstitutional and void all legislative acts which do not pass the court's censorship, and especially those which affect adversely any vested property interests.

"When the nation won its independence, yet New England's landlords stayed,
And the men who worked in town and country against them were arrayed,
Then Red Island's workers did take over and control affairs of state,
And claims for debts and rights to profit did they start to confiscate.

"And, while Red Island took such measures, all to humble rich men's pride,
The judges claimed they were not valid, just to set those laws aside.
But their doctrines were repudiated, for the judges lost their seat,
And the plutocrats of old Red Island did again receive defeat."

In the matter of relieving the factory situation, efforts were made to revive manufacturing, especially to re-organize the former co-operative basis on which the secret factories had operated before the revolution; but even these could not be legislated into existence, but must be done by a slow process of volunteer work among the workers themselves, which the legislature could merely encourage. Though in this respect the new Rhode Island legislature met with little success, their constituents apparently realized the difficulty, and the people of Rhode Island proved themselves at least tolerant and patient in that regard, and supported their legislature heartily.

However, in spite of the fact that the Rhode Island legislature, as it stood, was in reality accomplishing little in the direction of materially helping the situation, that little was enough to frighten the large financiers and landowners, not only of Rhode Island, but of the entire United States. In the neighboring states, considerable public advertising was done, asking everyone to

refrain from buying Rhode Island goods, because it would support the "rag-money," and encourage the rabble to take power everywhere; but this advertising had the curious result that, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, during the summer of 1785, the poorer classes seemed to have a preference for Rhode Island apples and other Rhode Island articles, which were often definitely so labeled; while those of better means actually did boycott anything and everything that could be suspected of coming from "Rogues' Island."

155. ***The Hatfield Convention***. The Rhode Island coup gave added impetus to the attempts in Massachusetts to reorganize the old-time "civil disobedience" regime; it unfortunately also had the effect of spreading the impression that the way to help out the workers and farmers was by an inflated currency, and this impression seems to have been current at the time among the richer people as well as among the poorer rebel classes. Towns in western Massachusetts began to elect delegates to county conventions, organized much as they had been in 1774, and largely by the very same people; only this time there was not as much attempt at secrecy as there had been the previous case. It was, of course, not the legal town-meetings that elected the delegates to the county conventions, but special meetings assembled without regard to property qualifications, as imposed by the Commonwealth regime; but the very fact that the conventions had to claim to be legal and constitutional bodies meant that their acts and resolves had to be toned down for the purpose, and delegates had to be chosen who were not in the same rebellious mood as were the majority of their constituents, otherwise the conventions would very likely be broken up before they could get well started. Therefore the conventions had to serve the purpose of merely presenting petitions of grievances in legal form to the public and to the State, while a different organization had to be relied on for carrying on any actual rebel activity. Such an organization was supplied by the formation, through the medium of the secret "Jo Bunker" groups, of what were called "councils" which represented the various groups of workers and farmers who were very active towards actual insurrection, and which operated more or less under cover pending some sort of open outbreak of hostilities.

The first of the county conventions to assemble, in the attempt to restore some of the framework of the old civil disobedience organization, was that of Hampshire County, which met at Hatfield, not far from Northampton, on the Connecticut River, on Tuesday, August 22, 1786. At the same time, conventions were in the process of formation for the other three counties of western Massachusetts—Franklin, Berkshire, and Hampden—while, in the eastern part of the state, it was not as yet deemed advisable to organize, on account of the difficulties of communication, until the western end of the state had its convention system on a firm basis. However, even in eastern Massachusetts Bristol County, which was close to Rhode Island, and which therefore expected support from the workers' legislature across the State border in case of difficulty, proceeded immediately with the organization of its complete civil-disobedience organization, including the formation of a County Convention, which seemed to be regarded at that time as the first step.

The Hatfield Convention proved a disappointment for those who expected it to lead actual rebellion against the oppression of the Commonwealth. In fact, little else could be expected of an open organization on which the eye of the Commonwealth authorities, as well as of the public all over America, was resting every moment it was in session. It proved to be purely a petition-making body, as indeed the Continental Congress of the Colonies had been in its inception. Although it did nothing but draw up a petition to the Commonwealth authorities for redress of grievances, the authorities of the Commonwealth made efforts to prove that the County Conventions were unlawful assemblies, and treated them as actual acts of rebellion; alleging in support of this that the freedom

of assemblage guaranteed in the Commonwealth constitution applied merely to the right to hold official town-meetings, and did not even apply to the unrecognized town-meetings that the Conventions represented, because those meetings included the unpropertied, whom the Commonwealth would not recognize as voters! In return, both the rebels and the supporters of the Conventions made an important issue of the freedom of assemblage, especially of the right of the people to assemble to petition for redress of grievances.

But even this right was not mentioned in the resolutions of the Hatfield Convention. The Convention started out by resolving that it was a constitutional body, and an integral part of the administration of the Commonwealth, even though it was in reality a restoration of the government of the "State of Massachusetts Bay" which the Commonwealth had overthrown. Then the Hatfield Convention proceeded to announce its opposition to all measures of violence and revolution—a declaration which few people, on either side of the issue, ever believed; for, though probably the politicians composing the Convention felt that way, and it was good policy to make such a statement, it was well known that the constituency represented by the Hatfield Convention was looking to start another Lexington and Concord. While the Hatfield Convention was taking care of the peaceful side of the issue, the "Jo Bunkers" were getting ready for an earnest revolutionary fight on behalf of the workers and farmers of Massachusetts.

The Hatfield Convention then proceeded to prepare a petition to the Commonwealth legislature, covering some rather strange points considering the actual issues involved. For one thing, a fairer basis of legislative representation was asked, referring to a grievance sometimes heard in Massachusetts, to the effect that legislative districts had been arranged under the Commonwealth with a view solely to political advantage on the part of the capitalists who had overthrown the old civil-disobedience government to establish the Commonwealth. It was not alone the rebels that gave voice to this complaint. The story was told that, in the office of a Haverhill newspaper, after Governor Gerry and the Commonwealth legislature had divided Essex County into strangely-shaped districts, a reporter pointed to a district map of the county, hanging on the wall, with the remark: "This district looks like a salamander," and started to sketch in the eyes and claws of the salamander; to which the editor replied: "Say rather a Gerry-mander." In view of this general feeling in Massachusetts that the legislative districts did not properly represent the people of the state, it was hardly surprising that a peaceful body like the Hatfield Convention should make a major issue out of the "gerrymandering" question, though it was hardly an important issue to the rebels who were hoping to make out of the county conventions the agency for a reconstruction of "civil disobedience."

Other strange items also appeared in the Hatfield Convention's petition. For example, there was a demand that the commonwealth government move to the western part of the state—presumably to take it away from the lobbying influence of the seaport merchants and capitalists. Again, there was a demand for the issuance of paper money, obviously an attempt to copy the Rhode Island coup, which had been such a flat failure in so many respects.

The farm mortgage question was dealt with more at length in the petition, though there were no direct recommendations outside of a moratorium on mortgage debts. Most absurd of all was a demand for the abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas, a system of county courts operated centrally by the Commonwealth for trying cases involving small amounts. It was probably intended by the Hatfield Convention that the "common pleas" cases should be tried by courts to be set up by the town meetings, but the Hatfield petition said nothing about the matter. As a matter of fact, after

the rebellion was crushed, the Commonwealth actually did abolish the Courts of Common Pleas—but gave their functions over to the Superior Court of the Commonwealth, thereby centralizing those functions instead of achieving the decentralization undoubtedly desired by the Hatfield Convention.

As to the workers' factory issue, it was as totally ignored by the Hatfield Convention as it had been by the Continental Congress of the time of the original revolution. Therefore, from all points of view, it became obvious that bodies like the Hatfield Convention would be of little use in reconstructing the old-time "civil disobedience," and could certainly not lead any rebel group. It did have the effect, though, of crystallizing sentiment in certain directions as well as of placing the whole movement for the rights of workers and farmers in an outlaw position.

156. ***The Northampton Insurrection***. The failure of the Hatfield Convention as an instrumentality for the reconstruction of "civil disobedience" placed its constituents in a rather difficult position. In addition, the county court was about to meet in Northampton the following Tuesday, to pass on the confiscation of more land. There was also imminent a possibility of taxation in the form of forced labor rather than money; for, as money taxes had proved difficult to collect during period of economic depression, the legislature was considering the advisability of making all the farmers leach potash without compensation, as a payment of taxes, and such forced labor was a thing that not even the military dictatorships of Andros or Gage had ever attempted in New England.

The secret rebel organization at once decided that immediate action must be taken if further confiscations were to be avoided in Hampshire County. On the morning of Tuesday*, August 29, 1786, just one week after the fiasco at Hatfield, the regular session of the Court of Common Pleas was due at Northampton; but, that morning, the main square of Northampton, and all neighboring streets, were filled with people from all over Hampshire County, in military formation, and armed and organized as a regular militia—to a great extent, in fact, the same group of minute-men that Hampshire County had sent to the siege of Boston eleven years before. The appearance of this army was a complete surprise to everyone not directly connected with the secret rebel organizations; so that it is quite possible that the members of the Hatfield Convention had known nothing of its existence—and least of all was it expected by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, or by anyone connected with the Commonwealth authorities. No attempt was made to demonstrate for anything, or to make any demands of the State authorities—but the judges, when they reached Northampton, were not allowed anywhere near the court house. After futile attempts to raise volunteers to open a way for the judges to get to court, they had to abandon all efforts to hold sessions, and the "councils" were left in sole control of Hampshire County. The red pine-tree flag was again victorious in rebellion in Massachusetts.

This Northampton insurrection marks a turning-point in the history of the world, for, since the rise of the capitalist system, this was the first time that a revolt against the system as such had ever been attempted by the poorer elements of the population against those in economic power, and the first time in the world's history that the so-called "free" workers had ever gone out in rebellion against the attempts of the powers of capital to tyrannize them and extract profits out of them. In the later history of the same economic system, similar attempts were to be made numerous times in varying circumstances and methods and in many countries, but the pioneer attempt of the sort was on that memorable day, August 29, 1786, when an army of workers and farmers in Northampton, Massachusetts, raised the red pine-tree flag over Hampshire County.

"But Bay Land's people would not
To rich men's rule submit,
So, riots all New England o'er
The land's new rulers hit.
The masses in the Bay Land then
Their banner red unfurled,
And for the workers' rights rebelled
The first time in the world."

The audacity of such an insurrection was enough to frighten large landowners and financiers all over the United States, and the Cincinnati, who had been busily plotting ever since the end of the war for independence as to how to overthrow the First Republic, now began to work feverishly in order to lay their plans for a counter-revolution. The press of the United States, being controlled naturally by people who had some capital and other property to lose by such unheard-of insurrections, printed denunciations of the Massachusetts rebels all over the country. The more the rebels were denounced, the more followers they gained in other States than Massachusetts, with the result that sporadic riots in sympathy with the Massachusetts rebels took place shortly after the Northampton Insurrection, at Exeter in New Hampshire, in Connecticut, at Poughkeepsie in New York State, and even some parts of Vermont. None of these, however, were of the carefully-planned surprise-attack variety, and none of them served to do any more than show where popular opinion stood, but otherwise rather injured chances of definite rebellion in those states. Rhode Island, on account of its political coup, was officially, to a certain extent, sympathetic with the Massachusetts rebels—at least the legislature was—even though Rhode Island itself, where the attempt had been to take over the old government rather than start a completely new one, was not doing so well with the balky machine its legislators were attempting to handle.

A good example of the manner in which the press in general denounced the uprising in Massachusetts is furnished by a rhyme against the insurrection and its reputed leaders, which appeared at that time in the Pennsylvania Gazette, in Philadelphia. The suggestion was made that a "Mother Goose alphabet" would be a good way of preserving the memory of these rebels as a horrible example, and, as part of this projected "alphabet," was suggested:

"R stands for Rebels who mobs dare to raise.
S stands for Satan, Smith, Shattuck, and Shays."

But neither Daniel Shays, who was the captain of the Hampshire County rebel army that took possession of Northampton, nor any of the other revolutionaries was a bit dismayed by this flow of vitriol, which rather aided their cause than otherwise. So commenced a new revolution for the principles of the former Penacook Federation, less than five miles from where the Penacook Federation itself was originally organized, and not far from the shore of the Quinnitucket River, the Penacook peoples' river of liberty—a revolution that was to be the first of its kind in the entire history of the world.

"That spirit, which for Freedom in those past days first struck
Beneath the mount which red men of old name Nonotuck,

Beside the Quinnitucket, still lives upon earth,
Still centers in New England, the country of its birth."

157. ***Spread of the Shays Rebellion***. We have already seen how the example of the Shays Rebellion came to get its followers from even outside Massachusetts, though without the same underground direction that it had in the Massachusetts instance, as a result of which nothing but fruitless and aimless rioting resulted in any of the other states. In the District of Maine, which was a non-contiguous possession of Massachusetts, and had been so since the infamous dictatorship of Sir Edmund Andros in 1689, a separatist movement arose concurrently with the Shays Rebellion, with the object of creating in Maine a separate State government, independent of the Commonwealth regime in Massachusetts.

But in the meantime the Shays Rebellion itself, in Massachusetts proper, was spreading, and during the early fall of 1786 the western counties of Massachusetts had gone through the same stages as Hampshire County, having first a fiasco convention to send the petitions for redress to the Commonwealth authorities, and afterwards an organized revolt under the "councils," so that the entire western half of Massachusetts, consisting of the four counties of Berkshire, Hampden, Hampshire, and Franklin, was in active revolt, with the people as a whole obeying by common consent the rebel councils rather than the established government of Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the case of the Hampden County, complications arose in the existence of a federal arsenal at Springfield, which had originally been one of the key factories of the secret workers' factory system of the old-time civil disobedience; but, since it now belonged to the Continental Congress, the rebels recognized its neutrality, inasmuch as they considered themselves in rebellion against the Commonwealth and not against the First Republic itself, though the rebels had comparatively little respect for the Continental Congress either.

In the regions that once came under rebel control, the first thing that was done was to bar all regular court sessions of the Commonwealth, which were replaced by town meetings and by local council sessions; in furtherance of this same program, all lawyers, and, in many cases, even civil employees of the Commonwealth, were exiled from rebel territory; these were, in some towns, quite dramatically chased out, with the report brought back to the revolutionary council that "they are running yet." Next came the destruction of existing court records in the counties captured by the rebels—a task which they accomplished so effectively that, at the present time, most of Massachusetts has no court records antedating 1786, and many court precedents which the Commonwealth had been at pains to build up for the oppression of the poor were thus effectively wiped off the slate. Land that had been foreclosed on was largely restored to its previous owners, and the large estates that the Commonwealth had been building up since its assumption of power were now broken up once more. Unfortunately, little could be done towards restoring the old workers' factories, since the best opportunity in that direction—the Springfield Arsenal—had to be passed by in order to avoid what would be a declaration of war on the entire First Republic, which otherwise would remain neutral.

Although it would seem that the original moving force for the rebellion came from Middlesex County, it was not considered advisable by the councils to attempt open rebellion in the eastern part of Massachusetts until the revolt had been well established in the western portion of the state, though under-cover insurrectionist units were organized in Middlesex and Worcester Counties.

Military companies sent out to suppress rebels in western Massachusetts had a way of disappearing mysteriously en route, while passing through Middlesex and Worcester Counties.

However, after western Massachusetts was once definitely in rebel control (though subject to frequent raids, as was the "civil disobedience" before the war), the first outburst of rebel activity in the eastern part of the state came, not from Middlesex, which furnished the initiative for the revolt, but from Bristol County. This was probably partly because Bristol had been a center for the war-time workers' factories, and at New Bedford an attempt was already being made by the capitalists to build their own spinning-jenny cotton mill, so that there was in Bristol County something with which the workers' side of the rebellion could actually operate. But, from the tactical point of view, the rebel councils considered Bristol a good point from which to start in eastern Massachusetts, largely because of its contiguity to Rhode Island, where there had already been a political coup in favor of the workers and farmers, and which, besides moral support, could serve as a refuge in case of failure. Also, by postponing uprising in Middlesex as long as possible, the real center of the revolt at Groton in Middlesex County could continue functioning unsuspected and uninterrupted by the militia raids that were troubling the openly rebel territory.

Consequently the rebellion in eastern Massachusetts was inaugurated early in November by a convention and an uprising in Taunton, following the example set by Hampshire County, and this insurrection kept the Commonwealth authorities definitely out of Bristol County. Following this event, the rebels in the western part of the state started an eastward drive to join their eastern allies in Bristol, who proceeded to drive northward for the same purpose.

The key region for the eastward drive from western Massachusetts was Worcester County, which was the actual separation between the eastern and western portions of the state; and, to prevent the recurrence there of the same type of county-wide uprisings from the county seat as had taken place in the four western counties and in Bristol, a garrison of Commonwealth militia were stationed in the town of Worcester during November. It was supposed that, from this center, it would be possible to control the county so as to forestall any conventions or revolts there. In fact, the militia kept scouting around the county, from Worcester as a center, looking for rebel armies to annihilate. But, since there was no particular way of telling a rebel army from a group of farmers working in the fields, these rebel armies were never found, until the Worcester garrison woke up on the morning of Thursday, November 30 to find the town besieged by rebel armies, not only from Worcester County, but from all over the state.

In the meantime, Middlesex, now placed in contact with the western portion of the state by rebel activity in Worcester County, began to show activity of its own. It was here that the rebellion actually centered, as it had been in Middlesex that the civil disobedience headquarters had been before the revolution, and as it had been in Middlesex that the first uprisings of the American Revolution had occurred. When it was attempted to hold court session in Concord, a large force of "regulators" (as the rebel army called themselves) appeared in the town, looked up the judge in the inn where he was staying, and sent him on his way to Boston. Then the officers of the rebel group stood up in the town square and made a call for volunteers. Job Shattuck, who came from Groton, where the Okamakammesset organization had been secretly operating since the Great Ohio War, and who was supposed to have been actually a quarter-blood Okamakammesset, and who was also one of the moving spirits behind the rebellion, was the chief speaker on this occasion, calling for a general confiscation, firstly of all debts, and secondly of all other large property holdings, his theory apparently being that "dividing up" and starting all over again was the remedy for the situation. It is

said, indeed, that on one occasion Shattuck was heckled, when he warmed up to his subject with "The time has come to confiscate all debts and start anew," with the reply from the town audience: "Well said Job! We know all about them two farms you can't never pay for!" But Shattuck, and several other speakers, such as Smith and Parker, who followed him on the speaker's stand, did succeed in enlisting a fair number of volunteers from the same town which, less than twelve years before, had administered a smashing blow to the powers of constituted authority.

The Commonwealth authorities, taking advantage of the fact that Middlesex County borders on Boston, reconvoked court session for Middlesex County at Lechmere's Point, a swamp region on the Cambridge shore of the Charles River, highly inaccessible from Middlesex proper, though actually in a corner of the county, but within sight and gun range from Beacon Hill in Boston. This had the desired effect of brining the court out of danger from the rebels, although the location was extremely out of the way; in fact, its being out of the way from the body of the county was, under circumstances of rebellion, a desirable feature from the authorities' point of view. From here, warrants were issued charging with treason Job Shattuck and several others of the leaders of the uprising at Concord. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the courts of Middlesex County have to this day remained where they fled during the Shay Rebellion, on the former site of Lechmere's Point (now filled in and known as East Cambridge)—in a remote corner as far as Middlesex County is concerned, but almost in the shadow of the State House in Boston.

These warrants having been issued, the governor immediately called for the enlistment of a special army to serve these warrants, to be assembled at Boston; it was also attempted to use the Springfield Arsenal, hitherto regarded by both sides as neutral ground, as a point of assembling anti-rebel recruits who wished to enlist from the western part of the state. The recruits actually obtained were mostly from merchant families in the immediate vicinity of Boston. In the meantime, even Boston's own county, Suffolk, did not remain completely unaffected by the rebellion, since the farther end of the territory which Suffolk then included formed a wedge between the rebelling counties of Worcester and Bristol, and bordered on Rhode Island, which was in sympathy with the Massachusetts rebels. Thus, at that end of the county, a certain amount of movement in favor of the rebels was found, though not well-co-ordinated or organized, but still enough to establish a line of contact and communication between the rebel forces in western Massachusetts, and those in the southern part of the state, that is, in Bristol County. The Commonwealth government in Boston was thus, in the early part of December, 1786, threatened by rebels from both northwest (from Middlesex) and southwest (from the outlying pro-rebel towns of Suffolk); while the body of the state was under rebel control, but largely after the fashion of the old-time "civil disobedience," that is, control was not complete, allowing the authorities a certain amount of come and go, but not permitting, in rebel territory, any court sessions or enforcement of court orders on the part of the Commonwealth.

It was this situation against which the Commonwealth was mobilizing its newly-recruited volunteers, while, in Middlesex County, only a few miles across the Charles River, a rebel army of workers and farmers was assembling at Concord, ready for a final advance on Boston. The two forces met at Bedford, a Middlesex town located halfway between Concord and Lexington. Since the Shays Rebellion had unfortunately not developed the same sort of efficient spy system that the civil disobedience system of 1775 had, the rebels were found unprepared to meet a militia force of the size they actually encountered.

158. ***Defeat of the Rebellion***. Thus, although the regulators had at their disposal a military force actually outnumbering anything that the Commonwealth was able to bring against them, they were on this occasion as unprepared to meet it as the Commonwealth itself had been to meet the rebels the preceding August. The "regulators" were now scattered quite evenly over the greater portion of Massachusetts, while the Commonwealth militia was concentrated in southeast Middlesex. Consequently the battle that ensued at Bedford was an overwhelming victory for the Commonwealth, although a defeat which the rebels could probably have avoided had they paid as much attention to their spy system as to the rest of their military organization. It is usually the spies that have more to do with winning and losing wars than actual fighting forces, and in this case the lack of attention to that end of the activities proved fatal to the rebel forces. The defeat of the rebels was a rout, while the Commonwealth militia swept on through Middlesex, and the warrants on Job Shattuck and the other rebels sought by the militia were served. Shattuck was arrested at his home in Groton, and held to be tried after the rebellion should be over, for the Commonwealth administration had already suspended the rights of habeas corpus.

In the meantime the Commonwealth authorities were offering to settle peaceably all grievances with such of the workers and farmers as would abandon the rebellion, and submit the questions at issue for peaceful settlement—not that there was any intention on the part of the authorities to actually do so, but the promise had the effect of withdrawing from the rebels the support of many of the farmers in central Massachusetts who had been less enthusiastic in their rebel attitude. This weakened the rebel position, and the advance of the Commonwealth militia continued across Worcester County with undiminished speed, while the "regulators" retired into the western part of the state, where they concentrated their forces, though with less support than at first, for there were many who now had some hope of a peaceful settlement. The workers, who were ones to cling more closely to the rebellion, were also won over by the authorities to some extent when, following the Commonwealth's recapture of the eastern and central counties, work was started in the building of factories, and in actual factory work in the places that had formerly belonged to the workers but had been confiscated by the contributors of capital. The rebellion had been one uprising in a period of economic depression, when lack of work was one of the chief complaints of the workers, and anyone who could offer a large amount of employment—even if it were temporary emergency employment—could effectively break the back of any rebellion on the part of the workers.

However, the insurrection was by no means suppressed, but merely driven into a corner. Even in the parts of the state recaptured by the Commonwealth, guerrilla fighting on the part of the rebels was kept up for a long time, while driving the main army of regulators westward simply had the effect of concentrating their forces. The rebels were again defeated at Wilbraham, leaving the way open on the southern part of the front, though the hilly nature of the terrain made such advance difficult along the rest of the front. In Hampshire County, which represented the center of the new fighting front, a new "county convention" was assembled at Hadley, largely consisting of the same people who had been in the famous Hatfield Convention, and the Hadley convention urged the rebels to surrender and settle differences by peaceful means. Their advice, fortunately, went unheeded, and the Hadley Convention was ridiculed by both sides in the rebellion under the title of "The Pallbearers."

It was at this stage that the Commonwealth sought to carry out the plan of using the Springfield Arsenal as a concentration point for new recruits to the militia. The rebels had been for five months in a position to take possession of this point, but recognized its neutrality as federal

territory; but, when the Commonwealth forces entered Springfield and drove the Hampden County regulators across the Connecticut River, the neutrality of federal territory was totally disregarded, though actual Commonwealth occupation was not attempted before the concentration date, February 3, 1787.

On that Saturday morning two large concentrations of forces took place in the region around Springfield, as the Commonwealth militia poured into the town from the east, to take possession of the supposedly neutral arsenal, while, on the other side of the Connecticut River, the regulators massed in thousands at the head of the bridge leading into Springfield, and marched from their concentration point in West Springfield across the bridge to the Springfield Arsenal, to forestall, if possible, Commonwealth occupation of federal ground. However, the race for the arsenal was won by the Commonwealth, since the militia reached the arsenal at about nine o'clock, while it was eleven o'clock before enough regulators could be brought into Springfield to dispute possession seriously. Of course, the side in actual possession was at a tremendous military advantage. In spite of this fact, a battle was kept up and hotly contested on both sides, about Springfield Arsenal and all through the town of Springfield. The Battle of Springfield proved to be the last stand of the Shays Rebellion, which from that time on was definitely defeated.

"The rebels fought for Freedom, and victory they spread
As almost to the ocean their triumph forged ahead;
But not for long it lasted; they lost their upper hand,
And on the Quinnitucket made Freedom's final stand."

The rest of February was occupied in chasing the rebel forces across western Massachusetts, and finally out of the state at Williamstown. During this time a message was sent by the Commonwealth militia to Daniel Shays, asking him whether he would surrender personally if a pardon were offered, providing the rest of his army were not included. On the authorities' assumption that Shays was the prime moving spirit that caused the rebellion and kept it going, they supposed that this would be a betrayal of this rebellion, and considered Shays a coward when he sent a reply accepting the offer. It would seem, however, that he did this merely to gain time, since Shays himself disappeared, and was next heard of a few years later in Arlington, Virginia.

After the rebel army had been driven out of the northwestern corner of Massachusetts, at a point which was "between the lines" in the Green Mountain War between New York and Vermont, a last attempt was made to re-form and start the rebellion over again. An attempt was made to assemble the regulators along the Massachusetts line, at Pownal in Vermont, and at North Lincoln in the State of New York, with the idea of a last-minute comeback—or, as the rebel officers, expressed it, "to burgoyne them." However, by this time the rebel army, being very much scattered and broken up, and out of its own territory, was unable to assemble any great strength, and the attempt at "burgoyning them" had to be given up. The insurrection was over, and the rebels were mainly either prisoners in Massachusetts, or refugees outside the Commonwealth.

159. ***Refugees and Prisoners***. The Commonwealth authorities of Massachusetts, not content with suppressing the uprising, put through a hasty trial of all the prisoners, finding them all guilty of treason against the state, and proceeded to round up all rebels they could locate so as to be able to pass sentence of death on these also. Most of the rebels, however, received only long sentences in prison, while fourteen actually were sentenced to death, including, of course, Job Shattuck. Since

many of the prisoners had surrendered voluntarily during the last stages of the insurrection, understanding that they were being merely prisoners of war, this turn of events gave rise to a new undercurrent of protest and defiance that made it look for a while as though rebellion were going to burst out afresh.

Most of the active rebels, however, had been dispersed to points outside of Massachusetts. In fact, the defeat of the Shays Rebellion had the tendency to cause a general wave of reaction in the United States as a whole, and those who had been most active as rebels during the War for Independence began to recognize that, as events now stood, the United States was no longer a safe place for people with rebellious inclinations, and were beginning an exodus from this country. Since most of the French Canadians who had been rebels in Canada during the American Revolution, and who, after the war, had escaped into the United States, were on the side of the Shays Rebellion—many of them had been even in the Shays Rebellion actively, and had even formed their own "Jo Bunker" groups in which the hail "Jo Bunker" was translated into "Jacques"—their natural refuge (Canada not being open to them) was France, where their own language was spoken, and where the "Jacqueries," the French "Jo Bunker" groups of the Shays Rebellion, were gradually transplanted by the stream of refugees arriving there during 1787 and 1788. And as, during that same period, many other Americans who had been active as rebels during the revolution chose the same refuge from the increasing reactionary tendency resulting from the defeat of the Shays Rebellion (Thomas Paine being one of these refugees who went to France on this occasion, and Thomas Jefferson having been sent to France as ambassador so as to leave the followers of the Cincinnati a clear field), it began to look as though, by 1788, the American Revolution was moving in a body to France.

But the refugees from the Shays Rebellion were mostly poor people, and sought refuge in neighboring states rather than across the ocean. Some crossed the border into Canada, and, taking advantage of the fact that the Massachusetts authorities had accused the rebels of being British agents, claimed to be loyalists, and, to a great extent, it was apparent that the Canadian authorities did not know the difference, though they did have some qualms about admitting rebels against even the United States. However, the most important refuges of the rebels were the states adjoining Massachusetts, namely, the states of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and Connecticut, and the unrecognized and *de facto* independent republic of Vermont.

The Governor of Massachusetts sent requisitions to the neighboring states for extradition of rebel refugees, and extradition was granted by the states of Connecticut and New York, while New Hampshire went so far as to give Massachusetts's permission to send in their own militia after any armed rebels that may have found their way to New Hampshire. Vermont presented a more difficult problem, since the United States considered Vermont as a section of New York State that was in rebellion, and none of the states had ever recognized the Vermont government; besides which, the intervention of Massachusetts in the Green Mountain War did not add to the friendliness of the situation. But now Massachusetts was only too ready to forget that it had ever laid claim to Vermont territory—the Commonwealth was ready to exchange that for the privilege of hanging some poor workers and farmers whose offense was that they had fought for the freedom of Massachusetts. The Governor of Vermont, however, replied to Massachusetts's extradition requisition, that he was ready to issue a proclamation subjecting all rebel refugees to extradition, but he wished it to be known that this proclamation would be merely a matter of form, since Vermont could not afford to discourage immigration!

If Vermont was a difficult problem to handle in the matter of extradition, much more was this true of Rhode Island, where a political coup had already placed in control of the legislature a group of similar views to the Massachusetts rebels. In Rhode Island, the old charter—which the courts there had used to declare legislation invalid, and which had been later turned against the same judges—gave the legislature considerable veto power over administrative acts, and the Governor of Rhode Island sent a reply to Massachusetts's extradition requisition, to the effect that he personally would be glad to comply with the requisition, but that the rabble that were now in the legislature would not allow him to do so, and it would be necessary to convince them first. The Governor of Massachusetts accordingly sent down deputies with extradition warrants to Providence, to seek the permission of the Rhode Island legislature to arrest rebel refugees for extradition. The deputies were duly welcomed by the Rhode Island Senate, and invited to attend their sessions, where two of the faces on the senate floor looked somehow familiar to the Massachusetts deputies. On inquiry, the deputies were told that these two men were the new honorary members of the Senate, who had just lately come in from Massachusetts, where they had done good service for liberty! Of course that was the end of the quest, and the Massachusetts deputies had to return to Boston disappointed.

> "When, in neighboring regions, workers' forces in defeat were sorely pressed,
> Many of them came into Red Island, where they might in safety rest,
> And the envoys who for their surrender to make demand came o'er,
> Found the refugees had seats of honor on Red Island's council floor."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CINCINNATI CONSPIRACY

160. ***The Annapolis Convention***. While these coups and rebellions were going on in New England, a different variety of convention was in preparation farther south. George Washington and his followers, the Cincinnati, and their sympathizers were attempting to take advantage of the economic depression to further their secret schemes for some form of oligarchy or dictatorship that would get rid of both democracy and the federate form of government, and centralize control in a few hands, with George Washington, the arch-aristocrat, as the supreme ruler, either openly or tacitly. Washington's favorite plan for this goal, as we have seen, was through promotion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which would enable Washington to create, as a terminal canal port, a city on the Potomac near Washington's home and under his complete dictatorship through possession of this city, eventually leading up to domination of the western territories, and, ultimately seizure of the United States itself. The main leader of the opposition to Washington's schemes was removed in 1785, when the Cincinnati followers procured Thomas Jefferson's appointment as envoy to France, so that, at least as far as the South was concerned, little organized opposition could be expected, at least of a kind which could cope with the secret and invisible organization of the Cincinnati. New York had a rival plan to boost itself as a port, but the amount of monarchist sentiment still existing in the city rather made them look up to the Cincinnati as their best hope of salvation from the threat of democracy, and this tendency was helped along by the fact that Alexander Hamilton, a member of the Cincinnati, had distinguished himself for his defense of the monarchist interests in New York City. Thus the Cincinnati plans were able to get considerable under-cover following, though many of the followers did not realize just what was intended, since

the plans were usually presented to outsiders, not as plans for a centralized oligarchy, but as a plan for what was rather ambiguously called a "more perfect union."

The main stumbling-block to the canal plan had been Maryland, through whose territory the canal would have to pass, and in which the proposed new Potomac terminal port would have to be located. Maryland's opposition to Virginia's plan for a direct connection with the northwest had once almost broken up the First Republic, and Maryland would have to be reckoned with if the canal feature of the Cincinnati plot was to make headway. Maryland, in fact, was more interested, if the subject of canals was to be brought up at all, in a canal cutting across the base of the Accomac ("Del-Mar-Va") peninsula, so that Maryland's ports could have access to the sea without the necessity of sailing all ships through Virginian waters—a bit of Virginia domination which Maryland had always resented. So, when the Cincinnati tried to arrange a conference on the canal between Virginia and Maryland, only Virginia's legislature proved willing (since the plan would save some of the control Virginia, through Maryland's manœuvering, had lost in the Northwest), while Maryland's legislature, more interested in the so-called Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, was ready to accept only if the three Delaware Bay states—New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—were included in the conference so that both proposed canals could be discussed at once.

In the spring of 1786, delegates sent by the legislatures of these five states assembled at Annapolis to discuss the two canal projects and related subjects—a convention controlled by the sympathizers of the Society of the Cincinnati, and supported by the same aristocratic elements who denounced, a bit later that same summer, the Massachusetts "conventions" as illegal and unconstitutional, but who were not above sponsoring such conventions as suited their own purposes. It was not intended, however, either by the Cincinnati, or by the financiers and landholders who backed their plot to overthrow the First Republic, that the Annapolis Convention should actually go through with the program for which it was called. The real object was to overthrow the existing government of the United States of America, and the conspirators had no intention of allowing any sort of project whatever to come to a successful conclusion while the government still existed. Accordingly, when the Annapolis Convention had assembled, the Cincinnati sympathizers, who were the ruling party in that convention, turned discussion from the canal projects themselves to the question of uniform codification of laws for interstate commerce, which was brought into the order of business as being a necessary point to settle before any interstate canal could be built. Likewise at the prompting of the Cincinnati and their followers, it was decided that no uniform interstate commerce could be drawn up with only five states represented; for which reason it was decided to adjourn to May, 1787, and meanwhile call on all the state legislatures to send delegates to a convention for this purpose, to assemble at Philadelphia.

The call, as it was voted, was for a convention to consider uniform laws on interstate commerce; but, as the notice went out to the state legislatures, it was announced that the Philadelphia convention of the following year would be for considering uniform interstate commerce laws and other important matters. Inasmuch as George Washington and his Cincinnati let it be understood that the "other important matters" included the organization of "a more perfect union," it became quite generally understood that the Philadelphia Convention was in reality a thinly disguised conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government in favor of no one knew what.

161. ***Aftermath of the Shays Rebellion***. The conspiracy of the Society of the Cincinnati was proceeding in leisurely fashion at the Annapolis Convention (as instanced by the convention adjourning till next year). But when the Rhode Island workers' coup took place in May, 1786, shortly after the adjournment of the Annapolis Convention, followed in August by the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts, and then by the beginnings of uprisings in all surrounding states, the wealthy financiers and landowners felt that the occasion called for more haste in overthrowing the First Republic. It was necessary first, however, to suppress the Shays Rebellion; for, with a poor man's government established in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and sympathetic movements starting in the other New England states, while even in the far Carolinas (possibly with a memory of the Mecklenburg Declarations) parallel movements were showing signs of beginning, the Cincinnati conspiracy would have become hopeless.

But the beginning of 1787, as we have seen, saw the suppression of the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts, while, except for Rhode Island, the only survival of similar movements in other states was a move for inflation of the currency by paper money, much of which was issued by most of the states during that period. Of course, attempts at forcing circulation of paper money at par with gold and silver were futile in all cases, the best example being that of New Jersey, whose paper money became practically worthless to its inhabitants because it was not accepted in New York or Philadelphia, which were outside the state, but which received most of the state's trade. In South Carolina, the movement on behalf of the people, under the general delusion of that period that forcing paper circulation was benefiting the cause of the poor, formed a series of secret organizations of masked and hooded men, called Hint Clubs, for the purpose of terrorizing those who refused to accept paper money at face value; but the "Hint Clubs" quickly became, in the hands of their leaders, instrumentalities of general terrorism, and more useful to the Cincinnati reaction than to anyone else. The strangest feature of this idea of the period (originating, as we have seen, from Rhode Island's futile attempts at creating an economic revolution by legislation starting from the old governmental organization as a basis), was that the Cincinnati and their fellow-conspirators were under the very same delusion that the poorer classes would benefit by the circulation of paper money, and so the Cincinnati made it part of their conspiracy—though it was really a non-essential part—to stop the issue of what they called "rag-money" wherever possible. In this case, as it has historically happened in many other cases, each side was actually taking a stand far removed from the rest of their viewpoint.

In Massachusetts, meanwhile, the death sentence imposed on the rebel prisoners had become a political issue of paramount importance in the Commonwealth elections in the spring of 1787; and John Hancock, who had been the first governor of the Commonwealth, as well as the first President of the United States, ran as candidate for governor of the Commonwealth again in 1787 on a platform of granting complete amnesty to the rebels. On the basis of this election promise, Hancock was elected governor, and an amnesty was granted to the former rebels, both prisoners and fugitives, on the condition that they would henceforth confine their political agitation to participation in election campaigns. For the time being, the activity of the New England rebels was now perforce confined to political election work intended to block the Cincinnati conspiracy.

On the other hand, the Society of the Cincinnati found its position radically altered since the Annapolis Convention. The secret convention that was to be called at Philadelphia for the coming spring had originally been planned as a covered plot for the gradual establishment off a dictatorship, first in a canal-terminal city to be erected on the Potomac near the Great Falls, and then gradually, from that center, displacing the First Republic by the dictatorship (as the Cincinnati called it, "a

more perfect union") spreading out from that center. Even after the political coup in Rhode Island, the gradual procedure still seemed the best way to carry out the conspiracy; but the Shays Rebellion changed the whole outlook, and it became certain that the Philadelphia convention that would assemble in May would have to lay the whole plot immediately for the overthrow of the existing federal government, or it might not be possible to do it at all if sympathetic rebel movements were to be given time to get under way. Even with the suppression of the Shays Rebellion in February, 1787, there was still the danger that the movement might forestall them by getting its own forms of government organized—if not in Massachusetts or Rhode Island, then elsewhere—so the Cincinnati had little time left to work up their "more perfect union." There was nothing for their side to do but to make out of the coming Philadelphia Convention, a conspirative meeting to arrange an overthrow of the United States government.

In the general confiscation of workers' factories that followed the suppression of the Shays Rebellion, as well as in the few mills already under construction in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the capitalists made feverish haste to get things even temporarily ready to employ workers, while, as construction and rearrangement went on, even farmers were taken off their land to work in the mills, and, by spreading employment and at the same time bringing workers and farmers under control of the capitalist system, actual rebel tendency was ultimately suppressed and much more effectively than the Commonwealth's military victory could have done. The Shays Rebellion arose out of the general unemployment conditions attendant on the regular depressions or crises inherent in the capitalist system; and rebellious tendencies arising on such an occasion can easily be countered by the offer of almost any form of paid employment—a lesson which the capitalists learned in 1787, and have used to good advantage in subsequent depressions in America.

Even in Rhode Island, where a coup had placed the worker-farmer groups in control of the legislature, encouragement was given to the building of factories, because manufacturing in New England had up to then been mostly associated with democratic control by the workers, and it was, in a way, assumed that building up factories was in itself an aid to the rights of the people. It was not yet realized that those same factories, with a different form of organization, from a strictly democratic one based on labor instead of capital, would be a weapon in the hands of the capitalist, so that, the more such factories were operated, the more the worker could be suppressed.

The Shays Rebellion also brought all the richer elements, and their immediate following, definitely over to the side of the Cincinnati plot to overthrow the First Republic. The Congress had actually remained neutral during the Shays Rebellion, and was recognizing the government of Rhode Island, which was equally taboo to that group. As a result, all the large landowners and financiers began to consider it imperative to rid themselves of such a confederation, and to replace it by something that would act decisively to suppress any attempts to gain popular rights. The conception of democracy, which they had privately opposed all along but tolerated for wartime purposes, now became the target of attack on the part of these richer elements, who attempted to propagate the idea that the prime necessity of a republic was unquestioning obedience to authority—in direct contradiction to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, of course.

The taboo on mention of anything connected with the workers' rebellion was such that it was felt necessary to put a preface of apology when a history of the rebellion (from the Commonwealth side, of course) was published in Boston in 1788. Apparently it was about that time that the term "carriage" began to come into regular use as meaning a horse-drawn passenger vehicle, that term having previously meant transportation, or else behavior; but, after the Shays rebellion, the type of

vehicle in question could not be called "chaise" as formerly, because the word was pronounced too much like Shays.

The Shays Rebellion was suppressed, indeed, but the panic prevailing among the large financiers and landowners, among prominent politicians, and among the followers of these people, became greater than ever, and the Rhode Island political coup, which was still holding its own and providing a shelter for the Shays rebels, helped to increase that panic.

162. ***The Northwest Ordinance***. In the meantime, the central government of the First Republic lost support from both sides. The Cincinnati were succeeding in filling Congress with many of their own sympathizers, which, of course, lost them the confidence of the rebel elements; this was especially the case after Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was sent to France and his propositions permanently tabled. On the other hand, the Cincinnati, and the richer elements, who were now flocking fast to the Cincinnati side, were trying hard to discredit the existing form of government, in order to have less opposition in their plot to overthrow it; for this purpose they were doing everything possible to block Congress, and prevent it from accomplishing anything of importance.

Several constitutional amendments were proposed to allow Congress to raise its own revenue instead of calling on the States for quotas. But here again the Cincinnati supporters blocked the passage of such amendments, because it was no part of their plan that America should have any self-supporting government except the one they were planning to impose. To add to this confusion, New York State, in 1787, started imposing customs duties on everything imported from other states, and this action almost threatened to break up the confederation, when combined with the lack of support the Congress had from other directions. It was on this account that New York State particularly opposed all efforts to turn over this source of revenue to Congress, and one of the proposed constitutional amendments actually failed of adoption only by New York's rejection (ratification of amendments by all the States being required by the constitution of the First Republic). The followers of the Cincinnati had actually succeeded in surrounding Congress itself, at its new home in New York City, with the customs barrier of an individual State.

Congress was thus forced to turn, for a last prop, to the Northwest Territory—the only thing that Congress was able to control directly. Jefferson's plan had been permanently shelved, together with all of Jefferson's suggestions, when the Cincinnati had managed to have him sent away as ambassador to France; and that side generally favored making a dictatorial form of government for the Northwest, instead of the democratic form. But the Cincinnati were not yet in power, and there were many advocates of a democratic form of government, and of the rights of the Declaration of Independence. Also, the settlers who had already come to the Northwest, as well as those who were expected, might be frightened away if the dictatorship proposed by the Cincinnati were to be made too strict. Consequently a compromise was finally reached, whereby the "district," as the resolution finally adopted termed the territory, was to be governed at first by a governor appointed by Congress, who was to have absolute powers; but, after the district was to obtain a population of 25,000, a legislature with certain advisory powers, would be elected by the inhabitants of the district, which was to have certain rights of limitation of the governor's powers. The French Canadians living in the territory were to be allowed to retain certain of their property institutions, and a policy of protecting the native red tribes was announced in the same resolution.

The "Ordinance of the Northwest Territory," as finally passed in May, 1787, embodied these features, and also contemplated the establishment of full-fledged States in the Northwest, in the long run, which amounted to a concession to Jefferson's original plan. But, where Jefferson had figured on making ten States out of the Northwest right away, this was a provision for waiting until each prospective State should reach a population of 70,000. The States contemplated were specified as being not less than three nor more than five in number, and boundaries were laid out. For the three-State plan, two north-and-south lines were laid out corresponding exactly to the present boundaries of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and extending to the Canadian border; and it was also provided that two additional States might be created north of an east-and-west line drawn through "the south bend or extreme of lake Michigan." This "South Bend" was located near the present city of Gary and the northern boundary of Ohio is substantially at that line, while the northern boundaries of Indiana and Illinois have been moved farther north to give them outlets on Lake Michigan. The scheme of proposed States outlined in the Northwest Territory Ordinance, as passed by the First Republic, thus practically outlined the present layout of States in that region.

On account of the fact that it was mainly Massachusetts and Connecticut that were actually settling the Northwest at that time, it was decided to abolish slavery altogether in the Northwest Territory, and it was resolved in the Ordinance to permit "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in the district, except as punishment for a crime. It may be noted, in this connection, that the final abolition of slavery by the United States in 1865 almost copied the wording of this resolution of the Congress of the First Republic in regard to the only territory over which Congress had complete control. The northern boundary of slavery was thus fixed at the Ohio River as far as the Mississippi.

A more remarkable feature of the Northwest Ordinance, as finally passed in 1787, was the adoption of provisions protecting certain civil rights, such as freedom of religion and of speech, so that any settlers in the territory could have Congressional protection in that regard, in spite of the fact that the form of government was temporarily an absolute dictatorship.

The government thus organized for the "Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River," as its full title was, actually had control over very little territory—mainly along the Ohio River, and a few points on the Wabash and Illinois Rivers. Theoretically the jurisdiction of the government of this "district" extended from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes, and from the Pennsylvania border to the Mississippi; but actually its control was very limited. The northern part of this territory—what is now Michigan and Wisconsin—was under British occupation, in so far as it was not under tribal control; and getting rid of British occupation (which was against the terms of the treaty of 1783) was one of the diplomatic tangles that the First Republic never had time to straighten out. Again, the shore of Lake Erie had a few settlements, such as Sandusky and Cleaveland, but these were under control of Connecticut, as a sort of distant colonial possession called the "Western Reserve." Most of the territory was under actual possession of the red tribes; though Congress, in the Northwest Ordinance, undertook to protect these tribes in their possession, the settlers never let Congress's promise stand in the way of their appropriating tribal lands when the spirit so moved them; and, in this, though the First Republic actually sided with the tribes, as it undertook to do by the Ordinance, the Second Republic, that came into power soon after the Ordinance, always took the settlers' side in such aggressions.

Although the Northwest territory, as a newly-created governmental unit, was known as a "district," and provided that it could later be divided into several "districts," so that, for a while, the term "district" came to be the name for a region under absolute Federal control (still so used in the

term District of Columbia); it became the model for the type of government that was to become known as a *territory*. In the Ordinance, the word Territory meant the land rather than the administrative unit; yet it was from that Ordinance that the word "territory" became the word for such a unit. The "territorial" form of organization, as started by this ordinance, contemplated, at first, government by a federally-appointed governor with absolute powers; next, the addition of an elected legislature with advisory and partial legislative powers, to be gradually increased; and, finally, admission as a State. The intermediate stage of territorial government, which was, incidentally, the type of territorial government that came closest to Jefferson's shelved plan (and might have been derived from that source), seems to have been largely the same in general outline as the method the Iroquois Federation had evolved for governing defeated nations. This extra-constitutional problem with which the First Republic of the United States had to deal—of how a federation council could maintain control over territory which was federal rather than part of the constituent units, was largely the same problem that the Iroquois Federation had to contend with two and a half centuries earlier; and the result was much the same, so much so that it is a question as to whether the United States did not profit, at least indirectly, from the experience of its predecessor, from whom, as we have seen, it originally derived the very conception of federation.

163. ***The Secret Meeting at Philadelphia***. When the Cincinnati sympathizers in the Annapolis Convention sent out their call to the State legislatures to send delegates for a convention next year to plan uniform interstate commerce regulations, it was intended to gradually pave the way for an infiltration of Cincinnati, financiers, politicians, and landowners into the projected regulating body for interstate commerce, and indirectly through that towards the complete seizure of power for a Cincinnati dictatorship in the United States.

But the events of the latter half of 1786 turned out so that the call reached legislatures who were in a panic over the Shays Rebellion. It was easy for the Cincinnati to appeal to legislatures, and to politicians in general, as well as to the richer people all over the United States, that a complete change of government was necessary; so that the proposed Philadelphia convention was to be turned into a Cincinnati conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States, and to establish something more centralized, and, as it was quite generally understood, to be headed by George Washington, the President of the Society of the Cincinnati.

The only legislature that was not subject to this appeal of fear in this way was that of Rhode Island, where the same elements as carried on the Shays Rebellion were now in actual control of the legislature. Accordingly the Rhode Island legislature, realizing that the proposed convention was nothing more than an attempt to organize a coup by which the Cincinnati could take power, refused to have anything to do with the proposed convention; from which arises the fact that the present Constitution of the United States had no signatures from Rhode Island.

Massachusetts received the call in time for consideration during the height of the Shays Rebellion, and a delegation was sent to the conspirative assemblage, consisting of the most prominent opponents of democratic government that the Commonwealth could find: including Elbridge Gerry, against whose "gerrymandering" the rebels had been protesting. From the South, the aristocrats and landowners were sent as delegates; and, of course, George Washington, the leader of the Cincinnati, appeared as a delegate from Virginia. Thus in May, 1787, about forty of the most representative rich men and politicians got together in Philadelphia, from twelve of the States, Rhode Island not being represented. This was an extra-legal organization, for, though it had the sanction of State legislatures, it was not recognized by the federal government, and had no place

in either confederate or State constitutions. The legislatures themselves voted on it in a hurry, so that their constituents could have no chance to express an opinion on the subject; and, if anyone wants to look for a reason for this haste, and even the secrecy with which this move was surrounded in most States, it is only necessary to take a look at the unprecedented rebellion then going on in Massachusetts. It was largely fear of what this uprising represented that drove the legislatures, that made them keep the moves from the people, and that converted the Philadelphia convention into a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The very fact that Rhode Island, with its supposedly worker-farmer group in control of the legislature, refused to participate, is indicative of what this convention meant to the people of America in the early part of 1787.

Delegates to the Philadelphia convention received letters from Rhode Island explaining that that state's refusal to participate did not represent the opinion of the better classes, but was the work of the rabble that had taken over the state legislature and was running amuck in the state—in other words, that, as in all other states, the people were against the Cincinnati plot, but that the "upper crust" took the opposite point of view. A message of the same sort was received even from the governor of Rhode Island; it will be remembered that he made a similar apology for being unable to grant extradition of the Shays rebellion refugees.

By the time the group of conspirators got together in May, 1787, it was quite well understood all over America that their object was really to change the government in America to some other form—and it was, in fact, generally supposed that it was merely a thinly-disguised plot to make George Washington the King of America. As to the delegates themselves, the motive of fear of a recurrence of the Shays Rebellion on a larger scale was obvious at every move; and, as we have said, the absence of Rhode Island from the plot indicated all the more that this was the ruling motive of the whole assemblage.

> "But the nation's financiers were frightened, as they started soon to show,
> When they plotted how the nation's government they could best overthrow,
> They hatched their plans in secret session, to hide their true intent,
> But from Red Island to that meeting not a single member went."

And the plot was indeed "hatched in secret session." They hired Carpenter's Hall (next door to Independence Hall) in Philadelphia for their meeting, swore all the delegates to absolute secrecy as to everything that was to pass within the doors, and locked themselves in for an all-summer session. And so well was this conspirative atmosphere kept around this assemblage that has since been dignified by the name of "Federal Convention," that for over fifty years nothing whatever leaked out as to what went on in that mysterious meeting. Even then, the proceedings of the Philadelphia conspiracy only became known because two of the members of that meeting kept diaries, and the diaries were published after their death.

But, during the summer of 1787, all sorts of rumors were current as to what was going on behind those locked doors. The general idea was that they were plotting a monarchy; and, in general, it seemed quite well understood that some sort of governmental reaction was being plotted behind that cloak of secrecy.

In token of the Cincinnati leadership of this secret meeting, the Cincinnati's president, George Washington, was made president of the convention, and discussion was started as to what changes

should be made in the form of government in the United States. The Annapolis Convention, the open meeting of the year before, had called for a Philadelphia convention on uniform interstate commerce regulation, "and other important matters;" the convention that actually assembled in Philadelphia simply took it for granted that their new government that would overthrow the existing confederation would automatically take care of interstate commerce, and proceeded to the "other important matters," namely, setting up a new government and getting rid of the existing government of the United States. Everything about the existing government was under fire in this secret meeting—democracy, federation, decentralization—and, through it all there kept cropping out all the time the convention members' fear of the Shays Rebellion.

Such statements were made in this secret assemblage as "our evils flow from an excess of democracy," while the institution of federation was attacked in a long discussion as to whether the States should be allowed to continue as units with their own governments, one member suggesting that "the whole should be thrown into hotch-pot, and an equal division made." The Shays Rebellion was frequently alluded to in a veiled form in the discussions, while the dangers that their proposed overthrow of government was to guard against was once definitely expressed in the words "Last winter the people took up arms." It is such discussions as these that might explain why the members of this conspirative assemblage of 1787 never disclosed the proceedings during their lifetimes.

It was, however, seen that some support from the State governments would be needed to put over the planned coup. The federate form of government makes it practically impossible to capture a nation by merely attacking the central organization, since each of the constituent units has its own independent existence as a government, so that capturing the central organization of a federation is like cutting off the head of a hydra—more grow in its place. The conspirators' best chance at this time was to get as many State administrations as possible on their side; the fear of a repetition of the Shays Rebellion was an appeal which the Cincinnati supporters could easily make to State administrations for support, provided they did not attempt to blot out State governments too completely. And so, though the conspirative meeting in Philadelphia started out by planning a monarchy, they finally decided it would be more feasible to make enough concessions to the ideas of federation and representative government to avoid losing all chance of appeal for support from that quarter. But it was still planned to have the main power in the hands of a centralized authority, headed by a single executive—who, it was understood, would be George Washington, the chief of the plotters and the head of the Cincinnati—that could hold enough power to reduce either the States or the Congress to insignificance when occasion should require. Four months were taken up in working out the details of a plan by which that could be done without losing the external appearance of federation and democracy; but finally, on Monday, September 17, 1787, the plan was completed.

164. ***The Plan for the Overthrow***. When the conspirators in Philadelphia adjourned in September, 1787, a complete plan for a new government to overthrow the First Republic came out of the secret session, and was presented to the public. It was not a plan for open dictatorship or monarchy, but compromised by having a form of government which was externally democratic and similar in general appearance to some of the state governments, yet enough power was centralized at a single point to enable one person to take over complete control whenever desired. Even so, three members of the secret session actually refused to sign the document, apparently on the grounds that too much concession to democracy had been made.

The "Federal Constitution," as it was called (in contrast to the existing constitution, known as the "Articles of Confederation") bristled with declarations of authority and bans and prohibitions at every point, especially where the States or Congress were concerned. The Congress of the proposed new government was hamstrung by being divided against itself, in order to make it easy to deadlock whenever the proposed two Houses should disagree on anything. A central executive authority was created, in the hands of a single person, called "President of the United States," after the title of the nominal head of the First Republic; but the difference was that while, in the First Republic, the President was merely a presiding officer with no personal power, under the proposed new system the President, contrary to the implication of the title, would do no presiding but could veto any actions of Congress, had complete control of the army and navy and held the purse-strings of the treasury. While under the First Republic the members of Congress were paid by the States that sent them, thus keeping them representatives of their constituency, under the proposed government to overthrow the First Republic, Congressmen would be paid by the Federal treasury (which was to be controlled by the President) and were not subject to recall during their terms, so that, once elected, they would for their entire terms be dependent on the President rather than on their constituents. One of the two Houses of the new Congress (called the Senate because, in line with the Cincinnati idea of gradual introduction of dictatorship on the lines of the ancient Roman Empire, Roman names were supposed to be in order) was arranged so that it would never change completely at any time, but one-third of the members would go out of office every two years, so that the majority would always be composed of members who were not dependent on the latest elections and whom the executive head (who was in closer contact with them than with the other House, according to the plan) could have reduced more to his will, especially through continued control of the purse-strings. In addition, the President, with an almost complete veto power over Congress, and with the duty of giving them an annual program of recommendations as to what would be expected of them in the way of legislation, would, it was expected by those who drew up this plan, be in a position to force any sort of legislation he wanted, in spite of the mandates of the States or the individual opinions of the members of Congress.

As though that were not enough guarantee of control by the President (it was understood that George Washington would hold that office if the overthrow were carried out successfully), a system of permanent Federal courts was created by the plan for the new government to consist of Presidential appointees holding office for life (so that, in case Washington should by any chance lose an election, he could still hold control through the courts) and having the final say as to the interpretation of laws passed by the Congress, and even in many cases of State laws. A curious provision in this connection is the one giving this system of Federal courts jurisdiction of cases between citizens of different States—a peculiar provision whose only adequate explanation seems to be that it was inherited from the constitution of the Iroquois Federation, which supplied the best precedent for a federal court system, and where that system was originally introduced to settle disputes between members of different tribes of the federation.

George Washington's plan for a dictatorially-controlled city at the terminus of the projected Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was embodied in the plan of the new counter-revolutionary government. Complete Federal control was provided for a district, not to exceed ten miles square, that was to be used as the capital of the new government; and in that district no State could have anything to say, and no trace of democracy could possibly find its way, since none of the inhabitants could have a vote, either in a State government or in the Federal organization, or even in their own local government, which was to be left entirely in Federal hands. The inhabitants of this "Federal City," as Washington called it, would be under a complete dictatorship, and it was even

questionable as to whether they would rank as citizens of the United States. Incidentally, we may observe that under the Second Republic that question has never been completely settled, and the capital city still remains under a complete dictatorship locally. Of course, the excuse given was that it would enable the Federal organization to function independently of any State in which the capital might be located; but the First Republic had found that adequately taken care of by giving the Congress the right to move from State to State at its convenience, and it was considered that only a totally undemocratic federal government would be so totally opposed to all the States at once that it would have to retire to an outside neutral spot, from which it could rule over everybody.

The plan of government also contained a sweeping series of prohibitions on the States, a few of which were taken from the existing constitution, but most of which were intended to take many functions of government away from the States, and make the States subject to Federal rule in as many spheres as the Cincinnati thought they could safely get by with at the time. A few of the prohibitions, such as the provision prohibiting a State from interfering with the obligations of contracts, or from making paper money legal tender for debts, indicate quite obviously that the framers of the document were much afraid of a move to confiscate debts—and a fear of the Shays rebellion and of the Rhode Island coup remains permanently written into the present Constitution of the United States.

Fear of the Shays Rebellion was also written in several other ways into the constitution drawn up in the Philadelphia secret convention. The authorization for the intervention of Federal military authority at the call of the State legislatures or governors, to intervene in case of rebellion, so obviously refers to the Shays Rebellion that no comment is necessary once it is known that the constitution was written the summer following the uprising. It was also authorized for the President to use his discretion for the enforcement of Federal laws; which, in view of the same circumstances, is reminiscent of the Commonwealth's uproar after the Battle of Springfield, when it was claimed (though falsely) that the rebels had violated the neutrality of the Springfield Arsenal as federal property. A leaf was also taken out of Rhode Island's book when a Supreme Court, appointed by the President, was placed in a position where it could nullify any Federal or State laws—the Trevelyan case in Rhode Island had already shown how that could be used to good advantage to prevent the people from having any real voice in government. It is true that in Rhode Island the legislature had succeeded in ousting the judges, but the proposed constitution for a new government in United States made Federal judges non-removable except by impeachment for serious crimes. This was a far cry from the arbitration system of the First Republic, where interstate disputes were settled by an arbitration board selected for the occasion jointly by both parties and Congress.

The secret meeting was filled with arguments between the delegates from small states, and those from the larger ones, each trying to get the greater share of power. The final result was a compromise by which the lower house of Congress got representation according to the population, while the Senate had two members from each State.

The constitution, as drawn up by the secret meeting in Philadelphia, contained no guarantees of individual civil rights. Such a proposition had been made at the meeting, but was definitely rejected. Under the First Republic, the State constitutions contained such guarantees of civil rights as each State wished to put in, and the Congress had no powers over individuals directly, and no power of enforcement except through the States. But the new proposed government, under the Cincinnati plan, could legislate over individuals, and could enforce its laws directly, so that a lack of guarantee

of civil rights was equivalent to a denial of the rights of individuals, one of the primary principles promulgated by the Declaration of Independence.

The President was given a sort of "heir-apparent," entitled Vice-President, who was supposed to understudy the President and act as a substitute, and who, in the meantime, presided over the Senate. Both of these were to be elected by electors specifically chosen for the purpose in any way the State legislatures should prescribe—the idea being to take the choice out of the people's hands, though, after about fifty years, it was turned into a form of popular election. According to the plan, the Vice-president was the second choice for President.

Slavery was an important item in the constitution that it was proposed to impose on the United States. Though that institution was nowhere mentioned by name, several provisions for its protection were inserted, most important of which was the so-called "fugitive slave" clause, requiring any State, in spite of its own laws to the contrary, to return fugitive slaves from other States. This was intended as a definite set-back to the strong movement in the Northern States, started by Massachusetts and Vermont, to abolish all recognition of Slavery.

Provision was made whereby the proposed constitution could be amended by a two-thirds vote of Congress and three-fourths of the State Legislatures. This was such a provision as practically every constitution that had ever been drawn up in America always contained, as to how the constitution could be changed. The important point is, however, that though the constitution already in force could not legally be amended except by proposition of Congress and the consent of all the State Legislatures, the proposed constitution was to take effect on ratification by "conventions" (whatever that meant) of nine States, and without regard to either state or federal authorities already existing. This indicates that the intention of the Philadelphia assemblage was not to amend the existing constitution, but to overthrow the government by a *coup d'état*. Another such indication was the fact that a special provision was put into their proposed constitution acknowledging obligations previously contracted by the United States—hardly necessary except on the supposition that a complete overthrow was contemplated.

Thus the proposed constitution was one which, under the guise of democratic forms, centralized into the hands of a single person, removed as far as possible from popular election, practically complete control, not only over the Federal organization, but to a great extent over the State governments. Complete control over all trade between the States and with foreign countries was also centered in this Federal organization (probably the only concession the Philadelphia conspiracy made to the pretense that they had been called to discuss uniform interstate commerce laws); and, to prevent another such coup as the Cincinnati followers were now planning, it was provided that all officers under the new government were to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. A virtual dictatorship under guise of democratic government (though actually largely modelled externally on the pattern of the British regime overthrown by the Revolution) was thus drawn up; it only remained for the Cincinnati and their followers all over the United States to put over the coup and take control according to plan.

It might be said that, though the framers of this constitution actually followed to some extent the British model of government, the mere fact that circumstances made it almost imperative for them to preserve a Federal framework, also made it necessary for them to take over enough features from former federal plans in America to link up even this plan with the original federal constitutions of the red race federations, especially the Iroquois, which, being more oligarchic in structure than

the others, served as the main model in this case. The provision giving Federal courts the jurisdiction over suits between citizens of different States is a particularly obvious survival from the Iroquois constitution.

165. ***The Ratifying Conventions***. The plan of the Cincinnati conspiracy was that their proposed Constitution should be adopted by "conventions" of nine States, and not by the legal process of amending the existing Constitution. What was a "convention"? The same people who were promoting the idea of calling State "conventions" to "rubber-stamp" the proposed governmental overthrow, were the very ones who, only a few months before, were violently denouncing the idea of "convention," at the time when that term was used in connection with the Shays rebellion. But now the Cincinnati followers themselves were the rebels against the United States Government, and they themselves adopted the term "convention" to dignify the secret meeting of the plotters during the summer of 1787, so that the word "convention" came to mean some sort of assemblage of the rich and influential people, where only the previous winter it had implied the opposite idea. So that the provision as to ratifications by the conventions of nine States probably meant that the original conspirators intended that similar secret conspirative meetings should be held in the various States to approve the decision of the Philadelphia "convention" of the summer of 1787, and that these conventions would override the existing State administrations, adopting and organizing the new government over the heads of the existing authorities.

The State legislatures, however, also had something to say about that. They mainly consisted of politicians who would expect the new regime to benefit them at the expense of the people; but, by the same token, they were not going to let themselves be ousted from power, since, as long as they had power, they would use it to hold on. So they took charge of the "conventions" themselves by organizing State conventions under their own auspices, to be elected at hasty elections in which the property qualifications for voting were set so high that practically nobody but the classes expected to benefit by the new regime would have a vote. Of course, the middle states, as we have seen, were always favorable to rule from above rather than to democracy, and consequently would be most inclined toward the new regime as against the First Republic. It was no surprise, therefore, that the first three States to call "conventions" and ratify the proposed Constitution were Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, all of which rushed the whole plan through in such haste that the conventions there had done their work and adjourned before the year of 1787 was over.

By this time intense opposition was beginning to develop all over the United States against the proposed "Federal Constitution," as the proposed form of government was called (in opposition to the "confederation," which was the term used to denote the First Republic). Two opposing parties arose as a result, the advocates of the overthrow calling themselves Federalists, and the various opponents of the proposed coup being called Anti-Federalists. Opposition came from various directions—some of it from those who considered the plan too democratic, and some from politicians who did not expect to be on the Cincinnati's favored list; but by far the greatest portion of the opposition to the proposed new government was from the advocates of civil rights, liberty, and democracy, especially from the former participants in the Shays rebellion and their various grades of sympathizers. In the same way, it was those who wished to see popular rule suppressed once for all, especially those who were afraid of a recurrence of something like the Shays Rebellion, who were most anxious for the success of the coup planned by the Cincinnati and their following of large landowners and financiers.

In spite of the fact that the plot was to a large extent Southern in origin, the South had its own form of opposition to the projected coup. The slaveholders were afraid that a centralized federal organization might give the North too much say locally, and make too many inroads into the institution of slavery, since they had already succeeded in abolishing slavery, not only in most of the Northern States, but also in the federally-owned Northwest Territory. Thus there arose the counter-proposition for a separate confederacy, on the same model as the proposed coup, to consist of the States south of Mason and Dixon's Line. This might have been a better solution for both North and South, and would have made the Cincinnati coup more difficult to carry out in the North, especially with the head of the Cincinnati, George Washington, removed from the field. The South and the North have never properly held together, inasmuch as their origins, as well as their traditions and social institutions, were widely different from the very beginning.

But, on the whole, it was the South more than the North that was favorable to the Cincinnati side, and the ratification of the Cincinnati's proposed Constitution by a convention in Georgia broke up the plans for a Southern Confederacy for the time being, though the idea was never completely abandoned, and the South always acted within the Second Republic as a bloc against the North.

It was in Massachusetts, where the Shays rebellion had just taken place, that the greatest opposition to the plan was expected; while Rhode Island was in a category by itself, since the legislature there was sympathetic to the Shays rebellion, and realized that the proposed coup was quite as much to suppress Rhode Island's government as for any other purpose—in fact, many provisions of the projected Constitution were quite directly aimed at Rhode island, not to mention the fact that Rhode island had not been represented in drawing up the plan or in plotting the coup. Accordingly the Rhode Island legislature decided that it itself was a good enough "convention" to pass on the proposed new Constitution—and rejected it. In Connecticut, the state government was afraid both of another Shays Rebellion and of its neighbor Rhode Island, and so a "rubber-stamp" convention there was set up to ratify the Cincinnatian proposition. But in Massachusetts the issue was hotly contested, especially in view of the Hancock amnesty, which granted the Shays rebels a chance to participate in political activity.

166. ***The Massachusetts Reservations***. Accordingly, in Massachusetts, with all the attempts that the Commonwealth government made to load the election machinery in favor of the counter-revolutionary plot, the question was hotly contested all the way through. There was indeed some effort to get a "rubber-stamp" convention appointed with the mere form of an election, as had been done already in some other States; but rumblings were already beginning to be heard throughout Massachusetts, and threats of a new rebellion. In the spring of 1788, the Shays rebellion was still too close for the authorities of the Commonwealth, or the planners of the counter-revolutionary coup, to be able to disregard them. It was the fear of a new Shays rebellion that prompted the plot for the overthrow of the United States government; and it was the same fear that made the Massachusetts branch of that plot give the former rebels more of a voice in the "convention" than they had originally intended. The result was a convention, that, when it assembled in Boston, was about two-thirds opposed to the proposed plan of a new government. About one-third of the convention consisted of the Cincinnati supporters, including some of the plotters that had come from the Philadelphia convention; another third were from the rebels of 1786 or their sympathizers; while the remaining third were middle-class people who had no sympathy with either side, but who preferred the status quo because they were afraid of creating a new, more powerful, government over them that could take away their personal rights—such as they were. Where the counter-revolutionary conspirators had originally intended a convention of their own group to approve of

their own plan, the ex-rebels were so greatly feared in Massachusetts that they were able to get a strong foothold in the convention in spite of all plans by the capitalists to the contrary. Thus the convention opened, amid hot attacks on the proposed constitution for the new centralized government. The general tenor of these attacks can be summed up in a speech made by Singletary, one of the ex-rebels in the convention: "These lawyers, and men of learning and moneyed men that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, and make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be the managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan....just as the whale swallowed up Jonah."

The final upshot of the contest, with the Federalists in power in the Commonwealth government, and determined not to let their opponents run the convention, was a compromise suggested by a convention delegate determined to put through the plan somehow. A proposition was made that Massachusetts, through the convention, should ratify the proposed Constitution with reservations, those reservations being to the effect that constitutional amendments should be submitted at once by the Congress of the new government for the purpose of guaranteeing individual rights. The constitutional amendments outlined in the Massachusetts reservations dealt with the methods of representation in Congress (obviously taken from the resolutions of the Hatfield Convention), and then went on to forbid the federal authorities to interfere with freedom of speech, religion, petition, or assembly, or with trial by jury, or to make arbitrary arrests, and a number of other such matters that the Cincinnati had deliberately omitted from their proposed Constitution.

This proposition as debated in the Massachusetts convention, excited equally vociferous pro and con arguments. However, the middle-class elements, who shared the fear of the Shays rebellion, but objected to a limitation of civil rights, were largely won over by this proposition of reservations, but the Federalists themselves objected to these reservations, on the ground that it would destroy the whole object of the proposed new government, as such reservations would prevent the suppression of democracy for which the new Constitution was mainly designed.

The resolution was finally adopted in amended form, since, on the motion of John Hancock, it was voted to ratify the Constitution proposed by the Cincinnati conspiracy, but with the Massachusetts reservations recommended as amendments to that Constitution, to be submitted to the new Congress immediately on its formation. Thus Massachusetts, through the influence of the remnants of the Shays Rebellion, was able to force on the new government a "Bill of Rights" which was directly opposed to the original Cincinnati plan, and which formed a set of amendments that have since become much better known than the Constitution itself. Even with the reservations, the convention vote was 187 to 168.

After this convention, the Federalists, led by the Massachusetts Bank’s engraver, Paul Revere, staged a celebration in the streets of Boston parading a model of what they called "the good ship Constitution" (which, to judge by available drawings of the celebration, looked more like a row-boat than a ship), ending with a banquet in the Green Dragon Inn, on Long Lane. In that Federalist celebration banquet, it was decided by the Federalists, in commemoration of their own victory, to change the name of Long Lane to Federal Street, a name which that street still bears.

In New York State, where New York City was a monarchist city and overwhelmingly in favor of the Cincinnati, while the up-state region was just as much opposed to the proposed overthrow of

the United States government, a convention was held at Poughkeepsie, where there had been in 1786 riots in sympathy with the Shays rebellion. The compromise tactics used in Massachusetts were adopted by the New York Federalists, with the result that New York followed the example of Massachusetts in ratifying with reservations. But before New York's "convention" assembled, the Massachusetts reservations had been adopted by South Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, and New Hampshire.

New Hampshire being the ninth State to have a "convention" ratifying the Constitution as proposed, the Federalists considered their proposition ready to take effect, even though there had been no attempt to consult federal authority, or to amend the existing constitution through the regular channels. Of the four remaining States of the First Republic, Virginia and New York came through with their conventions shortly after New Hampshire; but North Carolina and Rhode Island, the same two States that had been in advance in declaring independence during the Revolution, were still firm in rejecting the Second Republic. The Federalists thus planned to take the eleven ratifying States into their new reactionary government, and to take whatever measures might prove necessary to force the submission of North Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Kentucky.

167. ***The First Republic Surrenders***. On Monday, November 3, 1788, there met in New York the last Congress of the First Republic, representing the legislatures of the thirteen States of which eleven had already planned to destroy that Congress. Thus that Congress consisted of delegates practically instructed to desert the ship, only the delegates of North Carolina and Rhode Island planning to stick it out. Consequently this Congress, instead of taking any steps for the preservation of the government it represented, merely surrendered completely and took steps for the complete destruction of its own government, being now in complete control of the Cincinnati organization and their sympathizers. Dates were set for the election of Congress and President for the Second Republic, and the complete resignation of the government of the First Republic was made out, to take effect on the first Wednesday in March. All federal departments and operations were completely dissolved, with the exception of the Post Office, the only part of the First Republic that the present government actually took over. After this was done, the Congress itself dissolved, leaving the winter of 1788 as an interregnum without any actually functioning federal authority. George Washington and his followers the Cincinnati, and their sympathizers, actually had charge of federal election machinery between November and April, as well as of the Federal Hall in New York. The Northwest Territory, the only actual federally-controlled land in the United States, was left in complete control of its governor, General St. Clair, who turned out to be a member of the secret society of the Cincinnati, and was of course under the direct instructions of Washington, who had originally planned the coup. All foreign ambassadors were recalled, including Thomas Jefferson, who had served his purpose abroad in that he was out of the way while the coup was planned and carried out, but who might make a poor representative in France for the Second Republic. From every direction, the First Republic was surrendering all its functions of government, not to the Second Republic, which had not yet been organized, but to the Cincinnati, headed by George Washington, to be turned over (presumably) to the new government on the first Wednesday in March. All governmental functions actually reverted to the States for that winter, since all federal authority was disorganized, and the Cincinnati were merely in charge of a few fragments left over for their use in building up the new organization in the spring. It was not merely a coup in the sense that no attempt was made to change the existing constitution by legally recognized methods; there was a complete dissolution of the old government from within, and the Second Republic took over very little of the administrative machinery that the First Republic had, so that the federal regime suffered a more complete revolution than most of the States had had during the War for

Independence. The old government was penetrated by its enemies so far that it surrendered and dissolved; and several months elapsed before a new government was built up to take its place, while the Cincinnati organization was holding the few threads together during the interregnum, and their agents in the State governments were handling actual law enforcement during that period.

Participants in the original revolution, many of whom had been gradually leaving the United States all through 1787 and 1788, now began leaving in large numbers. France, though a reactionary country, proved, as a former ally of the American revolution, to be a good refuge; while many of the refugees, taking advantage of the fact that it was the United States from which they were trying to escape, tried to get into Canada by claiming to be United Empire Loyalists; and in this many of them were successful, so that Canada received a considerable immigration of alleged "Loyalists" in the period of 1788-91 who were really too revolutionary and democratic for what the United States was turning into. Most of these settled around the Lake Ontario region, and their demands for a democratic form of government became so strong that the British authorities finally had to grant a separate charter for the government of the Great Lakes region of Canada, forming the province of Upper Canada (now Ontario).

In the meantime the Legislatures of the eleven States that were breaking off from the First Republic, to form the Second, were busy staging an election under Cincinnati supervision. A complete Congress was elected, to take office on the appointed date, the first Wednesday in March; and each of the eleven states had a different style for choosing the Presidential electors. In some States they were appointed by the Legislature, and in others they were appointed by the Governor; in some States the electors were elected at large by the voters, and in others they were elected according to districts; while some States chose their Presidential electors by a mixture of various plans. But one noteworthy point is that long before the electoral votes were counted it was taken for granted that George Washington would be the President, and he actually started for New York before there was a chance to count the votes!

When the appointed date of the first Wednesday in March—March 4, 1789—drew around, the Federal Hall was opened for the members of the new Congress, who were gradually drifting into town, to wait for the coming of George Washington, the head of the new government who would place a firm hand on things, and check the "excess of democracy" that had been prevailing. The First Republic was definitely passing into history (it has, for most part, been forgotten even by historians), and the pine-tree emblem of freedom of the First Republic was being definitely replaced by the Roman eagle and fasces of the nation’s new masters, the Cincinnati.

CHAPTER XXVIII

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

168. ***The Second Republic is Started***. On Wednesday,* March 4, 1789, the new regime went into effect, and Federal Hall, on Wall Street in New York, was opened up for the new Congress that was beginning to dribble into New York from the various States. It took until Sunday, April 5 for enough members of Congress to assemble to permit the two Houses of the new Congress to get properly organized, and to count the votes of the Presidential electors that had been coming in from the eleven States that were participating in the Second Republic. It was finally announced by Congress that George Washington had been unanimously elected by the vote of *five* states! John Adams, being the second choice of the electors from those five States, was declared to be Vice-President. How the remaining six States of the Second Republic voted in that election will probably never be known, because their votes were never counted and never went on official record—presumably because they did not vote for George Washington as President. In the meantime, Washington himself was already actually on his way from his Virginia home to New York to take control of the new government, it being apparently taken for granted that he would be the President, since there certainly was no doubt that the office of President, as the Second Republic had it—a sort of disguised autocrat—was originally designed specifically to be filled by the President of the Cincinnati. Washington reached New York Thursday, April 30, and the oath of office was irregularly administered by Chancellor Livingston of New York State (contrary even to the Constitution of the Second Republic) while, to complete the parallel it was intended to draw between the new Presidency and royalty, Livingston followed up the oath of office by shouting, "Long live George Washington, first President of the United States!" Notice that Washington was not first President of the United States (there having been thirteen presidents of the First Republic before him); it was designed to indicate that this was a new United States, beginning in 1789. The original, the revolutionary, United States, was gone forever, and it was now attempted to have it forgotten that this First Republic had ever existed; the myth that government in the United States

began with the Second Republic was started at Washington's inauguration, by the "long live" call of Chancellor Livingston.

The new government took over nothing of the old except the Post Office system and the Northwest Territory, inasmuch as the Congress of 1788 had successfully wrecked all the vestiges of the First Republic. The Northwest Territory had been for several years under actual control of the Society of the Cincinnati, headed by Washington; and, with the advent of the Second Republic, Governor St. Clair changed the name of the Northwest's capital town from Losantiville to Cincinnati. Outside of these two divisions of federal administration, the Second Republic had to build up from the beginning; and in this respect it followed successful revolutionary tactics, since we have already seen that revolutions generally fail of their objective in the degree that they take over and attempt to operate or control any portion of the former administration. The Second Republic was not making this mistake: it took over nothing, and built from the bottom, while Washington and his Cincinnati were taking complete charge of affairs in the meantime.

Territorially, the Second Republic was incomplete at its initiation. The First Republic claimed, by the peace treaty of 1783, an area extending from Canada to the Floridas, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; but, within it, at the time the First Republic dissolved, there were two regions—Vermont and Kentucky—maintaining their own independence from the United States; while the Lake Michigan region, the extreme corner of the Northwest Territory, was still under British occupation, even though surrendered on paper by the peace treaty. In addition, the Second Republic, at its birth, also lacked Rhode Island and North Carolina, both of which became completely independent nations on Wednesday, March 4, 1789, with the formation of the Second Republic. North Carolina's conquest in 1785 of the "State of Franklin," which was formerly the Watauga colony, meant that the Second Republic's territory was not even contiguous, since North Carolina's claims from the Atlantic to the Mississippi cut the new United States in two parts. South Carolina and Georgia could not be reached from the rest of the United States, except by sea, without crossing the completely independent nation of North Carolina. In New England, the independence of Rhode Island and Vermont, which remained outside the Second Republic, though they caused no interruption in communication, served as a symbol of defiance to the new regime.

The 1789 Congress proceeded with organizing the new government, including a system of Federal courts under the President's appointment (contrast "He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices" from the Declaration of Independence), a cabinet for Washington, and a standing army organization to be under Washington's control. Thomas Jefferson, who had been sent as ambassador to France while the Cincinnati conspiracy was being hatched, was now recalled and given the position of Secretary of State, in charge of foreign affairs, since it was considered that such a position would be more likely to silence him than having him in a foreign country as representative of the United States. The much more important position of Secretary of the Treasury was given to Alexander Hamilton, a faithful member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

In this way, even with the broken-up territory that the Second Republic started out with, a strong governmental organization, centralized enough to collect its own taxes and keep Washington in power as the center of all authority, was formed for the eleven States in the new Union and for the Northwest Territory.

169. ***Opposition to the Second Republic***. It must not be supposed that opposition to the Cincinnati coup ceased once the coup had become an accomplished fact. It is true that the Anti-

federalists were no longer planning to block the new Constitution; but it had become, instead, a last-ditch fight to prevent that Constitution from becoming an instrument of aristocracy and dictatorship (as the Cincinnati had unquestionably intended it to be), and a fight to block that super-centralization which the Cincinnati had planned for the purpose of throttling and destroying the principles of federation and democracy in the United States.

During the winter of interregnum between the First and Second Republics, there were already sporadic attempts to organize this anti-Cincinnati tendency for the defense of democracy against aristocracy. In the South, it was mainly a move for concentrating power in the State governments rather than in the federal organization—a return to the decentralization of the First Republic; while in New England the emphasis was laid much more on individual rights, and was largely based on the remnants of the Shays Rebellion movement, and still, to some extent, was able to rally around the rather ineffectual political coup which was still holding Rhode Island out of the Second Republic. In the middle states, the opposition to aristocracy mainly centered around the fragments still left of the old-time Sons of Liberty and their allied network of organizations, which was making preparations during the winter of 1788 to organize in defense of liberty and democracy. The old secret organization, the Sons of Tamenund (or Tammany), an offshoot of the original federate organization of the Lenape Federation, was now proceeding to organize in the open for this purpose, and, in New York City, they incorporated in the summer of 1789 under the title of the Tammany Society, which was then a continuation of Lenape federal organization and formed for the purpose of rallying opposition to the new aristocracy that was threatening, under the Cincinnati, to engulf the United States. The Tammany Society was, however, a much more conservative group, by the time it had come out into the open, than the old revolutionary secret organization from which it had descended, and they even signalized the change by changing their "saint's day" of Tammany from May 1, the old rebel anniversary (taken from the Pequot War in 1637) to May 12.

A different effect of opposition to the new form of government was felt when the Congress of the new administration found itself deluged with proposed constitutional amendments pouring in from the states, including the Massachusetts Reservations, which, due to political activity of the former participants in the Shays Rebellion, had been forced by these ex-rebels as a condition of that state's entry into the Second Republic, and which were adopted also as similar restrictions on the membership of New York and several other states in the new Union. For the new government to disregard those constitutional amendments would be inviting such key states as Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia to leave the Second Republic before it was well organized, and would practically mean suicide for George Washington's carefully planned ambitions of dictatorship. In September, 1789, twelve amendments to the constitution were submitted to the State legislatures, the first two proposed amendments dealing with details concerning mode of representation in Congress and compensation of Congressmen, the other ten dealing largely with individual rights, the last two specifying mainly that rights of the States and of the people should take precedence over any grants of power to the Federal government.

In the summer of 1789, there was a sudden additional complication from an unexpected source in regard to this entire issue. The Cincinnati and their sympathizers were still in great fear of a recurrence of the Shays Rebellion in almost any part of America at any time, and a renewal of such a movement, had it been possible at that time, might have proved a real danger to the new government. But the revival of the Shays Rebellion movement came from a different direction. In the summer of 1789 the news came from across the ocean that, on Tuesday, July 14, an enlarged repetition of the Northampton uprising of three years before had taken place when a mob in Paris,

assembled unexpectedly out of nowhere, had surrounded and captured the prison there, just as a similar crowd had captured the court-house in Northampton in the summer of 1786. There were other features of this unexpected uprising in France that linked it up with the various rebel movements in America; such as the secret societies using "Jacques" as a password (from which the French revolutionists were termed Jacobins), which seemed like a duplication of the "Jo Bunker" organizations of Massachusetts during the Shays Rebellion; the cries of "liberté" and "égalité," and other watchwords that seemed to be taken from the Declaration of Independence, and the rebel literature circulated in Canada in 1775 (as simplified by subsequent developments up to the Shays Rebellion): the use of the term "convention" to denote a revolutionary council (which was certainly an implication of the word during the Shays Rebellion, but quite the opposite in America a few months later, when the Philadelphia conspiracy adopted that title, so that the French use of the word definitely must have come from America between August, 1786 and May, 1787).

In America, the opposition to the Cincinnati coup lost no time in rallying to the support of the French Revolution, and in proclaiming France to be the great hope of liberty and democracy in the world. Following the example of the Jacobins in France, the opponents of the new regime in America called themselves Republicans, and organized, as in France, "Democratic clubs" everywhere. From these circumstances, the groups opposed to the existing regime came to be called "Democratic-Republicans;" Jefferson, recognizing in the French Revolution many of the teachings he had proclaimed through the Declaration of Independence, became an ardent supporter of the French Revolution, and the most prominent Democratic-Republican in the opposition movement, though hampered in his activities by the fact that he held a government position.

The Democratic-Republicans took the political stand of what was then known as "Strict Construction;" that is to say, limiting the federal powers strictly to the list specified in the Constitution, and resolving all possible doubts against the federal government. The Federalists, on the other hand, who had plotted to establish the new government precisely to centralize control in one man, and to undermine the State governments, advocated "Loose Construction," for the purpose of which they pointed to the clauses they put into the Constitution (which became known as the "Elastic Clauses) expressly so that the federal organization could take over whenever it wanted to. In the clauses, among the federal powers are listed: "To provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States," and "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." These clauses, if interpreted loosely enough, could completely destroy all State authority and all individual civil rights, and to make the federal organization an unlimited master of the country. The first political clash over this issue was when Alexander Hamilton, the Cincinnati member at the head of the Treasury, proposed the establishment of a central bank for the United States—this being again motivated by fear of the Shays Rebellion, which had attacked the rising banking system quite as much as the government. In this case, the Democratic-Republicans—among whom were many who had fought in the Shays Rebellion—brought up in opposition the contention that it was beyond the constitutional powers of the federal government to establish banks, since the Constitution said nothing about such an extension of Federal powers; while the Federalists pointed to the “general welfare” clause—but the most important fact was that the Federalists were in power, and were able to get their way.

The Democratic-Republicans gradually consolidated into a political organization of all those who, from any point of view, were opposing encroachments of the Federal authority. This party was handicapped for the time being by its alignment with the French Revolution, but nevertheless it reflected American tendencies, on the whole, so much better than the Federalists that it was the only

political party organization that has functioned continuously in the United States through the entire period of the Second Republic.

170. ***The Recalcitrant States***. We have seen that the Second Republic took over much less territory than the First Republic had possessed, and its territory was not even continuous. North Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kentucky—the States in which independence had been declared, or in effect more than two months in advance of the Declaration of Independence—remained outside the Second Republic, defying the new government. Vermont and Kentucky, it is true, were unrecognized by the First Republic, and, having been outlawed then, were more inclined to be favorable to the Second Republic if the new regime should prove friendly. This did not apply to North Carolina and Rhode Island.

In North Carolina, the main point of objection to the Second Republic was covered when the "Bill of Rights" amendments to the Constitution were actually submitted to the States by the new Congress, so a second "convention" was called in that State in November, 1789, which ratified the new Constitution. This gave the Second Republic a territorial continuity that it lacked at the start. But little Rhode Island was still far from satisfied.

The policies of the Federalists were, in all respects, precisely the overthrow of whatever the Rhode Island coup of 1786 had represented. The central national bank that was proposed by Alexander Hamilton was obviously intended as a machinery for collection in full of those very debts that the Rhode Island coup had intended to abolish, postpone, or discount. Inasmuch as it became more and more obvious that the new regime was intended specifically to put down such movements as the Rhode Island coup, naturally Rhode Island could do nothing but remain independent as long as it could possibly hold out. All preparations were made, beginning March 4, 1789, when the Second Republic started, for Rhode Island to handle all the functions of a completely independent nation.

A resolution of the Rhode Island legislature in March, 1789, declared that "the Union hitherto subsisting between the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and twelve other States, under the name of the United States of America, has been dissolved, and eleven of those States have formed a new Union," and the other States were thenceforth referred to by Rhode Island officially as "the former United States of America." This shows very plainly that the Cincinnati coup of 1789 was regarded, not as a constitutional revision, but as an actual overthrow of an established government. To Chancellor Livingston of New York, the only United States he recognized began on March 4, 1789; to the Rhode Island legislature, the only United States they recognized had ceased to exist on that date.

By this resolution, Rhode Island provided for a customs tariff for all goods imported from foreign countries "except the former United States of America," and for the adoption of currency units to conform to whatever standards might be adopted in "the former United States of America." The intention was obvious, to treat the Second Republic as foreign country, but with a closer relation to Rhode Island than other countries because a former federation had existed. Yet Rhode Island was obviously regarding itself as an independent nation, and, for it, there was no more United States.

As, in 1786, the capitalists' answer to the Rhode Island coup was a boycott of Rhode Island goods, and as these elements were now in power by their own political coup, the boycott became

semi-official—recognized by George Washington and his army and navy, if not by Congress—and the Rhode Island border was all but completely closed on the outside. It was almost a complete economic blockade of the little nation, which had never been agriculturally self-sustaining. Rhode Island itself had to put an embargo on the exportation of grain, and the state of affairs was almost one of siege, though still with plenty of room for smuggling operations.

One of the activities of the State of Rhode Island during this period was the organization of the first society for the abolition of slavery. This move was definitely one of hostility against the Second Republic, as slavery was one of the twin economic systems that had risen to power there. It also gave the State a chance to express itself in favor of individual rights and liberty. In this way a sort of official opening was given to a movement that was later to sweep the institution of slavery out of America.

The food supply of Rhode Island was gradually running low, in spite of all efforts at conservation, and in spite of the smuggling that was going on across the Rhode Island borders. Rhode Island was literally starved into submission, and a convention was called in May, 1790, which ratified the Constitution of the new regime, and thus ended the blockade, finally, after fourteen months, giving the Second Republic control of the same territory that the First Republic had. The Rhode Island coup was ended, and much of the changes made by the legislature during the four years of the coup was voided by the action of ratifying the Constitution of the Second Republic.

> "So the rich men's new regime was started, which Red Island still defied,
> And thereby lost all recognition, from the nation or outside.
> All outside dealing with that region did the nation now preclude,
> And in fourteen months Red Island's people by hunger were subdued."

With Vermont and Kentucky the issue was different. It was that of recognition as separate States with their own government, rather than as parts of New York and Virginia respectively, as the First Republic had insisted on treating them. It is true that, according to the Constitution, the consent of New York and Virginia respectively would be necessary for the recognition; but a little thing like a constitution did not trouble George Washington. As it was now, it was the federal government instead of the States that possessed the standing army, and as Washington was the sole ruler of that army, responsible to nobody at all for his conduct of it, it was merely necessary for him to drop hints to Virginia and New York authorities that they would not be entitled to federal protection unless they consented to the admission into the Union of Kentucky and Vermont respectively. Because the institution of slavery in the South, and that of capitalism in the North, were already anxious not to let the balance of power in Congress run against them, Kentucky could not be admitted until the consent of New York to the admission of Vermont was agreed to. These two states were admitted into the new Union by ratifying the Constitution, in the same manner as North Carolina and Rhode Island, whereas later admissions of new States were by acts of Congress creating State governments. This difference is probably due to the fact that Vermont and Kentucky had been functioning as States before the Second Republic started.

171. ***Northwest and Southwest Territories***. In respect to the West, the second Republic inherited, on a larger scale, the unlimitedly aggressive and expanding characteristics that Virginia had shown up to then. The institution of slavery, as it worked out in America, required this constant

territorial expansion, with ever new conquests, to maintain itself. It had been mainly Virginia that had shown this tendency so far, but now that the institution of slavery was one of the two dominant systems in the Federal government, and especially considering that the Federal government was under complete control of a Virginian who had been prominent for his acts of aggression, it was to be expected that the Second Republic would take over Virginia's part in invading the West. In the Northwest Territory ordinance of 1787, the First Republic, in one of its last official acts, proclaimed a policy of friendship and protection towards the tribes living in the Northwest Territory. But no sooner was there a change of regime in the Federal government than this policy was reversed. George Washington, as commander-in-chief of the army, and his agent, General St. Clair, who was absolute dictator over the Northwest Territory, immediately took an aggressive attitude toward the red tribes, and demanded the surrender of additional land for the benefit of the white settlers. The result was that the tribes in the Northwest Territory revived the old Ottawa Federation, and defeated two military expeditions sent out against them, one of which was led by St. Clair himself. Finally Washington sent out an army from the States, which made a long campaign against the tribes of the Northwest Territory. A chain of forts established on the Maumee River (at the upper end of Lake Erie) finally, after several years of fighting, resulted in the defeat of the tribes and the establishment of the so-called "Greenville Line"—a zigzag line from Cleveland to Cincinnati, to serve as the boundary between tribal territory and white settlements. Even this new treaty was never observed by the government, and was never intended to be observed, for a settlement was started at once around the lower end of the Maumee chain of Forts (Fort Maumee; the community now called Toledo). Although there was as yet no division of the Northwest Territory into more than one administrative district, the part southeast of the Greenville line, the part open to settlement by treaty, became known as the Ohio Territory, while the remaining part of the territory, supposed to be for the "Indians," was commonly (though not yet officially) called Indiana Territory. Later on, more of the tribes land was seized, by some more acts of military aggression, in order to make Ohio into the full area prescribed by the Northwest Territory Ordinance for its easternmost State.

The fortification of the Maumee River had another purpose besides the attack on the tribes. About fifty miles from the Maumee was the British fortification of Detroit, within the United States boundary by the Treaty of 1783, but never surrendered by Great Britain to the United States. It had never formed part of the First Republic, nor did the area under its influence; and, though the First Republic was willing to let well enough alone as to some territory they had never possessed except on paper, which would result in war against the tribes if they did not capture it, George Washington’s attitude was different. The fortifications on the Maumee River were used as a basis for a surprise attack on Detroit, and, in 1793, while the governments of the United States and Great Britain were negotiating concerning the Lake Michigan region, the British garrison at Detroit surrendered, and were allowed to cross the Detroit River into Canada on parole. In this way the boundary of the United States was extended on the northwest side to the treaty limits, resulting in the addition of territory amounting to what is now Michigan, Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota.

In the southwest there was nothing to correspond to the Northwest Territory when the Second Republic took control. The claims of the states in the South to strips of land running through to the Mississippi were not questioned as similar claims had been north of the Ohio River. Virginia had its troubles with Vandalia and Kentucky when the First Republic surrendered and the Second Republic took its place; and while, as we have already seen, Kentucky was admitted as a State by the Second Republic, the case was different with Vandalia, where George Washington controlled most of the land.

Federal aggression in the South was against the Cherokee, towards whom the First Republic had been friendly, so that they were able during the period to make considerable progress in consolidating the organization of their tribal government. The Watauga settlements, which had been defying both British authorities and, later on, as the State of Franklin, the First Republic, by taking and occupying Cherokee land, were treated by the First Republic as outlaw, enabling North Carolina to suppress the "Franklin" government. Under the aggressive policy of the Second Republic, it was considered advisable to revive "Franklin" as a territory similar to the Northwest Territory; so that pressure was brought to bear on North Carolina to cede "Franklin" to the Federal government, just as pressure had to be brought to bear on the same State to join the Second Republic. Since the narrow strip South Carolina had claimed was rendered totally inaccessible by the Cherokee organization, that strip had been ceded already to the First Republic, which, on account of its policy of friendship with the powerful Cherokee tribes, made no attempt to take possession, but allowed that strip as a free base for Cherokee organization. The Second Republic, however, organized the former State of Franklin, and the Cherokee Strip that bordered it on the south, together as the "Territory Southwest of the Ohio River," on a dictatorship basis similar to that of the Northwest Territory, but not recognizing slavery, instead of abolishing it, as the First Republic had done for the Northwest Territory. Extensive military campaigns were then carried on against the Cherokee and other tribes in the new Southwest Territory, while a gradual reorganization of the former State of Franklin was attempted, resulting finally in the formation of a complete framework of State government in the Southwest Territory (or rather, in that part of it which had been claimed by the Watauga colony and its successor, the State of Franklin); and its final admission in 1796 as a State of the Second Republic, under the title of Tennessee.

Another bit of territory claimed by the Second Republic in the Southwest was the Yazoo region, which had been claimed by Spain as part of West Florida ever since the peace treaty. It was claimed by the First Republic as part of Georgia, and consisted of the area between the Perdido and Mississippi Rivers, and from the 31st parallel as far north as the mouth of the Yazoo River. This region was within the United States limits, as described in the peace treaty with Great Britain, but a secret clause in the treaty provided that it should be returned to England if England could keep West Florida. Since Spain won both East and West Florida in the war, this provision did not take effect, but Spain, on finding out about the secret clause, had claimed that the Yazoo region was thereby acknowledged to be part of West Florida, and therefore belonged to Spain. The Second Republic took the rather curious stand that the Yazoo country was not part of Georgia, but part of West Florida specially ceded, subject to certain restrictions, to the United States, and therefore Federal territory. Pending settlement with Spain, no attempt at organizing territorial government there was made, but it was already claimed as the United States' "Mississippi Territory."

The Iroquois who still remained in the United States (most of them had emigrated to Canada with the Loyalists) were another problem for Washington , who took a hostile attitude towards them too, and this feeling of hostility was reciprocated by the Iroquois, who had not forgotten the destruction inflicted on them during the War for Independence by Washington's armies. Their own name for Washington was Hanodaganears, meaning Destroyer of Towns; and, in accordance with the Iroquois custom of having the same name go to everyone who holds the same office, all of Washington's successors as President of the United States, down to the present time, have been to the Iroquois Hanodaganears, Destroyers of Towns.

An Iroquois, by the name of Gawenodiyo (in English, Handsome Lake), had the inspiration to appeal to Washington's well-known love of flattery by concocting a new religion, which was at the

same time intended to consolidate the Iroquois nationality, and appeal to the President's vanity. He claimed to have had a vision in which the new religion was revealed to him, and one of the features of his vision was that he had been given a sight of the Happy Hunting Grounds, into which only red men could be admitted, and in which there were plenty of wonderful things to eat. No white man would be admitted there, but Gawenodiyo said he saw in his vision a house being built just outside the gate for the coming of George Washington. The "New Religion" also contained many features copied from Christianity, and emphasized the necessity for the Iroquois to maintain their nationality, laid stress on the evil of liquor, and forbade intermarriage with other races. An abstract of the religion was sent to Washington, who was so pleased with the flattery that he was to be the only white man who, according to that religion, would have even a glimpse into Heaven, that he sent Gawenodiyo a complimentary letter approving his missionary work. The Iroquois have carefully preserved this letter, supposing that it was a license from Washington to preach the new religion, which has since been adopted by a large portion of the survivors of the Iroquois. The "new religion" with its combination of appeal to the nationalism of the Iroquois, and to Washington's susceptibility to flattery, prevented the Iroquois tribes from being the subjects of the unprovoked aggression from which the tribes of Northwest and Southwest Territories had suffered.

172. ***The Bill of Rights***. We have seen that even before the Cincinnati plot had been completed, objections in regard to guarantee of civil rights had arisen. The first sign of this as a serious block to the plot was when former participants in the Shays Rebellion had succeeded in keeping Massachusetts from complete indorsement of the overthrow of government, resulting in the Massachusetts reservations calling for the immediate submission of a series of amendments to the new Constitution to guarantee civil rights. Other States, including the important States of New York and Virginia, followed the example of Massachusetts, so that, when the first Congress of the Second Republic convened, even before the election of a President could be announced, the first business presented to it was a deluge of constitutional amendments for guaranteeing civil rights, and with a fair amount of warning that the majority of the States in the Second Republic were staying in only on condition that such amendments should be admitted.

Submission of a Bill of Rights as amendment to the constitution, though it ran directly counter to the original Cincinnati plan, thus became a necessity to preserve the power of the new regime, forced on the new regime by the opposition, and particularly by the same elements that had conducted the Shays Rebellion. Out of the mass of proposed amendments the Congressional committee picked twelve mainly following the original Massachusetts reservations. The first two proposed amendments of the twelve related to proportion of representation and to salaries of Congressmen—obviously a holdover from the Hatfield Convention that gave the signal for the start of the Shays rebellion; but those amendments failed to embody any issue of principle whatever, and therefore failed of ratification by the States. The remaining ten amendments, which are now the first ten amendments to the Constitution, and commonly known as the Bill of Rights, dealt mainly with individual rights, thought the last two concerned the question of balance of power between federal and State governments. These were not worded in the same legal style that is found in the main body of the Constitution, but obviously come from popular rather than legal sources. The first amendment (the third on Congress's list, but the first of the list to pass, and the first in popular estimation) dealt with freedom of speech, petition, assembly, and the press. It is noted that, as the amendment came out of Congressional committee, it referred to freedom of speech and the press rather than to expression of opposition opinions; and the specific reference to the press has since been construed as giving special privileges to a large and established industry. Other amendments related to the right of trial by jury, immunity from arbitrary search and seizure in homes, right of the

people to bear arms, and other such matters. Although all these amendments passed and became an integral part of the Constitution, the administrative officials of the Second Republic have always totally ignored these constitutional rights, and courts have interpreted all the meaning out of them, because these particular amendments were forced from the Second Republic under pressure from the people. We shall see that some of the denials of the rights mentioned in these amendments started under the Federalist administrations, showing that there was never the slightest intention on the part of the government to obey these amendments. However, the fifth amendment, stating that no person could be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, was taken up by the courts and interpreted strictly as regards property, but no attention was ever paid by the courts or the executive administration to the life and liberty references in that amendment.

One difference in the idea of rights in the American government and in Europe may be noticed, as an historical matter. In Europe the concept of rights was introduced by the Revolution in 1688 in England; by the French Revolution on the Continent, and in both cases was introduced as a feature of the rising capitalist system to suppress rights, while the doctrine was forced on them by popular opposition, mainly from workers' and farmers' rebel groups.

173. ***Washington and the Federal District***. George Washington, as we have seen, treated his office of President as though it were a kingship. He actually gave himself (through the Cincinnati plot that laid out a Constitution for him) more power than the King had in England. But such incidents as the forcing through of a Bill of Rights over his head indicated that it was not going to be such smooth sailing for him. The pomp and ceremony of royalty he was able to duplicate, and he went to the limit in that direction. He insisted on being given the title of "His Highness, President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties"; but, as it never became an official title (it was not so easy to get Congress to agree), this title for the President has been forgotten, and the reaction was that no formal title was ever given to the President of the United States.

He made a general tour of the United States in 1790, on which he was received everywhere (by special request) with great military parade, and in every part of the Union he always stayed with the aristocratic (or, rather, would-be aristocratic) families. Most of the "George Washington beds" that are now so plentiful in the United States, seem to date from this tour. In Boston, where there had arisen that opposition which forced the Bill of Rights into the Constitution, he was escorted into town by an unusually large military escort, which met him at the neck connecting Boston with the mainland, and surrounded him (probably for protection) through the series of streets leading into the town; and, at the official reception, which took good account of Washington's desire for flattery, it was announced that all the streets comprising the route of his entry into town should be renamed Washington Street. In other parts of the country, similarly, official and aristocratic receptions were ready for him everywhere, and large military escorts were always with him to protect him against the much-dreaded recurrence of the Shays Rebellion.

But Washington's plan, embodied in the Constitution as plotted by the secret Philadelphia conspiracy, of establishing his royal palace in a ten-mile-square region under absolute dictatorship, was yet to be carried out. The President himself, and his followers in the Cincinnati Society, too, for that matter, knew where the location was going to be—at the head of navigation on the Potomac River, near Washington's home, and at the terminal of the projected canal, which was to make the Northwest Territory economically dependent on this little dictatorship region, so that it could finally carry out the plan of the Cincinnati, to reduce the Northwest to complete subjugation to Washington's will, and, with that as a base, wipe out the last vestige of democracy in the United

States. But Congress proved balky. All the Southern members of Congress were quite willing to have a Southern location for the capital, though many would have liked to see it much farther south. Northern members of Congress wanted to have the capital located in the North, and some were firmly convinced that it would mean the destruction of the Union if the capital was to be located in the South. (Later on, where a split came between North and South, that prediction turned out to be almost true.) Many landowners were ready to offer their own regions for use as a capital, because it would boost real estate values; but nobody, either North or South, Federalist or opposition, wanted the capital in a settled area—the opposition, because they would not have any existing towns put under dictatorship; and the Federalists because they might thus be acquiring some rebels that would seriously interfere with the plan.

There was, however, one suggestion, made by the followers of the New York aristocratic family of the Livingstons, that, the capital temporarily being in New York, it should remain close to where it already was. The Second Republic's birthplace on Wall Street, New York, could then be kept within close range. The spot suggested for a capital was the town of Morrisania (now the Bronx Hub), and, for a district to be under Federal control, the surrender of the Bronx peninsula by the State of New York was suggested. This proposal, however, was open to the Federalist objection that it did not offer the requisite facilities to suppress a rebellion, should one arise.

Other places were offered, more centrally located, for the most part around Pennsylvania. One offer as made by the local landowners of a region straddling the Mason and Dixon Line, where the Susquehanna River crosses that line; and a leaflet was issued to Congressmen and other government officials, praising the wonderful fishing to be had at that spot! Other suggested localities were near Philadelphia, or near Annapolis, but, with the exception of the Livingston suggestion of the Bronx peninsula, all proposed grounds were in fairly deserted regions.

Though Washington had selected the site for his "Federal City," political tactics of his followers induced him to delay putting pressure on Congress to give assent. Alexander Hamilton, as a Northern member of the Cabinet, though he was a member of the Cincinnati and already in agreement with Washington's choice, strung along with the Northern members of Congress for a while, in order to induce them to follow him when he should finally decide to formally approve the Potomac River location near George Washington's home. The Washington regime generally followed the principle that money could, in one way or another, buy anybody's support, and, since the Cincinnati had wealth at their command, they planned to have the Federal government take over the obligations of the State bonds, in return, of course, for a certain amount of supervision over affairs of the State governments, which were thus to be in debt to the Federal administration. Jefferson was the leader of much of the opposition that arose against this plan in the South; and Hamilton finally told Jefferson that, if opposition were withdrawn to the assumption of State debts, Hamilton himself would recommend his followers among the Northern members of Congress to vote for a southern location for the capital. The execution of this deal was delayed long enough for the members of the Cincinnati Society to buy up at a low price all the State bonds they could find, and finally a "compromise" plan was presented for the benefit of the Northern members of Congress, that the capital was to be at Philadelphia for ten years, during the construction of a Federal City at a site on the Potomac River, to be selected by the President (who, of course, had the location chosen long before the Second Republic came into existence).

For planning the layout of the "Federal City," as President Washington called it (though he always insisted on others' calling it Washington), a refugee from the French Revolution, an

architect named Pierre Charles L'Enfant, was selected by the President. The two great features considered in making the plans were a certain amount of decorative external show, and a well-laid scheme of defense against possible uprisings. In the latter respect George Washington, with his fear of another Shays rebellion, found a point in common with the French émigré architect with his experiences of the French Revolution, and the Cincinnati policy of bringing reminders of ancient Rome into their plans was also obvious in this bit of city planning. The city was to center around a high hill overlooking the Potomac, which, to follow out the Roman-dictatorship tradition, was named Capitol Hill, after one of the hills of Rome, and on the top of which was to be the government headquarters, which was similarly to be named the Capitol; while the little creek that flowed down the hill was named the Tiber, after the river that flows through Rome. To guard against popular uprising, all streets in the city were to be wide and straight, so that a cannon would have range the full length of any street. While the main network of streets was to be a square one, named by letters both ways from the Capitol, north and south, and by numbers both ways from the Capitol, east and west, there was in addition another network of diagonal streets to cover the entire city, there being thirteen of these named after the thirteen States. These diagonal streets were arranged to cross at crossings of the regular network of streets, and at these crossings there were planned small circular parks, from which a cannon could have uninterrupted range the entire length of the city in eight different directions; such parks were scattered throughout the whole city area, and there were enough of these "circles" to command every street in the projected Federal City. Around the city was to run a broad avenue, irregular in shape, which would make it simple to mobilize an army quickly to surround the city completely at short notice, and give such an army full gun range into every corner of the city, while the irregular shape of the Boundary Street would to a certain extent protect the besieging army from a return fire. Much of this plan is obvious in the present layout of the capital city. Furthermore, the convergence of the streets around the Capitol was to be such that cannon range from the point down the streets would be available in twelve different directions. It seems obvious that both the engineer who drew up the plan and the president who approved and directed it, were more afraid of an uprising of the people than of anything else; which is quite easily understood, since the French Revolution was then going on, and the plan was drawn up less than five years after the Shays Rebellion, and within one year after the suppression of the Rhode Island coup. Every street and every corner of the older part of the present city of Washington still bears testimony to the great fear the Second Republic's head then showed on the issue of possible popular uprisings. The entire city was intended to suppress the people at every step. It may incidentally be noted that the modern boulevard system of Paris was similarly planned for the same purpose as a result of the Commune uprising of 1871.

For additional guard against the people, an elaborate system of underground tunnels for members of the government was planned, to connect the Capitol with the President's mansion, and both with any government buildings that might be set up, the entire system centering about a part occupying a strip extending from the Capitol directly past the Executive Mansion to the Potomac River, giving the government, in case of uprising, a way out to the Potomac River while the military forces could surround the city. It is noticeable that the outlet was towards the Virginia shore, and was therefore presumably intended for the personal convenience of George Washington to get safely home to Virginia in case of trouble; it also suggested that it was from the North that trouble was expected, and this again indicates that it was the Shays Rebellion that was feared. But one point remains perfectly oblivious, that the "Federal City's" most complicated system of defenses was against the people.

Ten years was the time allowed to complete the plan to the extent of making it ready for occupancy by Washington's government. It so happened that Washington himself did not live out the ten years; what a city with such internal defenses might have turned into in the hands of a would-be dictator, one can only imagine.

While this Federal City was in process of construction, many of the States, also in fear of popular uprisings, began to build hill-top capitols on the same general plan. The first of these was the new State House set up on land confiscated from the Tories during the Revolution, on the top of Beacon Hill in Boston, and it consisted mainly of a few halls surmounted by a large dome for an observation tower in case the Shays Rebellion broke out again. The Capitol at Washington, and nearly all other State capitols, have followed the same general architectural model.

The region selected for the Federal City was surrendered by Maryland and Virginia for the purpose of a seat of federal government, and organized in 1790 as the "Territory of Columbia," under the absolute control of the President. To the present day, the residents of the District of Columbia (at that time, Territory indicated the region, and District indicated the corresponding legal unit, but otherwise the two terms were interchangeable) have no vote whatever for any purpose in either local or federal government. The surrender of territory by Maryland and Virginia was intended to be conditional on the use of the territory by the government, and not a complete cession, as was indicated by the expression on the city plans, "Part of Maryland within the Territory of Columbia," and "Part of Virginia within the Territory of Columbia." The Virginia part was later returned to that State.

174. ***Federalist Regime Economic Activities***. The fundamental reason for the success of the Cincinnati coup was that it was very well financed. The coup represented the triumph of two of the various economic systems contending for power under the First Republic—the capitalist system in the North, and the slavery system in the South. There was still much contention between the two types of social structure as to which should have the upper hand, but both were at the time behind the Cincinnati coup, and financing it to the limit. The financial and landholding powers were packing the credit of the new government, whose power at the outset consisted mainly in just that fact. It was that credit which enabled the new government to support an extravagant administration like Washington's; it was that credit that enabled the new government to take over the First Republic's debts; it was likewise that credit that made the new government quite completely subject to the economic powers of the country. The purpose of the new government was to a great extent to give the two economic systems free room to expand, and that could be accomplished only by making the government merely a police department for the prevailing economic types of social structure. For this purpose the new government was organized, and to this purpose alone it was adapted. Washington's planned dictatorship was based on his unlimited credit with the economic powers, and was to the last degree subject to those powers.

Just as the Cincinnati and their followers had worked to prevent the First Republic from adopting a standard of coinage, in order to discredit that government, the adoption of a United States coinage was among the first considerations of the new regime. The plan Jefferson had drawn up for this purpose in 1786, and which had been blocked in this way, was now revived by the new regime and presented to Congress—signed Alexander Hamilton. We have already seen how the system of dollars, dimes, and cents, resulted quite naturally from the "York money" system of 1784 (1 dollar is 8 shillings, 1 shilling is 12 pence); and how that, in turn, evolved from a mixture of the Spanish and English currency systems used during the Revolution. There is, consequently, no need

to go into further explanation here as to the new system of currency, since it was exactly as Jefferson had originally planned it. Withdrawal of foreign coins from circulation, though a short-term time limit was set for this procedure, did not actually take place for about seventy years.

The rising capitalist system had found in some of the States that state patent offices served to keep inventions from being used in common, as would be done under the workers' factory system of the Revolution, for instance. It was therefore to be expected that the Cincinnati plot would provide for a central patent office to continue the same work. This was, in fact, provided for in the Constitution of the new regime, and the Federal patent office was set up in 1790. Wiping out the State patent offices also had the effect of enabling the new regime to suppress inventions which it would conveniently assign later on to its own agents, so we find that many of the inventions of the First Republic were suppressed, and later revived in this way. The steamboat is a good example—an invention suppressed for the entire period of the Federalist rule, and later revived under the protection of the Livingston family with a nominee of their own substituted for the original inventor. The patent system adopted was especially adapted for the suppression of inventions, and at present the United States is almost the only country in the world in which a patent can be used for the sole purpose of suppressing an invention. It also appeared that the institution of slavery intended to derive its share of benefit from the newly-established patent office, for one of the earliest patents issued by the Federal patent office was the cotton-gin, as instrument which made it possible to exploit slaves for cotton-picking in the South on a far greater scale than was hitherto possible, and which made slavery the powerful vested interest that it turned out to be in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Establishment of a central national bank at Philadelphia, to supervise the credit system of the country, was one of the steps taken by the new regime to entrench the now ruling economic systems. It was over this procedure that the issue was first definitely drawn between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans. Another economic issue, that proved to be a more permanent basis for party lines, was the taxation issue, since the Democratic-Republicans, anxious to limit federal powers, claimed that the powers of taxation by the Federal government were limited to revenue purposes, and could not be applied to the extent of regulating matters that would otherwise be out of Federal jurisdiction. Thus the Democratic-Republicans opposed the protective tariff that was imposed on imports during Washington's administration, as well as much of the internal revenue taxes Washington imposed, such as the tax on whiskey.

The latter tax became a political issue in the mountains west of Pittsburgh, and resulted in organized attacks being made on Federal marshals in Pittsburgh in 1793. This show of violence, however, collapsed when some Federal militia were sent to Pittsburgh. There was no intention of starting a rebellion, and it was merely for political purposes that Washington denounced the "Whiskey Rebellion," and blamed it directly on the Democratic-Republican party, as the instigators of a plan to chop heads off, as the French Revolution was doing. It made an excellent popular appeal against the opponents of the existing administration, since neither the French Revolution nor whiskey was excessively popular in America.

As Washington's theory seemed to be that he could get whatever he wanted by simply spending enough money, he had heavy subsidies given for building American ships—in return for heavy taxation, of course—and, as it had been mainly the New England seaport merchants, the pre-Revolution smuggling ring, who had emerged victorious after the Shays Rebellion, it was New England shipping that had a great boom during this period, and established trade with distant parts

of the world—especially islands in the Pacific Ocean, away from the bases of the British navy, and from the Algerian pirates that were then the chief danger of navigation. China trade was extensively entered into, and spheres of trade influence established in the South Sea Islands, in competition with the British, who claimed "rights of discovery" there. There was a peculiar case in the island group, closest to North America, called Sandwich Islands by the British, and Hawaii by their own people; there a united kingdom of all the islands had just been established, and the influence of British traders had been to break down the old taboo system which had been the religious and economic system of the Pacific islands. At the time American trade influence started in the Sandwich (or Hawaiian) Islands, the people had actually given up their old traditional religion without deciding on anything to replace it; New England traders saw the opportunity to export their missionaries to Hawaii, and that filled the religion vacuum in Hawaii, at the same time making Hawaii an important point for trade with America.

The Pacific trade of New England ships in that period also began to claim for the United States "discovery rights" in that part of the world similar to those formerly claimed by European nations in America. Particularly was this the case with Captain Gray, of Boston, who claimed "discovery" of a river on the Pacific side of North America, which he named after his ship, the Columbia, but which the natives called Wauregan; and so that entire Wauregan (or Oregon) country was claimed as a United States discovery, though the British also had discovery claims in the same general region. An imperialist expansion policy was thus adopted very early by the Federalist regime.

175. ***Foreign Relations***. The entire matter of recognition by foreign nations, so painfully built up by the First Republic, had to be gone through all over again by the Second Republic, though there was little difficulty from England, who saw in the new regime a chance to recover her lost American possessions.

Washington's main policy again was liberal spending of money. Though Detroit was captured by force from the British garrison, the matter was finally arranged by payment of an indemnity to Great Britain, and the arrangement of a trade treaty that left most important points unsettled, but that did provide for a privilege of American and Canadians to cross the border without having to present passports. Even with the Algerian pirates an annual ransom payment was arranged, for immunity of American citizens from capture on the high seas.

It was in France—the first country to recognize the First Republic—that most of the difficulty was found. The French Revolution was now on, and Washington's friends among the Bourbons were unable to help him, as they had been expected to do. The French Republic sent an ambassador to the United States in 1793, by the name of Genet and he immediately began equipping vessels for French revolutionary service in America, to propagandize for the French Revolution, and to take part in America's internal affairs by helping to organize the opposition to the existing government. Of course, this policy resulted in antagonizing the American people as well as the government, for it made it seem as though opposition to the new administration in America was the officious meddling of a foreign power, and one whose reign of terror made it a poor example to follow. Genet also tried to make use of popular opinion west of the mountains in order to capture New Orleans; but even in that area, though there was sentiment for seizing the port of New Orleans as a needed outlet, nobody wanted to pull France's chestnuts out of the fire. So France's attempts to propagandize in America succeeded in antagonizing America rather than otherwise, and the French Republic finally decided to break relations. Genêt, however, in spite of his strong propagandizing against the

American administration, refused to return to France; he stayed in America and became an American citizen.

Spain was another country that presented difficulties, as she had broken relations with the First Republic on account of the dispute over the Yazoo region. This controversy Washington settled by buying the territory from Spain, and a treaty with Spain to that effect was arranged in 1795. This region then remained in dispute between the Federal government and Georgia, and various sorts of pressure were brought to bear to induce Georgia to give up, not only the Yazoo area, but all her territory west of the mountains. Another provision in the treaty was for the free use of the Mississippi River for ten years, with New Orleans as a free port for American trade during that period.

176. ***Washington Retires***. It was Washington's intention to be as nearly a king as possible. However, after two four-year terms a President (he was always certain to be elected, because no votes against him would be counted), his health failed, and the responsibilities proved too much for him, especially as his way to dictatorship did not prove as smooth as he had anticipated. Consequently he refused to be a candidate for office a third time, and retired from office—permanently, as it turned out, for he died shortly afterwards. He did see to it, though, that one of his followers, John Adams, was elected as his successor, so that the government would still be in his hands, since he wanted to be sure it would be when the Federal City was completed. But Washington never lived to see that happen.

His retirement after two terms of office is usually cited as the precedent for limiting Presidential tenure of office to eight years; but it would appear that George Washington's reason in this instance was failure of health rather than any political sentiment. "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."

One peculiarity of the new administration was that, due to the system then prevailing whereby the second choice for President became Vice-President, the new Vice-President was Thomas Jefferson, an opponent of the Federalist party. This resulted in the Federalists' making, after George Washington had ceased to be president, special efforts to prevent the opponents of their regime from rallying around the Vice-President, and plotting the overthrow of the government. The Federalists had had experience with plotting overthrow of government, having done it themselves once; and they seemed to take it for granted that the Democratic-Republicans would do the same, if given the chance.

George Washington himself only lived two years after his retirement from the Presidency. He did not live long enough to see the completion of his plans for a federal city, and his successor, President Adams, had to take possession there without directions as to the purpose of the city plan.

* Sidis included the day of the week with this date.

CHAPTER XXIX

DOWNFALL OF FEDERALISM

177. ***American Neutrality***. In the general European war that resulted from the French Revolution, maintaining American neutrality was at best a difficult problem. If the Democratic-Republicans, the opposition to the new government in America, were strongly pro-French because they followed the French Revolution a bit too closely for the good of their movement, it was equally true that the Federalists, including their leader George Washington, were just as strongly pro-British. Washington still "loved his king," to use the expression he used to the New England minutemen in 1775. Of course, any opposition to the French Revolution had the sympathy of the Cincinnati conspirators and their followers. To speak of the "rights of men," or quote the preamble of the Declaration of Independence was, during Washington's administration, a sign of being an enemy to society, and the ruling group used to label such persons "Jacobins." The idea was circulated that "liberty" meant really national independence, but that the principles of the Declaration of Independence were the work of an irresponsible mob. Even so, it was found essential to use the expression "liberty" to catch the attention of the American public, and, in the election campaign of 1796, resulting on Washington's retirement, the Federalists used extensively the motto, "Adams and Liberty." Patriotic songs praising the virtues of military obedience, and advocating resting on the laurels of the War for Independence, were circulated widely, as an offset to the popularity of the "Marseillaise" among the opposition party. Songs like "Hail Columbia" and "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean" are samples of the sort then composed, while another, less known now, but then used extensively as a campaign song, was entitled "Adams and Liberty," and ran to a popular drinking tune ("Anacreon in Heaven").

"Ye sons of Columbia, who bravely fought
For those rights, which unstained from your sires had descended,
May you long taste the blessings your valor has brought,
And your sons reap the soil, which your fathers defended.
Mid the reign of mild peace,
May your nation increase,
With the glory of Rome, and the wisdom of Greece,
And ne'er may the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant, or the seas rolls its waves."

What particularly involved American neutrality was the issue of the searching of American ships by belligerent nations. Both sides held up and searched neutral ships on the Atlantic for goods destined to their respective enemies. In addition, French ships of war used to demand "enrollment papers," specifying the name and nationality of the members of the crew, and, for lack of this requirement (not demanded by the American government) they were treated as pirate ships, and captured. Similarly the British navy made a practice of shanghaiing sailors off American ships on the claim that they were deserters from British ships, or that they were British subjects, and could be drafted into the British navy. Between the two sides in the war, justification could have been found for the United States to declare war on either side. But Washington preferred to buy his way as before, and remain neutral; and it was mainly this to which he referred in his parting speech, on retiring from the Presidency, when he advised the United States to keep clear of entangling alliances. Washington himself was strongly pro-British, and even went so far as to break diplomatic relations with France, but he did attempt to maintain a neutrality. On the other hand, when Adams became President, he at once took a very belligerent attitude. It was, of course, made easier by the attitude of the French revolutionists in trying to propagandize America from the outside. Adams did attempt to resume diplomatic relations with France by sending a diplomatic envoy there, whom the

French Republic refused to recognize, but who was approached by unofficial representatives of the French government with the proposition that recognition might be had if the United States would grant a loan to the French Republic.

Although it is true that Great Britain granted United States as little recognition as France did, the Federalist regime was looking for a chance to pick a quarrel with the French Revolution, especially since the government's opponents were using the French Revolution as a model. French dismissal of the minister sent by Adams was therefore taken as an insult to American honor, and, though Congress would not issue an actual declaration of war against France, the President undertook to start hostilities without consulting Congress. As a result, a *de facto* state of war existed during Adam's administration between the United States and France, during which many naval battles occurred, though there was no official declaration of war on either side.

178. ***Sedition Laws***. The main activity of the Federal government, however, in connection with this unofficial war with France, was to use this rather perfunctory fighting as an excuse for ruthless suppression of all political opposition at home, and creating a war hysteria which would keep the new regime indefinitely in the saddle. Federalists mobs in various parts of the United States were threatening foreigners in general, and the French in particular; while the Federal government passed a series of laws that ran directly counter to the "Bill of Rights" amendments to the Constitution—amendments which, as we have seen, the Cincinnati and their followers the Federalists had not intention of obeying.

In the first place, naturalization of foreigners was made more difficult, by impeding a requirement of fourteen years' residence. Then, to prevent foreigners not acceptable to the officials from acquiring this residence, an "Alien Act" was passed, authorizing the President to give any foreigner twenty-four hours' notice of banishment from the United States, so that deportation of foreigners became a summary process, no reasons for it having to be assigned.

The Administration was gradually gaining in this way a tighter grip over the expression of opinion in America, but the Alien Act was being denounced in various quarters as violation of the Bill of Rights, and therefore not within the limits of Federal authority. To this statement of opinion President Adams replied by passing through his Congress a "Sedition Act" imposing heavy fines and prison sentences on anyone criticizing the President or Congress in any way, whether by speech, by writing, or in print. The actions of the government immediately following show that this act was intended for the complete suppression of all political opposition whatever. This law passed Congress on the anniversary of the French Revolution, Saturday, July 14, 1798.

Editors of opposition newspapers were quickly rounded up and sentenced to heavy prison terms for various remarks interpreted as derogatory to the administration, while the authorities began to pick up anyone suspected of opposition to the Federalist party, on any charge that suggested itself; and any defendant that was found to believe in democracy was thereafter practically convicted of any charge that may have been laid against him. The issues were generally tried in Federal instead of State courts, and it was noted at that time that the charges were for remarks against the President, the warrants were sworn out and served by a marshal appointed by the President, tried before a judge appointed by the President, and, in most Federal courts, the jury was chosen arbitrarily by the marshal, and anyone who did not fully endorse the Sedition Act was automatically disqualified from serving of jury duty. Even opposition to the Sedition Act, or advocating its repeal, was considered by some Federal courts to be punishable under the Act.

Popular resistance took a different form in the South from the demonstrations in the North, but it was present in both regions. In the South, the issue was merely that of encroachment on State authority, whereas in the North the issue was that of individual rights. The Legislature of Virginia passed resolutions declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional, and beyond the authority the States had granted to the Federal government, and suggested that, in some vague unexplained way, the States should unite agreeing another constitutional convention to remedy the situation. The Kentucky Legislature followed suit, and, since it had been supposed that the Virginia resolutions were suggested by the Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, they prevailed on Jefferson to draft a set of resolutions for them. In the Kentucky resolutions, it was not merely stated that the laws in question were unconstitutional, but it was further stated that the remedy was nullification by the full force of State authority, which was to be used in order to protect violators of these laws; and the Kentucky resolves further hinted that, if no other remedy would work, secession from the Union should be considered as a last resort.

The legislative resolutions of Virginia and Kentucky were sent to the other State legislatures, but met no affirmative response. In the North, the State governments were still too strongly afraid of the Shays Rebellion, especially in Massachusetts, where, even in 1798, the Commonwealth authorities could still remember all too vividly the winter of 1786, when the Commonwealth regime narrowly escaped being completely wiped out by that unprecedented popular uprising. Even in the Carolinas, which would normally be somewhat sympathetic to Virginia, some such consideration prevailed as regards the legislatures, since a movement of sympathy for the Shays Rebellion had gained some headway there in 1786 and 1787. The Northern legislatures, especially that of Massachusetts, therefore replied negatively, and in no uncertain language, to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolves of 1798—because the spirit of democracy was still strong among the people, and the State governments were afraid of the people.

Though the administrations in the Northern States were solidly behind the Federal Government in the matter of the Sedition Act, it was precisely there that the real resistance came. In Virginia and Kentucky, there was merely a dispute between authorities—State against Federal—in which the people took practically no part. But in the North all opposition was from the people, who had to face State as well as Federal opposition.

In this way a sort of civil resistance arose in the North, a passive resistance by individuals defying the laws that were claimed to be unconstitutional as violative of the rights of free speech and free press. In Vermont an editor was imprisoned for stating that he could support an executive who maintained constitutional rights, but not one who would not. Almost immediately following on this, a revival of the old-time "liberty poles" spread through New England, starting in the southwest corner of Vermont and in the section between Boston and Providence. In this case, these liberty poles were poles set in the ground, surmounted by red, or by red, white, and blue, and bearing placards containing anonymous denunciations of the Alien and Sedition Laws. There was an organization behind these, that called itself the "Men of ’75," and claimed to be reviving the old-time idea of civil disobedience, but whose membership was never precisely known to the outside public. Where the original passive-resistance and liberty-pole idea sprang from, or who inspired it, never became known, and it seems to have become one of those leaderless rebel movements which were so common in the New England history. The uprising centered around a certain section of southwestern Vermont, including Bennington and Wallingford; and it may be a mere coincidence that, in the center of that district, lay the town of Arlington, which numbered among its citizens Daniel Shays, who had been so prominent in Massachusetts rebel activities in 1786.

In Massachusetts this activity centered around Dedham and Walpole, from which centers it was able to spread to Boston and Providence, and the road between Boston and Providence was almost plastered with liberty poles. Around Hartford, a similar activity prevailed. The Federalists began to organize societies for the special purpose of cutting down liberty poles, and in Dedham a general free-for-all fight among the entire population resulted.

Thomas Adams, the editor of the Boston Independent Chronicle, and a distant relative of the President, wrote an editorial on this incident, stating that, some twenty years previous, liberty poles denouncing administrative oppression were encouraged by the United States as patriotic; that it was true that in ’75 the British cut down these poles, but that they were tyrants for doing it; that in ’98 the American Federal Government was doing the same thing, but were not tyrants for doing it, because the Sedition Act forbade their being called so. For this editorial, Thomas Adams received a severe prison sentence. One of the men in Dedham who had been prominent in setting up the liberty pole there that caused so much commotion, was arrested in Andover, and brought to Boston for trial, where he received a prison sentence, especially since it turned out that he was poor and unable to pay a fine; this man turned out to have been one of the actual minutemen of 1775.

Then the Federalists began to find a "plot" to select opponents of the administration to the legislatures, and attempted to arrest ringleaders of the opposition for conspiracy to violate the Sedition Act. By this time, though all Northern State administrations were firmly upholding the Sedition Act, there were signs of resistance even in those circles. In Vermont, judges were being impeached and ousted from office for refusing to enforce the Sedition Law.

In Pennsylvania, where the seat of the Federal government then was, editorial criticism of the administration was not lacking—criticism that seems to have been largely provoked by the Alien and Sedition Laws—and the four-year sentence imposed on a Philadelphia editor brought about widespread sentiment throughout Pennsylvania, as well as in the rest of the United States, that he was a martyr to the right of free speech. On a rumor that opposition was organizing in Easton, federal troops were sent there to enforce the Sedition Act; but they ran into something different from words or ink. They were met in Easton by a group of irate women who threw scalding hot water in their faces. A few of these women were arrested; but on the whole it proved an ignominious rout for the Federal troops, and they were withdrawn from Northampton County, where Easton is located. The passive resisters in Dedham, Massachusetts, on hearing the news from Pennsylvania, worked up the story and circulated it through New England as a new "Northampton insurrection"—taking advantage of the name of the Pennsylvania county to bring reminders of that unprecedented insurrection in 1796 that started the Shays Rebellion at Northampton, Massachusetts.

In Dedham, Massachusetts, one of the storm centers of the Sedition resistance, there was suddenly discovered at this time, hidden in the wood-pile of a man just deceased, an old book telling about a trial in New York in 1735 involving an old British sedition law and bringing out the issue of freedom of the press. Subscriptions were at once taken up, and the book was reprinted and circulated widely as a disguised bit of propaganda against the 1798 Sedition Act. The "Men of ‘75" were unable to tell their story to the public directly, but opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts (the "Gag Laws" as they were called), was gaining, among the common people in the North, and among the politicians in the South. As was stated by one of the opponents at that time, if the Congress had been deliberating on how they could make themselves most hated they could not have done better than they did when they passed the Sedition Act.

179. ***The Dispute with Georgia***. We have seen that the Yazoo region, long disputed between the United States and Spain, was claimed by the First Republic as part of Georgia, but by the Second Republic as part of West Florida specially ceded by England, and therefore Federal territory, which George Washington called the Mississippi Territory. Georgia, having claimed this territory, was therefore brought into the conflict with the Federal government, which that State showed in other directions.

One of the items of Federal court jurisdiction, according to the Constitution of the Second Republic, is controversies "between a State and citizens of another State." Under this provision, several suits had been brought in the United States Supreme Court against State governments, and no question was raised as to Federal jurisdiction. But, when such a suit was brought against Georgia in 1792, no appearance was made by any representatives of that State, which simply defied all attempts to enforce Federal jurisdiction, even after a judgment against the State had been rendered by default. Georgia was asserting itself territorially against the Federal government, and the State administration did not intend to agree that it could be bound by Federal courts on any questions. The actual issue before the Supreme Court was one of a private contract, but Georgia made an issue out of the question of Federal jurisdiction in that case, which the Supreme Court decided against Georgia. Under Washington's administration, it was definitely intended to bring all State governments under complete submission; and this was one of the means planned in the Cincinnati conspiracy. Georgia's representatives in Congress proposed a constitutional amendment covering this point; it read: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."

This proposed amendment passed through Congress in 1794, and was submitted to the State Legislatures, most of which were favorable, because it granted State governments a certain amount of immunity of which they had been deprived. But the passage through Congress was a difficult one, and largely tied up with the Yazoo territorial dispute. It was finally understood, though no definite agreement was made, that Georgia would obtain the constitutional amendment in exchange for a surrender of its over-mountain territorial claims to Federal jurisdiction. This exchange was accomplished in 1798, just before the Sedition Act; and Georgia received in part compensation a piece of the Federal strip that was still left over from the Southwest Territory, but actually in Cherokee possession; this was part of the strip originally surrendered to the First Republic by South Carolina, and should properly have been returned to South Carolina if the Federal Government was through with it; but the Second Republic preferred to bargain it over to Georgia, thus giving to Georgia some of South Carolina's original territorial claims.

The rest of the Cherokee strip, together with territorial claims given up by Georgia in exchange for the final passage of the Eleventh Amendment, was finally organized into what was now known as the Mississippi Territory, the name already unofficially given by the administration to the disputed Yazoo region. The farthest portion of the territory fronted on the Mississippi River, but most of it, especially the more accessible eastern portion, had its only feasible outlet in the ports of the Floridas, such as Biloxi, Mobile and Pensacola, and the attempt to organize and settle this region was bound to engender further disputes with Spain over the use of Florida ports, in the same way as trouble over New Orleans had been brewing for years.

This constitutional amendment was a definite setback for the principle of Federalism, and may have had some connection with the Federalists' trying that same year to bolster up their power by

the Alien and Sedition Acts. However, it turned out that this simply resulted in a further setback for Federalist power.

180. ***End of the Federalist Period***. We have seen that the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 provoked a state of affairs in the United States that amounted to opposition between State and Federal authorities in the South, and a state of almost armed resistance to authority in the North, especially in New England. Several other incidents combined with this resistance to weaken the power of the Federalist party, resulting in getting rid of the party, though not of the form of government imposed by the Cincinnati plot.

Shortly after the passage of the Sedition Laws in the United States, there happened what the opponents of the administration took to be a crushing blow to their cause, when the French Republic collapsed through seizure of power by Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been supposed to be a great revolutionary leader. The Republic was maintained still, but only in name, with Bonaparte as "Director" with absolute control; and this left the Democratic-Republicans in the United States at a loss what to do about it. In France, a large proportion of the Republicans became enthusiastic supporters of Bonaparte, since he was part of their original revolution; but this tendency, though found in the United States, was much less common in America. The Democratic-Republicans had been basing everything on an appeal to the example shown by France in establishing democracy and human rights, and that was now collapsing before their eyes—they had either to give up the French example, or justify dictatorship. The majority simply had to go through with their opposition to Alien and Sedition Acts without preference to France, and, in so doing, disposed of the worst bugaboo that had been keeping them from gaining more support in America. In New England, particularly, where the people were only frightened by the fear of the guillotines and reigns of terror, a reversion to the examples of New England revolts in 1775 and 1786 brought about a favorable instead of an unfavorable reaction among the populace. As long as opposition to the administration meant advocacy of terrorism and dictatorship, it made comparatively little headway; but, cut loose from those bonds, and linked up with the principles of the American Revolution, and especially of the Declaration of Independence, no amount of governmental representation could stop it. In this way, the collapse of the French Republic proved to be the undoing of Federalist power in the United Sates.

Another event for which the year 1798 was noted was the Irish Rebellion, which proceeded largely on the basis of figuring America and France prominently as examples of how a revolution could be conducted—especially the case of America, where the revolution was against Great Britain, the same power with which the Irish rebels had to deal. This was so prominently featured in Irish rebel propaganda of 1798 that the idea gained currency in Ireland that winning their revolution was not so important as getting to America in case they lost. Most of the Irish rebel hopes were focused upon the prospect of naval aid from America and France. In the view of the fact that France was being gradually brought under the control of a dictator at the time, and America was having its Sedition Law troubles against a pro-British administration, neither of those two countries sent any aid to Ireland as the rebels expected, resulting in a complete collapse of the revolution there, whose hopes were resting more in America than it their own country. That the main hope of the Irish rebels of 1798 rested in escape to America, can be seen from the last stanza of the main rebel song of that rebellion, "The Wearing of the Green":

"And if at last the shamrock should be torn from Ireland’s heart,

Her sons in shame and sorrow from the dear old isle will part,
I've heard whisper of a country that lies far across the sea,
And where an end's forever put to Britain's tyranny."

Thus, in 1799 and 1800, after the suppression of the Irish Rebellion, a flood of emigration took place from Ireland to "the country that lies far across the sea." An unexpected flood of rebel immigration was poured in on the United States, while this country was having a near-revolution of its own in the shape of the Sedition uprisings. Thus the Irish refugees naturally drifted into such groups as the Democratic Clubs all over the United States—particularly the Tammany Society in New York, while for the most part these associations were flooded with the volume of this immigration. This sudden, unexpected immigration of revolutionists into the United States added to the forces of opposition to the government, but it also helped to divert many of the opposition organizations from their original principles, by giving them a membership that had already attained their main objective, liberation from British rule.

The new dictator of France naturally did not feel as antagonistic towards the United States as the French Republic had, and the Sedition Law events convinced him that the administration of the United States was something to be encouraged. Consequently he made overtures of peace to President Adams, who also decided that he had enough trouble at home without also fighting France. This policy was favored by Washington as well, who was the directing force behind both Adams and the Cincinnati Society. However, just at this juncture Washington died, and the Cincinnati group, being of military origin, insisted on prosecuting hostilities against France to the limit, while President Adams, not being himself a member of the Cincinnati, continued negotiating for peace. This resulted in a wide split in Federalist forces, which, following the internal difficulties in the United States, resulted in lessening the administration's popularity all the more.

It was at this time that the government moved to the new home being prepared for it on the Potomac. The city had been built to accommodate George Washington as a dictator of America; instead, the anticipated dictatorship had failed to materialize, and George Washington was dead when the first few government buildings (Capitol and Executive Mansion) were ready for use. President Adams went to what was then called "the palace in the wilderness" more a refugee from popular wrath than as a triumphant ruler.

This was in 1800, and an election for President was due. The State governments duly appointed electors, and voted for President, the great majority of the electors being Democratic-Republicans, though a few Federalist electors were appointed by some of the northern States where the administration still controlled the State governments. Since, under the original form of the Constitution of the Second Republic, each elector had to vote for two names, the Democratic-Republican electors, by previous agreement, all voted for Thomas Jefferson (intending him for President) and for Aaron Burr of New York, whom they intended to have for Vice-President. On account of the split in the Federalist party, there was no agreement among Federalist electors, and their votes were scattered. Thus both Jefferson and Burr were majority candidates, and there was a tie between them, which left it to the House of Representatives to decide who could be President. The Federalists in Congress made an attempt to delay voting on the question until after Adam's four-year term should expire, so as to give the President a chance to declare the Presidency vacant and seize control as the head of the army. This was prevented by the fact that the Federalists could not agree among themselves.

Finally, on Monday, March 2, just before Adam's four years were to expire, the Congress decided that the electors had intended to have Jefferson as President and Aaron Burr as Vice-President, and voted to arrange it in that way. At this point, Adams might have decided to go through with the original plan of holding on by force, but his lack of support, which had made things difficult all through his administration, rendered such a plan inadvisable, especially since most of the Southern state governments would be quite obviously willing to support the incoming administration with their militia, against whatever Adams could oppose against them, and against the incipient popular uprisings in New England. So the only move Adams made, on his last day in office, to hold power, was to continue Congress in session up to midnight of Tuesday, March 3, 1801, when the terms of office expired, and create new judgeships and other new Federal offices, and the hours from nine to twelve that night were spent in rushing through these laws and ratifying Federal appointments.

However, the administration of the Federalists was at an end. The form of government created by the Cincinnati conspiracy of 1787 still remained, as it does to the present day; the economic system represented by this conspiracy still exists to the present day, the real power behind the government in the United States; but the Federalist party, and the Society of the Cincinnati, from 1801 on, ceased to be a political power in the United States. The Cincinnati became merely a super-aristocratic patriotic secret society, living in memories of the dear dead days when they were in the saddle, and of those still more remote days when they led the armies against the British; the Federalist party disconnected itself completely from the Cincinnati, and in its own way retired into itself more and more, but never recovered from the blow it dealt itself when the Sedition Act was passed. Yet the economic and political system, under new lenders, went on as before, because those new leaders still had the same framework of organization with which to deal, and therefore had to undertake to manage the same system as before, as anyone must who undertakes to take over an existing organization, or any part of it.

CHAPTER XXX

UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS

181. ***Jefferson Becomes President***. The change of administration on Wednesday, March 4, 1801, was merely a change of party in power, not a change of governmental or economic organization. It was the first inauguration taking place at the new capital on the Potomac, and Jefferson made it as simple an affair as possible. The Federalists were losing power, and the Cincinnati were no longer a political power; yet, in spite of a complete change in government personnel, neither the organization of government, nor the economic system controlling the government and constituting the real power of the country, were in the least affected. The Alien and Sedition Acts were quickly repealed; a number of Federalist officials were discharged, and Democratic-Republicans taken on in their place (the intention being to establish and then maintain a balance in the representation of the two parties); and a constitutional amendment (the twelfth) was rushed through the Congress and the States changing the mode of electing the President so that electors, instead of voting for two candidates for President, would vote for one candidate for President, and for another as Vice-President (this being due to the tie between Jefferson and Burr, and the new method of election adapting itself better to party politics). A more difficult problem

was that of the "midnight judges" appointed by Adams in his last few hours as President. These were kept out of office by the new Secretary of State, James Madison, who contrived, on various excuses to delay indefinitely handing them their commissions, resulting finally in a mandamus suit against Madison in the Supreme Court to compel him to issue the commissions. The new administration, while the case was being argued pro and con before the Supreme Court, managed to increase the number of Supreme Court judges from five to seven. Since it was known that it had been the Federalists' intention to use the Supreme Court as a means of holding power in case of an adverse election such as that of 1800-01, the Democratic-Republicans took advantage of the plan for their own benefit. As a result, when an opinion was finally issued, in 1803, the Supreme Court admitted these "midnight judges" were legally entitled to take office, but decided that Congress did not have the constitutional power to give the Supreme Court to hear the case, and therefore refused to take jurisdiction of the case on the ground that the law of Congress granting them that power was unconstitutional and therefore void. This was the first time the Supreme Court of the United States took on itself the right to annul an act of Congress; and for this, the precedent given was the Trevelyan case of Rhode Island which had been repudiated by the Rhode Island political coup of 1786.

In regard to the hostilities against France, the Democratic-Republican party, though they had been forced to give up using the French Revolution as a model to hold before Americans, remained very much pro-French as regarded the war in Europe, and peace was quickly concluded with Bonaparte, who was now declaring himself Emperor of France, as he had really been in effect for several years. It is a curious thing that the French Revolution and the Cincinnati coup came the same year, and that the downfall of the Federalists came the same year as the end of the French Republic.

182. ***Acquisition of Louisiana***. Though Jefferson was personally an opponent of the institution of slavery (he had inherited some slaves, but freed them all), he was really a continuation of the old-time Virginia liberals, who were a sort of go-between for all the conflicting tendencies prevailing. Thus, as a leader of a government, he really represented an attempt to reconcile and hold the balance of power between the institution of slavery in the South, and that of capitalism in the North. He did not represent slavery as such, but he was definitely an exponent of that institution's tendency for territorial expansion, though in a much milder form than it had assumed under Washington.

In the Northwest, Connecticut's claim conditions had been partially satisfied by the creation of a public school fund out of the sale of Western Reserve land, and Connecticut surrendered jurisdiction of the Western Reserve to the Federal government, though it had never given up its claim to a reversion right to that region. Following on this, a State government was organized in the eastern part of the territory, originally for the "Ohio Territory" portion southeast of the Greenville Line but later extended to include the eastern division of the Territory as originally laid out, though in defiance of the rights granted the tribes under the treaty of 1795. This region was finally admitted by Congress in 1803 to full membership in the Union, as the State of Ohio.

As to the Southwest, Jefferson was concerned about the strip of land which separated the newly-acquired Yazoo region (now part of the Mississippi Territory) from the Gulf of Mexico. The port of New Orleans was the natural sea outlet for almost the whole overmountain section of the United States; the western settlers, even under the First Republic, had made attempts to capture it by force; and it was now a sort of free port for American trade for a ten-year period which would soon

expire. The West Florida ports of Mobile and Biloxi were equally important to the new Yazoo country. The Federalist administration had been content with negotiating with Spain for the free-port privilege in New Orleans; Jefferson attempted to negotiate for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida.

An unexpected outcome of the war in Europe was Spain's surrendering its Province of Louisiana to France in 1802. This automatically undid all the former negotiations, and the ten-year free-port privilege for Americans in New Orleans came to an end, so that the mouth of the Mississippi River, the only sea outlet for the entire western region, was definitely to be closed to Americans. Jefferson, instead of opening negotiations to renew former trade agreements, made overtures to Napoleon for the purchase of the port of New Orleans from France. After some delay in the negotiations, Napoleon inquired how much the United States was willing to pay for the entire province of Louisiana.

This came as a complete surprise; a territory was being offered whose exact extent was doubtful, but which, at a most conservative estimate, was much larger in area than the whole United States. When Spain surrendered its claims to this large territory (most of that vast territory was not actually in possession of anyone but the numerous tribes inhabiting the region), Napoleon had intended to make it part of his expanding French empire; but that policy was suddenly rendered untenable. The French region on the Island of St. Domingo was necessary as a base of operations to make it possible to hold the Mississippi ports; and this was passing out of French control very rapidly. We have seen that the French Revolution took the form, in this colony, of a slave rebellion. When Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor, he summoned the rebel leader of this colony, a slave name Toussaint L'Ouverture, to France, and there had him thrown into prison. The slave revolution was then continued in French St. Domingo by another slave leader, Jean Jacques Deasalines, who organized the French portion of the island as the Republic of Haiti; and this meant practical severing of military communication between France and Louisiana. Louisiana thus became untenable for France, even before Napoleon had a chance to take possession of the Mississippi ports of New Orleans and St. Louis. But the American negotiations for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida gave Napoleon the idea that Louisiana could be used to build up a new power which would be a rival to Great Britain. Thus, by an accidental combination of circumstances, this vast territory was given to the United States, the price agreed on being $15,000,000.

Just what constituted Louisiana, no one seemed to know. The French claimed Louisiana, before the Great Ohio War, was one of the those vague "discovery claims" that caused so many international disputes over territory none of the European nations had ever possessed—it was, in short, a claim to the entire valley draining into the Mississippi River, though very little of it had ever come under white control. The exact limits of this old French claim, especially on the Gulf coast, nobody knew. It had, at that time, included West Florida and some of the coast of what is now Texas. Whether it extended to the Rocky Mountains or to the Pacific Coast, was also vague. The French claim to Louisiana up to 1763 had been a fruitful cause of intercolonial and international wars all over America, and, for that matter, all over the world. It was substantially this vague and unsupported claim that was brought by the United States in 1803—a claim that put the United States in the same position as France was in the first part of the previous century—that of being obliged to dispute territory with, and fight against, all neighboring powers. The treaty of purchase merely stated the limits as being the same limits that Louisiana had under France and under Spain. This the United States government affected to believe meant the limits France claimed before 1763, which covered the major portion of North America. It covered West Florida—which

Spain had never ceded to France in the treaty of 1802, and which therefore France could not sell to the United States; it included a claim to the Columbia River region of the Pacific coast (supposed by Europeans in 1763 to be the location of a vast island sea) as well as to the Spanish province of Alta California. Jefferson was particularly insistent that the purchase had included West Florida, whereas the Spanish limits of Louisiana were, on the eastern side, the national boundary established in 1763, namely, the Mississippi River, including the "Island of Orleans" (a swamp island on which New Orleans is located) within the Louisiana boundaries, even though east of the river. The United States seized by force the section of West Florida between the Mississippi and the Pearl River, as part of the new acquisition of territory.

Government expeditions were sent into various portions of the Province of Louisiana to decide how far the United States was going to extend its territorial claims. Some of these expeditions returned, and some landed in the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. The expedition of Lewis and Clark was the most remarkable; under the guidance of a red woman captive from the Pacific coast region, they ascended the Missouri River, crossing the Rocky Mountains to the Wauregan country, which had been claimed under Washington's administration as a United States discovery, and which was now claimed as part of Louisiana; and the explorers mapped out a "northern boundary of Louisiana" extending straight to the Pacific Ocean. The entire region—the upper Missouri and the Wauregan country—had actually been under Spanish trading influence for some time, and was now claimed by Great Britain as part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory. The Pacific Coast was also claimed by Russia as part of its North American territory, which had been spreading gradually southwards from the Bering Straits for some time; shortly after this a Russian expedition was sent down into Upper California, and reached the San Francisco peninsula before being defeated by the Spanish. (The part of the peninsula where the Russian expedition landed is still called Russian Hill. Other names of Russian origin are still left in Northern California, such as Shasta, an English version of the Russian name Chista, meaning clean, and intended as a translation of the native name of the mountain, Ieka, meaning white.) It was when Russia began to push territorial claims conflicting with those of the United States that Russia, after holding off for thirty years, finally recognized the United States.

The boundary of Louisiana on the southwest side was also vague and indefinite, and the United States, going back to old French settlements from before the Great Ohio War, claimed the Gulf coast as far as the Rio Grande del Norte, while Spain claimed as far as the Atchafalaya River basin, where the outpost of "Cajun" settlers was located. (These were the descendants of the exiles banished from Nova Scotia in 1764, who still called themselves Acadians.) The argument over the southwest boundary of Louisiana was never quite settled, at least in the minds of the expansionists who were trying to find more room for the institution of slavery. A temporary compromise, however, was reached in 1806.

The Vice-President, Aaron Burr, had become discredited at the end of Jefferson's first term as President, because, as a result of taking the party differences too personally, he had shot Alexander Hamilton in a duel on the Palisades at Weehawken, New Jersey, in 1804. Once out of office, he formed a plan to take over the disputed portions in the southwest of Louisiana by a military coup, to capture first New Orleans and then the Texas region. A military expedition for this purpose was actually organized on an island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, in 1806; but one of the members of the expedition turned spy, and they were brought to trial at New Orleans, while a hasty treaty was concluded with Spain, compromising the boundary at the Sabine River until the boundary could be definitely fixed; this remained the boundary of the United States till 1845.

The trial of Burr's little rebel army, however, proved a failure in spite of the defection of one of its members, and the cases had to be dismissed for lack of evidence.

The purchase of French claims to this vast portion of the continent resulted in criticism of the Jefferson administration, particularly in the way of questioning the constitutionality of the action. Formerly it had been the Democratic-Republicans who had been seeking to restrict the Federal government to the items specified by the Constitution as within Federal jurisdiction; now, with the Democratic-Republicans in control of the government, the situation was reversed, and the Democratic-Republicans, once in the saddle, began overstepping the strict bounds of the Constitution, and following an imperialist and expansionist policy, while the Federalists, now become the opposition party, were taking the strict-interpretation point of view. This situation was accentuated when the Province of Louisiana was given a territorial government (entitled the "District of Louisiana") under Spanish law, including establishment of the Catholic Church and suppression of free speech. The Federalist opposition now had the opportunity of raising free speech and constitutionality under the Bill of Rights as an issue, apparently forgetting their Sedition Act of 1798. This temporary government, however, was quickly changed at the petition of the people living in the settled district near the mouth of the Mississippi River, who preferred an elected legislature and a French system of laws. Consequently this arrangement was provided for the "Territory of Orleans," including the new territory south of the 33rd parallel, where most of the French communities were, while the rest of the "Province of Louisiana" was organized temporarily as the "Territory of Louisiana," to be governed by an appointed governor from St. Louis, and which Jefferson was hoping to erect into a permanent home for the red tribes of America.

183. ***The Embargo***. The Democratic-Republican administration was also faced with the problem of keeping neutrality in the was going on in Europe. It was one thing to criticize while they were the opposition party; but now that they were the government, it was a different thing to do something. The problem of keeping American neutrality was also complicated by the fact that the new administration was less inclined than the Federalists had been to encourage American shipping at all costs, and started to economize by cutting down on the ransom payments to the Barbary States in North Africa. The Pasha of Tripoli declared war on the United States in 1801, and, with the imperialistic policy that Jefferson was developing, he sent ships over to Tripoli to besiege their ports. In 1805, taking advantage of Napoleon's attitude of helping to build up a rival to Great Britain, an American army was sent out from Alexandria in Egypt (now occupied by France), and proceeded across the desert to the Tripolitan port of Derne, which was thus captured by a surprise attack from the land side. From this base, a revolution was arranged in Tripoli, and a new Pasha set up in power there, who made peace with Jefferson on his own terms. American occupation of Derne continued for some time after that, as a guarantee of Tripoli's observance of the peace.

This seems to have been the first instance of the development of what has become one of America's standard means of fighting enemies, or of expanding its territories, namely, starting a revolution and then intervening to aid the revolution. It is true that propaganda activities of American rebels in Canada in 1775 really furnished a precedent for this policy; but this was the first time that it was used as a governmental imperialist policy.

In the meantime, there was another sort of piracy with which American ships were having to contend. The British and French navies were resuming the searches and confiscations of American shipping, and, since England and France were attempting to blockade each other, either navy would be likely to hold up and confiscate neutral vessels bound for enemy ports. Finally, because Jefferson

was determined to preserve American neutrality, an embargo was declared, forbidding all trade with foreign countries.

This gave the Federalist party an opportunity to revive, to some degree, especially in the seaports, where everything was practically at a standstill, and thousands of people were thrown out of work by the sudden stoppage of sea trade, though some smuggling was carried out at the seaports, and, to a greater extent, across the Canadian border. In New England, opposition was organized under the same smuggling ring of importing merchants that had functioned as a moderate element in the Revolution in 1775. But, on the whole, even this opposition was largely local, and the embargo was necessary to keep the United States out of the European war.

In the meantime, the Federalists were also attempting to develop the old American inventions and resources that had been suppressed when the Second Republic started. Many of the inventions, such as the steamboat, were revived in somewhat altered form, giving to some political leader of the opposition party a monopoly, either by means of a new patent, or by State acts. There was also an attempt to develop some uncommercialized resources such as coal (a fuel that had been used by the tribes of northern Pennsylvania, and that was used to heat some of the hot water used in the sedition uprising in 1798).

Another form of embargo that was being tried out at that time by Jefferson was on the importation of slaves. The Constitution, as drawn up by the Cincinnati, contained a guarantee to slave importation that there would be no Federal interference for what was intended to be a twenty-year period, but which was actually specified as until the year 1808. As this year approached, Jefferson attempted to place a Federal ban on the importation of slaves, though it appeared to be hopeless to pass it through Congress. But when, in 1804, New York State passed a law gradually abolishing slavery (forbidding importation of slaves into the State, forbidding purchase of slaves, and emancipating children of slaves), and New Jersey followed New York's example shortly after that, this, together with Ohio as a newly-admitted non-slave state, made a Congressional majority against slavery, and an embargo on the importation of slaves was passed, to be effective January 1, 1808. Though the general embargo was repealed after Jefferson went out of office in 1809, the embargo on slave importation remained a permanent law of the United States. The capitalist system of the North was scoring a victory over the slavery system of the South, although it was to a great extent only a paper victory, since smuggling of slaves continued fairly openly until the final abolition of slavery in 1865.

Criticism of the general embargo was bitter, especially from New England, where seaports were plentiful, and the old smuggling ring was now a powerful group of importers. The embargo was often referred to as "O grab me" (embargo spelled backwards), and it became a strong issue in the election of 1808.

The result was that the new Congress repealed the Embargo Act. But there was no party upset at this election, and Jefferson retired from the Presidency voluntarily in favor of his Secretary of State, James Madison, citing as a precedent George Washington's retirement after eight years in the Presidency, and adding the further reason (which was not Washington's but Jefferson's) that democratic government requires that no individual should be too long in control. Thus the precedent has arisen that no one should occupy that office more than eight years, and there have been on that precedent several refusals of a third term. Only one President, until Franklin D. Roosevelt, has ever been a candidate for re-election after more than a full term in office, since the beginning of the

Second Republic. This precedent is merely embodied in American tradition, has no legal standing, and is another example of how the present Constitution, intended originally as an instrument of dictatorship, has been diverted from that aim by those American traditions which are derived mainly from the red race.

184. ***Tecumseh***. After Jefferson went out of office as President, his endeavor to turn the Louisiana Territory into a national home for the red race turned into a systematic attempt to evict the tribes of the United States into prepared reservations beyond the Mississippi, where they would be practically imprisoned. This effort of the government was becoming obvious, both North and South. As we have seen, the Greenville Treaty of 1795, made with the revived Ottawa Federation, was being violated from the very start, and the admission of Ohio as a State in 1803, including considerable territory given to the tribes by the Greenville Treaty, emphasized this point very strongly to the tribes of the Northwest (or the Indiana Territory). In the southwest of the original United States territory, in what was known as the Mississippi Territory, the same tendency was made obvious to the Maskoki tribes there, when a Federal Road was constructed across Creek territory, and thousands of white emigrants with their families kept passing through there to pick out homes in the Southwest. Between the Ottawa Federation and the Maskoki tribes, the Cherokees in Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Georgia, had been having direct experience with aggression from those States and their citizens.

Since all these tribes had common interest to stop this constant aggression in their territory, which was now threatening them with complete eviction from their homes, it was only natural that they should attempt to make a concerted stand. A Shawnee chief named Tecumseh, living in the Indiana Territory, but partly of Maskoki ancestry, planned to reorganize the Ottawa Federation, and convert it into a single grand confederation, including all of the tribes from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes, and from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. This combination never assumed final form as an actual federation, but a reorganized and strengthened federation took control north of the Ohio River, and another, under the leadership of the Creeks, took in the various Maskoki nations in the South, while all of the nations of the projected greater federation formed an alliance. Canada proved to be a good source of supplies, equipment, and munitions, for this alliance; and the white settlers throughout the western regions began to get the impression that this alliance of the tribes was a British conspiracy. The fact was that prodding, British or otherwise, was not needed in order to induce the red tribes to resist invasion of their country.

Further aid for this tribal alliance was found from another source. The mixture of Maskoki and Arawak peoples in the Floridas, known as Seminoles, were beginning to revolt against Spanish authority. As we have seen, Spain was conquered by Napoleon, and it was through that circumstance that Spain lost the Province of Louisiana, which ultimately came into American control. For the same reason, Spain was unable to administer effectively its entire chain of colonies in the Western Hemisphere, and revolts were arising in various parts of the Spanish colonies. An armed force of South Americans was raised in the United States by a leader who was a political exile from the Spanish colonies, and in 1806 this expedition landed in Venezuela, making an unsuccessful attempt at establishing there a republic modelled on the United States Constitution. Then came an insurrection in the pampas region of South America, which followed the Venezuelan example, organizing a federal republic called La Plata, also modelled on the United States. In 1810, an uprising took place in Mexico, and the red tribes of the northern part of Mexico, near the Louisiana border, were prominent participants in the rebellion against Spanish authority; in Mexico a Declaration of Independence was issued that was almost an exact translation, at least in spots, of

the American document. This insurrection in Mexico was later driven by the Spanish up into the mountains, but was never quite suppressed. With this widespread insurgency harrassing the small remnant of Spanish authority still left on the American continents, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Seminole tribes of the Florida peninsula, who had never been brought into actual submission, should join the revolt from their hideouts in the Everglades. With them were a number of fugitive slaves from the Southern States of the Union and from Cuba; the Seminoles were making a principle of independence, and were giving refuge to the negroes that were escaping from their masters in the United States and in the Spanish colonies. Some of the fugitives had participated in slave insurrections in the United States, and were quite hostile to the American government. As a consequence, Tecumseh's alliance of tribes from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes came as a welcome aid to both Seminoles and fugitive slaves, who lost no time in joining the alliance and starting in Florida a similar revolution to what was occurring simultaneously in other parts of the Spanish colonies.

This alliance, with preliminary preparations for a grand federal organization, was completed in 1810. In the meantime, the United States government was busy with its own preparations for a coming conflict in that area. The remnant of the Northwest Territory was now split up into several administrative units, and colonization attempted in each one. The western section of the region (as planned in the Ordinance of 1787) was formed into the Territory of Illinois, while a separate headquarters was formed for the administration at Detroit, covering the peninsula between Lakes Huron and Michigan, which was called Michigan Territory. By this time, "territory" was becoming a standard name for a main administrative unit under direct federal control, and that form of administrative unit (as distinguished from a State, which is not an administrative unit of the federation, but has its independent government) was becoming an established part of the government framework, though not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

In addition, military expeditions during this period took possession of the remainder of West Florida by force. Advantage was taken of Spain's helplessness at home, in the same manner as the revolutions in Mexico and South America were doing, to assert American territorial claims that had little foundation beyond the wish of the slaveowners to gain for themselves some new territory in which to spread out. The portion of West Florida, including the ports of Mobile and Biloxi, was incorporated into the Mississippi Territory, and East Florida, which included the Florida peninsula and a strip of the Gulf Coast running as far west as Pensacola, was all that was still left to Spain in that portion of the mainland.

The alliance of the red tribes, though it was intended as preparation for making a stand against the United States government, did not take the first aggressive action. This took place when Governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory personally led a military attack on the Shawnee Federation headquarters, the town of Tippecanoe on the Wabash River, capturing the town and massacring the inhabitants. At this time Tecumseh was absent, organizing in the South, so that his activities were still being carried on. The massacre at Tippecanoe in 1811 became the signal for a general war by the entire chain of tribes against the Second Republic, while the Seminoles and fugitive slaves of East Florida were raiding the border from Spanish territory, where they were attempting a revolution.

In the meantime, a different type of tribe was being dealt with in "Louisiana." The northern Mississippi and Missouri valleys were in the possession of a group of nomadic tribes, mainly the powerful Dakota Federation; and, while the United States and the British both claimed this region,

the Dakotas would not let anyone gain possession, though they were quite willing to sell furs to both Americans and the Hudson's Bay Company. Several fur companies were established in St. Louis, and trappers went out from there to get furs, or to buy them from the tribes. These tribes did not have the democratic form of organization that was found in some of the more settled tribes of the Atlantic Coast, but they were ruled by chiefs and priests, and they followed the migrations of the buffalo herds that roamed the prairies. Farther away, in the Rocky Mountain regions, were other tribes that similarly followed the big horns; here were to be found some signs of the institution of private property, which was lacking on the prairies and on the Atlantic Coast; while, over the mountains, in the Oregon country, was a totally different sort of red nation, with a highly-developed aristocracy, an institution of slavery, and a strong sense of property, and to whom trading in furs and blankets was nothing new. In this Oregon region there was a dialect in use for communication between the tribes, called Chinook, and this dialect, in the course of American and British attempts at trading, became somewhat intermixed with English. The two contending nationalities of this region were named in this language Kintshosh ("King George") and Boston (from where the first American ship had reached that region).

The Hudson's Bay Company, in opposition to the capitalist system that was in control in the northern part of the United States, and which was pushing American trade into the Oregon Country, was operating under the old feudal system, claiming the government and exclusive trading privileges in its territory by special grant from the British king; the territory it thus claimed was the entire northern part of the continent west of the Lake of the Woods. Not under Canada, it was a sort of feudal subsidiary of the king, and had exclusive power of government at any posts it established. Any independent trading or trapping was a violation of its sovereign privileges, and American fur trapping in the upper Missouri valley, or in the Oregon country, was regarded as an invasion of the Hudson Bay territory. This was accentuated when, in 1811, an American fur trading company established a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River, and named it Astoria for the company's president, Astor. The Hudson's Bay Company then made every effort to break up the Astoria trading post, and to drive American fur dealers out of the Oregon and Dakota countries.

185. ***The Canadian War***. Thus both the war with the tribes in the middle West, and the territorial disputes in the farther West, were setting British and American interests seriously at odds by 1811, so that the entire West was demanding war with Great Britain, though fortunately, being as yet federal territory, that part of the country had no vote in the government. The Democratic-Republican administration was naturally pro-French, as that party had been since its beginnings. The South saw its long-awaited chance for territorial expansion in a projected conquest of Canada; while New England, which was doing a considerable amount of trade across the Canadian border, was very much opposed to American entrance into the European war. At sea, the situation was much what it had been—both English and French navies were seriously interfering with the operations of American ships, and American neutrality was not respected by either side in the war. Entering into the European war over shipping issues on either side was no solution to the problem of American neutrality, and would certainly not add to the freedom of American shipping operations. But there had never been a time since the French Revolution when an excuse could not have been found, had the government so desired, for declaring war on either side; and, as we have seen, the pro-British Federalist administration actually did enter the war, on the British side, in 1797, resulting in a violent revulsion that practically destroyed the Federalists as a party. In 1811, with Western and Southern sentiment strongly worked up against Great Britain—especially against Canada—and with a pro-French administration, it was expected that it would be difficult to keep United States from entering the war, this time on the French side. The vote of the South in the

government was increased by the admission of the Territory of Orleans in 1812 as the State of Louisiana (not the original province of Louisiana, but just its southern tip); this gave the South and North equal representation in the Senate, a balance which was carefully preserved for a long time afterward. Thus, in 1812, at a time when Napoleon had conquered Germany, and was starting an advance into Russia, the United States entered the war on Napoleon's side by declaring war against Great Britain.

As a result of the tribal rebellion in the middle West, the British side had success there at first, though it was more the tribes than the Canadians who were successful. A harassing war was carried on by the allied tribes against the United States forces in Tennessee, and in the Mississippi Territory. Farther north, while the Canadians captured Detroit and Michillimackinac, the United States government tried to re-establish, under the name of Fort Dearborn, the post on Lake Michigan that controlled the main portage to the Mississippi River tributaries, a place which had been an important town (Checagou) under the tribes before the white invasion, and which, as a French post, had been destroyed in the intercolonial wars. This revived Checagou was promptly destroyed by the allied tribal forces, and it seemed as though all attempts to resurrect the ancient port of Checagou were doomed to failure. In the Oregon country, the Hudson's Bay Company captured and took over the American trading post of Astoria.

The war mainly centered around the Great Lakes, and especially around Niagara Falls. On Lake Ontario, the American and Canadian fleets kept on chasing each other around the lake quite steadily (with some indecisive battles here and there) until the end of the war, resting only when the lake froze up in winter. On the Niagara River, the Canadians raided Buffalo and Manchester (Niagara Falls), while attempted American invasions were repulsed by the Canadians at Lundy's Lane (now Bridge St., Niagara Falls) and at Queenston Heights; both of these latter two battles now being hailed by the Canadians as their great national victories. The fact is, that on lake Ontario and the Niagara River there was no decisive victory on either side; but the South's projected invasion of Canada failed. Attempts at propagandizing the Canadians also failed; for the war was obviously an attempted invasion of Canada, and appeals to throw off their chains hardly seemed effective when coming from the invader.

The New England States were opposed to participation in the war, and refused to send soldiers. It was a good opportunity for the small remnants of the Federalists to stage a come-back as an anti-war party, and their delegates met in a convention at Hartford in 1814 for that purpose. As the Federalist party was by nature and origin pro-aristocratic and pro-British, they resolved that New England should secede from the United States and return to British allegiance. This resolution ended the Federalists as a party; for New England, besides being the center of the Federalist group, was also the center of rebel activity, and going back to the British Empire was the last thing the people there wanted. Thus the Federalist party, which had never recovered from the blow it gave itself by the Sedition laws in 1798, received its final death-blow at its own hands in 1814 through the Hartford Convention.

Although New England took no part in the general war, preferring to organize societies for advocating the cause of universal peace, nevertheless they were not behind in handling their own local defense against a blockade maintained by a British fleet operating from its base at Halifax. In the case of the Atlantic blockade, it was mainly ships from Boston and other New England ports that were active towards breaking it up, and many of them destroyed some ships of the blockaders.

A similar attitude of local defense only was found in the other side of the border among the French Canadians of Lower Canada, so that little fighting was done on the border between New England and Lower Canada. However, attacks on Maine from New Brunswick were frequent, and the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, where the border meets the ocean, were soon all in British possession.

In the middle West, the tide of war turned when the rebel tribes found that they were more able to agree with the British authorities than with the American, and it was no part of their plan to fight one master in order to saddle themselves with another. One result of this decision was that the Canadian outposts on the Upper Great Lakes found themselves cut off from supplies, and an American campaign against the tribes in the North resulted in the recapture by the United States of the entire Michigan peninsula, including Detroit and Michillimackinac. Finally the Canadian fleet on the upper lakes sustained a severe defeat at Put-In Bay Island, on Lake Erie. This left the border situation just as it was before the war, as far as the Great Lakes were concerned. At one time the American forces actually made a surprise crossing of Lake Ontario, capturing the city of York (as the British authorities had renamed Toronto), and burning the parliament buildings, but the Canadians, carefully concealing a fair-sized army in the immediate environment of the town, recaptured the place within about a day. Still the war, after much seesawing, showed no decisive results for either side, while the peace move was gaining in the United States.

The tribal alliance was losing ground rapidly in the meantime, both North and South; but no headway was being made against Canada. In 1814, the war in Europe was over, and Napoleon, after a crushing defeat in Russia, was exiled to the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, while the British fleet, no longer busy with war in Europe, was able to pay more attention to America. Chesapeake Bay was entered by British ships, which captured the city of Baltimore, though some of the fortifications still held out; from that base a raid was made on Washington, where the Capitol was burned, while President and Mrs. Madison managed to escape through the underground tunnel system that had been part of the city's defense plans. The executive Mansion was so charred by flames in the conflagration that it was afterwards painted white to cover the evidence of damage, and it has since then been known as the White House. This, however, was no more a British victory than the Toronto raid was an American victory, because, the harbor forts of Baltimore remaining uncaptured, it was impossible for the invaders to hold either Baltimore or Washington.

It was during this war that conflict of British and American influence made itself evident not merely on the Pacific coast but in the distant Sandwich (or Hawaiian) Islands. Under the British influence which preceded American trade and missionary influence there, the king of the islands adopted the Union Jack as a flag; during this war, as he was persuaded that the use of that flag would be likely to involve him in the conflict and get him into trouble with the Americans, a compromise flag was adopted for the Hawaiian Islands, consisting of a Union Jack in the corner, and eight red, white, and blue stripes (representing the eight main islands of the group). This is still the territorial flag of Hawaii.

After the British raid on Washington, the government seemed a little bit more disposed to consider that the peace organizations might possibly be in the right, and peace negotiations were entered into, resulting in a peace treaty, signed at Ghent on Christmas Day, 1814, putting an end to the Canadian War, mentioning nothing whatever of the matters originally in dispute, and leaving the border and other matters almost exactly where they were before the war. The only territorial change was that the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay (on the border between Maine and New Brunswick),

which had been captured by the British during the war, were definitely specified to be British. Otherwise the war ended as a complete draw—nothing that could indicate that either side actually won. Canada had vindicated its nationality, and the United States had suppressed its tribal uprising.

186. ***Dictatorship in Louisiana***. In those days of slow travel of news, there was an interval between the peace treaty, and actual ending of hostilities. After the signing of the peace treaty, a British fleet attacked the Mississippi Delta in Louisiana. When the State government heard of the attack, Andrew Jackson, who was in charge of military operations against the insurgent tribes in the Mississippi Territory, was transferred to the defense of New Orleans, with his army that was originally in the South to fight the red people. The invaders were repulsed just outside New Orleans, not by the army Jackson brought in, but by local militia from New Orleans itself.

In the meantime, the Federal troops brought in from the Mississippi Territory were staying in the city of New Orleans, presumably to protect the city against invasion, but actually to maintain a state of martial law in the New Orleans region, with Jackson himself in supreme control. This state of military rule was continued by Jackson long after hostilities had ceased, and the people of lower Louisiana began to protest against the illegal continuance of martial law, and the case was brought up in Federal court, with the result that a habeas corpus writ was granted against General Jackson, who replied by imprisoning the judge who issued the habeas corpus writ. The dictatorship was finally ended by the Federal government's intervening and arresting Jackson, who was fined $1000 for contempt of court.

This short-time dictator of southern Louisiana was then transferred by the army to the border of East Florida, to fight against the border raids conducted by the Florida revolution, which embodied what was still left of the general midwest tribal uprising of 1811. Jackson then took his army troops across the border into Florida, seizing a few Spanish fortresses there, including the border town of Pensacola; then his army pushed into the Florida peninsula proper, put down the revolution of the Seminoles and fugitive slaves, and took military possession of the Spanish province of East Florida, without any government authority to do so, mainly because the slaveowners of the South wanted to recapture fugitive slaves, and also wanted more territory for the expansion of slavery.

187. ***Fixing the Borders***. The period following this private invasion of Florida was occupied in a final realignment of the national frontiers of the North American continent. In 1819, after the Florida difficulty had resulted in strained diplomatic relations between United States and Spain, an agreement was made whereby the United States purchased the Province of East Florida (which, for the United States, was, to some extent, a sort of extension of the Louisiana Purchase claims) and, at the same time, settled the issue of the southwest boundary between American and Spanish territory. The Sabine River, temporarily agreed on in 1806, was taken as the border, which extended in a zigzag line to the Pacific Ocean, where the boundary followed the 42nd parallel. This meant that United States gave up its claims to Texas, while Spain gave up its claims to the Oregon country. The line of demarkation of 1819 still determines the northern boundary of California and Nevada, and the eastern and northern limits of Texas.

In the meantime other frontiers were being determined on this continent. In 1815 the peace treaty ending the Canadian War was supplemented by an agreement covering the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, which was the dividing line between the Missouri Territory and Prince Rupert Land at the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the "Stony Mountains," as the

Rockies were then called. West of the Rockies, all land claimed by either United States or Great Britain was to be "free and open" to settlement by both countries, leaving the Oregon country under joint rule; settlements made by either nationality were to be governed by that nation. This resulted, in many cases, in British-ruled and American-ruled towns growing up so close together as to be practically one, though, for the most part, the Americans settled south of the Columbia River, and the British farther north, on the Fraser River.

An unusual feature of this treaty fixing the boundary between United States and British territory was the provision for disarmament of the frontier. Border fortifications were strictly limited, and the limitations placed on the use of war vessels in the Great Lakes were such as to amount to practical disarmament there. It is probably this disarmament of the Canadian frontier, more than anything else, that has prevented the recurrence of a war between United States and Canada since that time, though later there was the Aroostook War on the Maine boundary, which did not become a national war, and there was a certain amount of fighting between Americans and British in the Oregon region (or "British Columbia," as the British called it) until the joint-rule plan of government was ended there. Before the disarmament of the border, there had been six national wars—most of them involving a large number of nations—across that border; since then, there have been none. A remarkable feature of this disarmed frontier is that the portion of it in the neighborhood of Lake Ontario incorporates into itself part of the unarmed border that the Iroquois Federation devised for its own peculiar form of defense.

Further difficulties in national claims on the Pacific Coast were cleared up when Russia made treaties with the United States and Great Britain fixing the boundaries of its claims on the American continent, thus locating the present Alaska border.

Thus, by 1821, all international boundary disputes in North America were settled—apparently; but the settlement did not take into account the extent to which the institution of slavery in the South was hungry for ever new territorial expansion and conquest of new lands. The joint rule of United States and Great Britain in the Oregon or Columbia territory still left that region hanging in the balance; but otherwise it seemed as though North America had been definitely apportioned out for the first time since 1763.

188. ***Missouri Becomes a State***. With the admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812, the slave states began to regain the balance of power which they had lost when New York and New Jersey abolished slavery. Beginning with that time, there had to be an equal number of slave and free states, so that the Senate would be evenly divided; neither side would give in an inch on that matter, and the admission of each new State was the occasion for a new dispute in Congress, the South opposing if a free State was to be admitted, while there was equal objection from Northern delegates if it was proposed to admit a new State with a constitution permitting slavery. So far, the old boundary, consisting of Mason and Dixon's Line east of the mountains, and the Ohio River from the mountains to the Mississippi, had been fairly well recognized; but the issue was bound to arise all over again when the issue came up of splitting territory between the two prevailing economic systems in the Louisiana Purchase. The issue first arose about 1819, when the settlers in the neighborhood of St. Louis drew up for themselves a State constitution, and applied for admission as the State of Missouri, which, under the proposed constitution, was to be a slave State.

The principle of balancing free States against slave States in admitting new States into the Union had been fairly strictly observed. The Mississippi Territory was split up into two slave States,

Mississippi and Alabama, each with a corridor to the Gulf of Mexico, taken out of the West Florida region, conquered by the United States but still claimed by Spain. To balance these two slave States, two free States were admitted north of the Ohio, in accordance with the geographical scheme laid out in the Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787. The first of these was Indiana, whose name records the fact that it was originally intended as a refuge for the red people; then came the western one of the planned southern tier of States to be made out of the Northwest Territory. This, which had been part of the Territory of Illinois, and covered substantially the region of the old Illinois Nation, was at first objected to even by the North on the ground that, as the limits stood, its only outlet was down the Mississippi River through the slave settlements, and it was bound to came under too strong a slave-state influence to be able to stay out of slavery very long. This was shown when a few settlements in Illinois Territory, near St. Louis, began to adopt "black-code" ordinances, for the suppression of the negro race on the Southern model. This difficulty about Illinois was obviated by moving the State boundary about fifty miles farther north, so as to give the new State a direct outlet on Lake Michigan, where it was proposed to build an Illinois lake port on the site of the old tribal village of Checagou, through which communication would naturally be with the North rather than the South.

As usual, when the settlements around St. Louis wanted admission as a slave State, the customary amount of opposition resulted, especially since this region was quite as far north as Illinois or Indiana. This entire region, which had been the Territory of Louisiana, was then organized into the Territory of Missouri, which included all of the Louisiana Purchase not incorporated into the State of Louisiana, and which even took care of American claims in the Oregon country. Out of this it was proposed to organize the part near St. Louis as the slave state of Missouri. Opposition raged back and forth, and both sides tried to block each other. It was not a party argument, as the breakdown of the Federalist party after the Canadian War had left the Democratic-Republican organization without opposition; the dispute was on definitely geographical lines. The North proposed to extend to the entire Missouri territory the same slavery-abolition provision as in the Northwest Territory Ordinance; the South stood equally firm for making it all slave territory—they needed room to expand. The admission of a new slave State, such as was proposed, would upset the balance in Congress in favor of slavery.

All sorts of devices to delay and prolong discussions indefinitely were tried in Congress. A representative from Buncombe County, North Carolina, used to interrupt discussions frequently by making long-winded "speeches for Buncombe" which had nothing to do with the subject under discussion, but which made good material to print and send home for distribution. It was from this that long-winded or irrelevant talk gets the name "buncombe" or "bunk."

At this time, the breakdown of the Federalist party resulted in a revival of the old agitation for more liberty and equality in New England—opposed, of course, by the groups of merchants and manufacturers in control of the government. The result was that, in 1820, a new constitutional convention in Massachusetts took up the question of revising the Bill of Rights in the Commonwealth constitution, resulting in the final disestablishment of the Congregational Church, provision for freedom of speech and religion, and complete abolition of the property qualification for voting—a few of the minor issues involved in the Shays Rebellion, and lost with the defeat of that rebellion. In Massachusetts' non-contiguous possession, the so-called District of Maine, the old separatist movement—the proposition to make a separate State of Maine—was on this occasion revived, and the attempt to organize an independent State government there, suspended after the Shays Rebellion, was pushed once more, and the consent of the Massachusetts legislature finally

obtained. The fact that the Maine separation movement was once a distant branch of the Shays Rebellion is still shown by the Pine Tree being incorporated as a State symbol in Maine, which has heretofore become known as the Pine Tree State.

The movement to make a separate State out of Maine came along in time to help settle the entanglement over the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Missouri as a slave state, and Maine as a free state, would keep up the balance of power, still preserving the equality of number between slave and free States. A series of compromises finally settled the various questions which had been involved by Missouri's application for Statehood. South of Missouri was formed a slave territory, Arkansas, covering the territory between the southern boundary of the State of Missouri and the northern boundary of Louisiana. The rest of Federal territory west of the Mississippi River, the part north of the parallel of 36°30' (the prolonged southern boundary of the State of Missouri) remained in the Federal unit called Missouri Territory, and the Southern members of Congress finally agreed, in exchange for the admission of Missouri as a slave State, to make the rest of the Missouri Territory non-slave. This continued the boundary between slaveholding and non-slavery territory west to the Rockies, this boundary, by the so-called Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, making a wide detour round the northern side of Missouri State, then continuing along the 36°30' parallel to the boundary of the United States.

As far as concerned possibility of future expansion, the institution of slavery received a poor bargain in the Missouri Compromise, since the only territories still allowed to that institution were Arkansas and Florida, while the Michigan and Missouri Territories were left open to the North, where slavery was abolished, and these covered a vast amount of land. From 1820 on the expansionism of the Southern slaveholders resolved itself into a furious series of efforts to acquire constantly new territory for the United States, and particularly for the South to form new slave States.

One of the first of these expansions was on the Slave Coast of Africa. Both to avert the growing outcry in the North against slavery, and because the Southern slaveholders wanted to get rid of all free negroes (considering them a bad example to the slaves), a movement was launched in the South to start a colony of emancipated slaves on the same African coast from which the slaves were originally imported. Such a colony was actually formed there, and the settlement was named Monrovia, after President Monroe of the United States, while the territory was named Liberia, as the land of the freedmen.

189. ***Renewal of South American Revolutions***. The year 1815 was one of general reaction in Europe, and, with the re-establishment of the Bourbons, a concerted attempt was made on the part of the old feudal system of Europe to ward off the advance of the new capitalist system. The important Continental monarchies formed what was known as the Holy Alliance, one of whose objects was to wipe out from the earth all traces of representative government. As a result of this union, together with the restoration of a strong Bourbon government in Spain, repressive measures were immediately started against the Spanish colonies in America, which had been left practically to govern themselves during the general European war, and some of which had been organizing themselves somewhat along the lines of the United States. The revolutions in the Spanish-American colonies were, for the most part, wither suppressed altogether, or driven into the mountain and jungle regions. But the repressive measures, coming after the democratic systems of government the colonies had given themselves for a while, and after their trade relations with England and the United States, simply aroused new revolutionary movements, or reinforced the old ones where they

were still functioning, and new declarations of independence and reorganized revolutionary governments were in evidence all over Spanish America.

While the southwest boundary of the United States was being settled with Spain, in 1819, the other side of that frontier was already in renewed revolt against Spanish rule—though willing to accept that line of demarcation because it would avoid incidental complications in the way of a boundary dispute with a powerful neighbor. In 1821, a second declaration of independence was issued, and a constitution was drawn up, closely following that of the United States of America, proclaiming that region, formerly called "New Spain," as the United States of Mexico—Estados Unidos Mexicanos. The main difference in the Mexican constitution was that the Catholic Church was recognized as the established church, and criticism of that church was forbidden.

Much of the renewed revolutionary activity, like the activity of the same sort in the Napoleonic period, was the result of "freebooter" expeditions organized in the United States—frequently by Americans, and usually by Southerners looking for some extension of American slave territory. The first of these expeditions was that of Aaron Burr against Mexico in 1804; then the first revolt for Venezuelan independence was also an expedition of this sort. As we have seen, the American government officially used revolution as a weapon in the war against Tripoli in 1805 (which, incidentally, was concluded in 1815 by a surprise capture of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, forcing a surrender of the Barbary governments); and the United States has ever since then made a practice of starting revolutions wherever possible to gain its ends. These "freebooters" were called "flibustero" in Spanish, and the word finally came back to America in the form "filibuster," which remained a specific term for that type of expedition for a matter of about sixty years or so.

One of the first acts of the independent Mexican government was to invite Americans to immigrate and colonize. Among the first of such colonists was Stephen Austin of Connecticut and his son Moses, who settled in Texas for farming, but who were followed by a flood of Southerners anxious to convert the Territory of Texas into a new slave State for the Union. As we shall see*, this attempt ultimately succeeded, and, though it started in the guise of peaceful colonization, it can be classified together with the "filibustering" plans.

By this time, practically all the Western hemisphere colonies of Spain had revolted and formed independent governments, though attempts to federate them, such as the North American states had done for themselves proved uniformly unsuccessful, as nearly all attempts have been at introducing federation outside of its native continent of North America. The question of recognizing these independent governments became of importance. Neither the United States nor Great Britain had any wish to lose the trade of the Spanish-American countries, which would become a Spanish monopoly if Spain were to reconquer those colonies. Ships of the Spanish-American republics were frequently captured as pirate vessels (being registered by unrecognized governments), and yet United States could not take any other stand without some sort of recognition of the South American governments. Great Britain made an attempt at union with the United States to make the Spanish-American republics a joint protectorate of two powers; but that seemed to be merely a step towards making them part of the British Empire, which the United States was not trying to expand any further, especially in view of its difficulties with joint control of the Oregon country.

The final result was that the American government, to block both British expansion projects and the efforts of the Holy Alliance to blot out representative government, announced a Western Hemisphere policy which was drawn up by the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, though

commonly attributed to President Monroe. This Adams policy (or "Monroe Doctrine," as it is commonly known) favored recognition of newly-established republics, and announced that the United States would oppose any efforts of European powers to take control in any Western Hemisphere region that had achieved actual independence of European control. It did not, as has been more recently interpreted, call for United States control over South American affairs, nor for a North American protectorate over South America; but it did provide for a guarantee of independence for all western Hemisphere countries that could gain it. In other words, far from being a provision for American intervention, as it has lately been interpreted by the American government, it was a proposed American guarantee against intervention.

One region that soon comes within the scope of this doctrine, though neither a republic nor a case of actual revolt against Europe, was the case of Portuguese South America, which had been for some time the refuge of Portuguese royalty from home uprisings. Thus the capital of Portugal had actually been at Rio de Janeiro; and when another Portuguese revolution in 1828 set up a new king in Portugal, the king at Rio de Janeiro simply proclaimed himself Emperor of Brazil, and thus made Portuguese South America an independent nation; but it was actually Portugal that revolted against Brazilian rule, and not vice versa.

---

* Likely this is not the final chapter. And there is no "The End." So we may infer that Sidis intended to write another chapter(s), but he either (1) did not write said chapter(s), or (2) such a chapter(s) was indeed written but became separated from the manuscript prior to the time I found it in Helena Sidis's suitcase. I favor the former possibility. This chapter is complete as is indicated by the fact that the last page takes up only one-third of a typewritten sheet. An accidental loss of pages would not very likely be from the very first page of a new chapter.—Dan Mahony

ERRATA: Page 551 is missing; the following pages have some words missing due to illegible words on my copy: page 65, line 6 of poem; page 67, 11th line from bottom, "Keskskeck"?; Chapter 9, page 92, final line; Chap 13, section 66, last line on page; Chapter 19, sect. 104b, 9th line.