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MEMOIR  
OF THE  
**NORTHERN KINGDOM**

WRITTEN, A.D. 1872,

BY THE LATE

REV. WILLIAMSON JAHNSENKES, LL.D.

AND HON. MEMBER OF THE ROYAL AMERICAN BOARD OF  
LITERATURE,

IN SIX LETTERS TO HIS SON.

*"Olim meminisse juvabit."*

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NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

QUEBECK,

A.D. 1901.

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SALVS · PVBLICA · MEA · MERCES.

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TO THE  
**KING.**

*SIRE,*

PERMIT me, in congratulating my country on Your fortunate accession to the throne of Your Royal Father, to lay at Your feet with all humility a small work of the venerable man, to whom I owe my existence. I am persuaded that Your Majesty will pardon its frankness, and extend to it the indulgence, which Your Princely Race have ever manifested for manly sentiments, and with which Your Royal Father was pleased to honour its authour.

I should not, under other circumstances than the present, have presumed to approach the throne with an offering of this nature; but having been honoured with Your Royal Commission in an attempt to unite with Your subjects a distracted and divided people, I presumed that the faithful history, my father left, as a legacy to his children, of the <iv> troubles, of which he was a witness, but which happily ended in the establishment of Your Majesty's illustrious House, would be no unacceptable present to future times.

In discharging, Sire, this duty, permit me also to declare that, under a kind and gracious Providence, the people of this Northern Empire are indebted for all the prosperity they enjoy to the prompt, vigorous yet clement measures of Your Majesty's Royal ancestors. That this kingdom, formed by their wisdom, and transmitted to Your Royal hands, may long flourish, that its boundaries may still increase, and thus diffuse the happiness, which those experience to whom Your Imperial qualities are known, and that every enemy to Your Majesty's government may be transformed into a warm and zealous servant, is the hearty prayer of,

Sire,

Your Majesty's most humble,  
most affectionate,  
and most devoted subject,  
**JULIUS DE BARRI,**

Ld. Jurssenkells.

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**PREFACE.**

*IT may not be amiss to inform the publick, that the Editor of the few following letters has long retained them and would probably have continued to keep them private, had not recent occurrences rendered it, in his opinion, exceedingly useful to exhibit them to the world. For, whatever sources of information may have been opened in general histories, it is plain that private memoirs, separate from the circumstance of authenticity, must enter more into the detail of those causes, which, though they develop themselves only to the curious eye of an intelligent and attentive observer, produce ultimately the greatest events. And as these letters faithfully paint the miseries of former times, it was hoped that the publishing of them at the present day might tend to open the eyes of our infatuated neighbours to their real interests.*

*Of these interests the Editor hopes he shall be allowed to have formed a proper estimate. Forty five*

*years of bickering, or open warfare, might have convinced the Illinois Republicans, that it were far better to renounce, as did their ancestors, the phantom of a government, which they have not virtue to protect. For the Republick is a prey to the dissentions of her ambitious chiefs. Confiding in the population or territory they have acquired or maintained, animated by an antient grudge, and still more by a desire of attracting to themselves individually the management of the State, in the midst of such convulsions, these factious demagogues, for such must they be named, are for protracting a war, which puts to the proof all the mildness and moderation of our Sovereign; a war too, which cannot end but in their subjugation.*

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*Nor can this event be far distant. The immense power of the Northern, and the preponderating interests of the Southern Kingdom, point out for each of them a direct path to their object. Nor is his Virginian Majesty so inattentive to the security of his frontiers, or so fond of repose and quiet, as to omit any method of reducing such an obstinate enemy. The league too, which has of late been happily formed between the two Monarchies, and in which the Editor is well known to have borne an honorable part, must teach these enthusiasts, that it is vain to resist.*

*On the whole, our population of twenty millions, with the command of the navigation of the lakes, which we indisputably possess, joined to the power and martial prowess of a late reconciled indeed, but doubtless faithful ally, who is able to shut the Mississippi to their eastern commerce, and leave them only the shores of the Pacifick, still at an immense distance, and with several intervening nations--these advantages of the Allies, together with the history of former Republicks, and especially of the once confederated American States, must, one would think, bring them to their reason.*

*Whatever views may influence the Northern Court, every one must grant, that sound policy absolutely requires, that a neighbour so capable of doing harm, as the Republick of the Illinois, must be brought to peace; on equitable terms, if possible, if not, by force. For many years, it is well known, their territory has been the common receptacle of intriguing, discontented and abandoned men, from both the American Kingdoms; nor would his Majesty of the South have ever espoused their cause, but for the deadly feuds of civil war ; feuds, which rendered any auxiliary acceptable, yet which have at length but served to establish forever the Royal Houses derived of Britain and of France.*

*J. de B. JAHNSENKES.*

Lordship of Jurssenkells,  
A.D. 1901.

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*Erratum...*Page 19, 9th line from top, instead of *for* read *from*.

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## LETTER I.

MY DEAR SON,

WHATEVER motives and principles may justly be prescribed to individuals, it is a fact, that nations act on a plan totally selfish. The very essence of patriotism consists in preferring the good of our own country to the good of any other. And the design of constituting every government is, that they, who are to direct its administration, may administer to the good of its subjects. Not, indeed, that the interest of any one nation will be found wholly isolated from that of all other nations; but that, in the collision of separate national interests, that of our own nation lies nearest to the heart.

I premise this remark to the narration you have so often requested of me, and which I now purpose to leave with you, as a memorial of my love; consecrating, as I do, the last efforts of my enfeebled mind and health to a subject, which has been the fruitful theme of my private anxiety and publick conversation, as it has also been ever interesting to the true American. I premise the remark, my son, to my narration, because I look back with infinite regret to the period, when, confiding in their own blind vanity, and patriotick partialities, my countrymen would see no evil, that threatened them from abroad; nor would consent that <[sig. mark]> 2 <10> other nations should feel for their own institutions and their own citizens the attachment we felt for ours. Indeed I well knew that the nature of the principles, on which men were then acting, and the tendency of events then taking place, would lead of course directly to the result we now behold. I said and I wrote as much. But nations are slow to learn; human passions are hard to be curbed, and man is governed by views of present interest rather, than by the consideration of an interest attached to the future periods of his duration.

But I shall moralise and declaim more, than I narrate. Without further introduction, then, I proceed to the business of these letters.

Great-Britain had long possessed, without appearing to know its value, in either a political or commercial view, an immense territory to the northward of the dominions of those states, which had gloriously effected their independence of her, and become sovereign, by a long and bloody struggle, that renders immortal the memory of those, who maintained it, and achieved their object. Many of the inhabitants of the colonies were, however, disaffected to the idea of emancipation from a regal government, and chose to reside among those, who remained loyal to their king. The population, therefore, of the loyal states increased not only by the common process of immigrations from England, Scotland, and Ireland, but by removals of disaffected republicans, uneasy or enterprising men, farmers, who expected better bargains in land, especially in the country then called Upper Canada, and artisans, who found <11> less encouragement at home, than they could obtain among the British subjects. This latter case I will explain hereafter.

While the English trade to the continent of Europe was occluded by the decrees of the first Emperor of France, of the present dynasty, it was seriously enquired in Britain, what benefit might be derived to the mother country from her American possessions. Already a Prince of the house of Brunswick had been invested with the office of Governour in general, and had won the affections of the colonists at large. It was now proposed, that a kind and fostering hand should be stretched out, effectually to raise this valuable country to the rank, it has since attained. A prince, then, of the reigning family, was, after a very considerable series of preparations, which it is not necessary to recount, placed, as Viceroy, at the head of all the British dominions in North-America and the West-Indies. An expectation was held out, that offices of trust, and of honour and emolument, would be bestowed on those noble minded Britons, who would embark, with their families and fortunes, for a country, which already seemed to assume the name and dignity of a great and flourishing empire. Monopolies were abolished. A free trade began to be established. A fleet was in preparation; and the spirit of enterprise, wisdom, and decision, which all at once burst, as it were, on the astonished continent, though, in truth, many had long foreseen it, promised to the rising state a vigorous maturity.

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Empire seemed now decidedly westering. The expatriated Portuguese, roused into energy by the circumstances of their country, and enlightened by a free and confidential intercourse with the English, who frequented their new court in crowds, shook off the emasculating shackles of a bigoted superstition, entered, with emulous earnestness, into the liberal views of their faithful allies, and retrieved the character, they once bore under Emanuel and Henry. Nor did their friends repent the kindnesses, they had shewn. In fact, there had been, for a long series of years, such a mutual good understanding between the two countries, even before the removal of the court, as redounded to the honour of both. And in America the attachment was renewed with the most brilliant advantages. Important privileges were granted to the American subjects of Great-Britain, and wealth flowed profusely into the northern provinces. That country was thus acquiring sinews, to brace its already powerful arms.

Nor were the American Spaniards, in their extensive possessions, idle spectators of their neighbours. England had generously assisted the patriots of the mother country, in their glorious struggle to maintain their rights against Napoleon I. whose overwhelming ambition prompted him, at one period, to attempt the utter subjugation of that antient and brave people. Spain was grateful, and English commerce, English manners, and English politicks, began sensibly to pervade her court, her people, and her colonies. But at home they were held in check by France, and abroad they were still embarrassed, notwithstanding the financial arrangements of their magnanimous auxiliaries; nor could they make an effectual impression on the power, by which they were kept at bay. Still, however, their wide spread domains were opened to the adventurous Britons; and the raw materials so richly furnished by their several states as well, as by the Brasilian territories, supplied copiously the

manufacturing interest of England. All this commerce, with but little exception, passed through the hands of colonial carriers, for they were taught the policy of almost restricting this advantage to the new empire; having seen with envy the growing prosperity of New-England, during the neutrality of the United States, while the nations of Europe were at war. The carrying trade, so termed, was now therefore taken from foreigners. It was placed in the Viceroy's power; and this circumstance alone had great influence in increasing not only the wealth, but the population and strength of the British territories in America, to the government of which he devoted great prudence, vigour and judicious moderation.

It was not long, therefore, before a more perfect consolidation of these several territories was sought with earnestness by almost all the principal colonists. The provincial and colonial governours, who had been always deputed from the mother country, were often found unacquainted with the interests of the communities, they came to nourish and defend. It began, of course, to be perceived, that it would be better to place the nomination of persons to all these posts in the Viceroy himself, who had nearly become a sovereign Prince. But the views of the court were vast. And experience had <14> taught the British government, that, by indulging to the suggestions of a liberal and enlightened policy, more advantage might be derived from a country in the strict connexion of a friendly and mutually beneficial alliance, than for one in the galling bond of colonial dependence. The United States had afforded them this lesson, and they were ready to profit by it. Already it was surmised that the total independence of the Viceregency would ere long be openly discussed. And events, which will be noticed in a future letter, tended rapidly to realise the suspicion.

National concerns are seldom conducted on a perfectly consistent plan for any considerable series of years ; and nothing but the unvarying motive of self-interest can be assumed, as the clue to every state labyrinth. When, therefore, interest inclines manifestly to one line of conduct, we may expect to find that line pertinaciously followed. England was wise enough to see her own interest in pursuing the track, which her apparently generous ministers had now discovered.

No sooner was the right to nominate the several Governours in complete exercise by the Viceroy, than beneficial consequences appeared to result. His nominations were seldom countervailed by the court, and as they were made, with but very few exceptions, after the strictest scrutiny in regard to character and talents; for a plan of great extent required a powerful co-operation; they gained the affection of the people, and effected in a few years the important measure of leaving the appointments solely to the discretion of the Prince.

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A long time elapsed without any material alterations in the plan of government. The views of the British court began to be penetrated by almost every cabinet of Europe and America. They, however, who comprehended these views, could not but ascribe them to political wisdom, and to a prudent regard for securing the good will as well, as prosperity of a nascent empire. A consolidation was indeed perfecting, which inspired the neighbouring states with alarm; for the harbours of Newfoundland were thronged with ships and the smaller craft; the islands of the vicinity overflowed with inhabitants; the Dunkirk of America was again rendered impregnable, or supposed so; active, enterprising and brave, the inhabitants of New-Scotland and Brunswick had become rich also, not only from improving their maritime advantages, but from an inland commerce with New-England; the northernmost regions of the bay of Hudson began to yield in a degree to cultivation; Labrador was growing populous; the lakes of Upper Canada were whitened with the sails of commerce, and the generous encouragement of the princely Viceroy allured to his court the men of genius, talents and enterprise, who sought promotion, and the means of affluence. Already, therefore, the important moment was ardently expected, when this flourishing and broadly extended government should proclaim its independence and uncontrolled sovereignty.

But in a future letter I must advert to another scene of striking, though long anticipated events, in a different quarter of the western continent. I have given you <16> a hasty sketch, though it be on the

whole such, as I had contemplated, of the progress of some of the present members of the Northern Kingdom, from the inert condition of a crippled, dependent colony, to the expansive activity of a self-moving, enlightened powerful state; and am,  
with unceasing love and anxious concern,  
your ever affectionate Father.

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## LETTER II.

I KNOW not, Julius, to what precise period of history we are to assign the origin of that spirit of jealousy, which has so long raged between the powerful countries of Britain and France. So antient it is, that the bearing of fleurs de lis on the coat armour of many old families of Wales, that land of genealogies, takes its date from services rendered in the wars between those rival powers. Perhaps the conquest of England by William, which excited the envy of the reigning family in the land he left, might be assumed as the æra, since which, like Carthage and Rome, their opposing shores but too strictly corresponded to their opposite interests and views. Wherever British arms, and British generosity, and may I not say, British improvidence have been known, there full soon have followed French intrigue, French selfishness, and French alertness, with a consummate military skill.

Not more distinct are the faculties of the understanding and the will in man, than are the characters of Britons and Frenchmen ; and, I had almost said, not more inseparable notwithstanding. But could you unite them fully, what perfection would ensue! Were the cool deliberations of the head accompanied too by the warm feelings of the heart, that is, did inclination follow the decisions of reason, how blamelessly should we conduct in life! Could you form men, in whom the distinctive features of the French and English characters should be happily blended, and superinduce the principles of Christianity to the composition, interweaving them with every vital fibre--ah then! But I prate. Wherever a Frenchman\* resides, he remembers Paris. Not that he has more "love of country," than had a Switzer, when Switzerland existed, or than has a Scotsman now. An Englishman loves home indeed, but home is to him the place where his beloved wife and children, his friends and associates reside. And if these migrate with him, his home is portable. "Englishmen on both sides the Atlantick" was a good name for the nation when it separated, as it were, into monarchists and republicans. Americans descended of English ancestors preserve many of the traces of their descent. Hence the wily court of France feared exceedingly that English power, having gained such footing in the North, would travel southward, and overwhelm and subdue the invaluable territories of the United States. Already, therefore, were heard the chatterings of the monkey, amusing but to deceive, and the gnashings of the tiger,† whose sharp fangs were convulsively extended for rapine and for blood.

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\* For these characteristick sketches, and the former strong, very strong expressions of his honoured Father, the Editor, unwilling to suppress them in any degree, presumes a sufficient apology may be found in Republican feelings and American frankness.

† This expression should have been suppressed, notwithstanding my reluctance, had it not been legitimately derived--even from Voltaire.

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Perhaps I have written with too much violence of resentment or prejudice. But, my son, the memory of those unhappy times exasperates even an old man, whose passions I had thought long since buried in compunctious repentance, and no more to be roused, feel a renewed interest in scenes almost forgotten; and did I not with humble resignation and the confidence of piety regard that all-wise government, which elicits praise for the wrath of man, and makes it subserve the purposes of wisdom, my feelings could not but burst forth in the most vehement invectives. But all is past. Time has laid his wand on the great transactions of my time, and they are buried in sleep. My memory however is exercised, and awake. Would to heaven it had then been the case with my deluded, amused, infatuated country!

You may say I was a British partisan. No, Julius, I was not. My feelings were ever America; and while the government of the United States was independent, my voice, my hand, and heart were ever devoted to it. But I have seen times, which forced me to hail a foreign Prince, as the saviour and deliverer of my country. I have seen times, which, though they could not cause me to forget the wise plan of government, that prevailed in my youth, yet occasioned my relinquishing with pleasure an allegiance to its abuses.

But I shall conclude this letter, without accomplishing its object.

France saw with regret the preponderance of British power on the American continent and in its seas. She had ever fostered with anxious care her colonial possessions, and particularly those of the Western Indies, which she had increased by treaty, purchase and conquest, as often as opportunity offered. For these she now trembled. The Portuguese and Spanish governments in America threatened, as it seemed, to sweep the French from all their colonies, and it was but an effect of mere sufferance that those colonies were permitted to retain their allegiance. France therefore felt the necessity of obtaining some security for the dependence of her colonies. Every art was in consequence employed to alarm the jealousies and fears of the government of the States against England. Envoy after envoy was instructed to propose, to cajole, to threaten and intimidate, to plead, command, seduce and flatter. And these reiterated remonstrances, insinuations, threats and flatteries must be supposed to have had some effect; for how could it be otherwise, when every French engine was set in motion to produce a counterbalance to British power.

There were men, I acknowledge, as our history too decidedly proves, who yielded to these arts. Opposition also strengthens opinions. Several had embarked with their vilest passions on the tumultuous sea of politics, and had been driven by malice and contention very far from each other. If the one expressed an opinion, or made an allusion, in any degree favourable to Britain, the other immediately, and with emphasis, extolled her rival. A French party and an English party began now to be marked with precision; and the arts of Parisian adepts in intrigue, duplicity and misrepresentation were too visible to be disregarded. Their exertions were principally directed to the most influential characters of the south, for from that quarter, owing to many causes and events, which I cannot now particularise, they expected, and that too justly, the most effectual support.

Your loving Father.

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### LETTER III.

MY SON,

THERE was a very great difference in character between the several citizens, and even the several

States of the former Union. Nor are we to wonder that such should be the case. The population of the United States was originally derived from a variety of sources; and the intermixtures of different national characters in those, who descended from the first emigrants, may be easily conceived to have diversified the individual character to a degree almost unknown in other countries. Add to this the various and uncertain methods of education among those, who enjoyed any of its greater advantages, and the almost endless variety of religious sects, into which professors of a belief in Christianity were divided.

Nor should we omit distinctions of politicks. I will only advert, however, to those, who openly and with apparent sincerity advocated the prevailing system of general government. Some of these were zealous republicans, because they had studied with diligence the antient writers of Greece, and had imbibed from the history of her Republicks, and from that of Rome, while governed by her Consuls, a hatred to the very idea and name of royalty. Some were republicans, because either they or their immediate ancestors had been cast, by the lot of contingencies, into a situation, where their opponents were attached to a kingly government. Some were fond of the name, because it gave them a passport to the favour of the people, with whom resided the physical and civil power, and from whose favour alone they could expect office, wealth and fame. Others again professed themselves republicans, and these indeed were the majority of the leading men in my time, because their pride and vanity, which in other circumstances would hardly have allowed them to acknowledge an equal, absolutely forbade their submitting to a superiour. All these were successively subdivided into federalists and anti-federalists, aristocrats and jacobins, federal republicans and democrattick republicans, and very few were avowedly royalists. All had too much of the hauteur of republicanism to brook the idea of hereditary subordination.

Indeed I have very much questioned, whether most of the Republicks, which have been constituted in the world, did not take their origin from the ambition, jealousy, envy and pride of leading men. Most of the republicans, whom I have known in any honourable station, or possessed of any distinguishing talents, have been such, because circumstances precluded them from being kings, dukes or lords; and they have been advocates for a system, which kept all on a level, because they would not permit others to rise to honours above themselves. But I will except one glorious character, that illustrious man, whose name is embalmed in the memory of all the good and virtuous, even our WASHINGTON, the patriot, the hero, and the Christian sage. He, I grant, might have made himself absolute, and did not. But what can be said of that impious farce, the French revolution? Had it not been so bloody, so terrific and horrid in its progress and consequences, who could forbear smiling with contempt on its conductors, its dupes, and those, who reaped from it such immense aggrandisement! And I verily believe, that republicanism in England, under the hypocritical Cromwell, arose mostly from a family compact. Examine the relations of kindred between those, who projected and perpetrated the measures, that caused a civil war in England, and issued in the death of her lawful king, and you will see but too much reason to doubt, with lord Clarendon, the purity of even a Hampden. I shall indeed say more, in a future letter, of republicans of another stamp; but I am too much inclined to believe, that every republican, who is not a humble subject of the King of kings and Lord of lords, adheres to his political creed and system from arrant "pride and haughtiness of soul." The principles of Christianity lead men "in honour to prefer one another;" the wisdom of this world is "earthly, sensual, devilish," and consults personal emolument, reputation or power in all its efforts.

It was, in fact, very common before the introduction of that system, which now pervades the Northern Kingdom, for men in speaking even of their connexions to deny merit to any, but themselves, and to be regardless therefore, or perhaps rather to pretend a disregard of that most gratifying species of honour, which flows from ancestral worth. A man, whose descent is honourable, and whose family has been in possession of ease, affluence and respect for a considerable time, is, *cæteris paribus*, by no means so grasping, so ostentatious, so haughty, assuming and presumptuous, as the child of fortune. He does not regard his advantages, of whatever kind they be, with wonder, admiration and

disproportionate fondness. At home when splendidly surrounded, he is not perfectly abroad if reduced to indigence. His noble qualities remain ; and that good breeding, which is the most valuable fruit of easy circumstances, enables him, if he have profited by it, to be calm, industrious and honourable, where others would be discouraged, servile, insincere and wicked. But the truth is, no man is indifferent to personal honours, however he may for the present, and most probably for the sake of obtaining a more abundant share in future, affect to despise them.

In principle, then, by far the greater part of the United Americans were republican. In manners the most influential among them were generally aristocratick. But I do not impute this circumstance to them as Americans, or as republicans, but as men. It is human nature, and we cannot expect to change that nature merely by the form of a government. Governments vary with the times, in which they exist, and the circumstances of their subjects. Man, in his constituent principles, is ever the same.

Let me say a word, before I close, of the writings of our former citizens. These were indeed mostly confined to the political and commercial diaries, those ve- <27> hicles of truth and falsehood so indeterminately and promiscuously, that nothing learned from them respecting the real state of the times can be fully depended on. In them abuse generated abuse, and the contention never closed, till language was exhausted of its epithets of slander. The American newspapers were the vilest, that ever disgraced a nation. Unfounded calumnies, scandalous surmises, and base accusations were multiplied without end on every eminent character. For as surely, as one paper passed a single compliment on any man, the opponent blackened his character with aspersion on aspersion. I will not pollute this sheet with a record of particulars, nor will I give the printers, who were too generally the editors of them, the honour of even mentioning a name. These printers were mostly needy adventurers, and by no means such, as should direct that important engine, the press. They had writers indeed of sterling talent, for in fact very few men published their lucubrations, but in the newspapers; except they were of a decidedly religious or literary character, and then they found their way into the magazines of the time, which were too often but meagre compilations.

I do not recollect more than two works of national interest and importance written in the times, that preceded the civil wars and troubles of my country. These were, the immortal "Defence of the American Constitutions," by the second President, accompanied, as it now is, by its more valuable supplement, his inestimable "Lectures on Davila;" and the life of the illustrious Father of his country, by the Chief Justice, Mar- <28> shall. There were indeed "Annals," published by a Doctor in Divinity, of a general nature and ably executed, but this should not be called an original work. There were also sermons almost innumerable, and systems of ethicks and theology, but many of those are no longer remembered, and now hardly to be found in our libraries. The writings indeed of Mayhew and Edwards, Belknap, the accomplished historian, and Clarke, his more accomplished friend, as also of several provincial authors, obtained and yet receive high and deserved applause. So did Franklin's. But we had no Fenelon, no Doddridge, no, Montesquieu, no de Mornay, no Newton, Shakespere, Milton, Boyle or Cowper. We had our Marmontels, our Hayleys, our Chathams, Marlboroughs, Addisons and Swifts, and imitators of Junius by hundreds. Indeed his assassinating periods, his dark insinuations, and bold invectives peculiarly suited our newspaper editors, paragraph scribblers, shallow pamphleteers, and theatrical criticks.

From this sketch you see that, in such a chaotick state of character, such a mixture of Dutch phlegm, the sanguine complexion of the Englishman, French choler and vanity, Irish rapidity, German sensibility and patient industry, Negro indifference, and Indian indolence, there was "pabulum," as say the naturalists, for any plant whatever. And a planter, skilful, persevering and wary, was not long wanting.

Your's affectionately.

## LETTER IV.

MY DEAR JULIUS,

If my last letter presented you an unpleasing picture, this offers one much more disgusting and distressing. But it shall be short, for of all moral paintings that of the degradation of a free born people is the most humiliating.

I have noticed the continual exertions of the French and their partisans to cause a political diversion in their favour among the Southern States of the American Union. I observed that they met success, and the reason is apparent. There had been from a very early period in the history of the federation, a decided predilection for France and French manners in several individuals high in office.\*

This preponderance of regard to France flattered that insidious court with the prospect of a great accession <30> of power. And a circumstance apparently casual prepared a train of events, which have issued in the destruction of the antient federation.

While the First Emperour of France was only Consul, one of his younger brothers visited America, and becoming attached to the daughter of a principal citizen of Baltimore obtained her in marriage. As his brother advanced in dignity, however, this marriage was regarded as too low for one, who might aspire to the hand of a princess, and was accordingly annulled, under pretence of being illegally contracted. But there was issue of the marriage; and the subsequent fortunes of the Buonapartes rendered this issue exceedingly interesting to France and America. For to the family of the mother, and much more to the partisans of France, who ever abounded in the city of her residence, the violent politicians, who espoused the French interests, directed their thoughts.

Political dissensions ran high ; and as in the unhappy capital of the Greek Empire an infatuated partisan would have seen with more pleasure a Turkish turban upon the altar, than a Latin mitre, so there were men of <31> the party called democrattick, who openly asserted, they would prefer a French Emperour in America to a federal President. Such insinuations were not lost.

The French generals, and those of that nation, who, pretending disgust at the proceedings of the Emperour, feigned to seek an asylum in America, were now sanguine in their views. They gradually offered their services to the administration, and were favourably received. Intrigue indeed effected a choice of such men, as officers ; and at length, under a pretext of I know not what kind, for it always appeared to me a presumption on the weakness or partiality of the government, a body of troops, so officered, obtained an establishment in the country. In numbers they now found themselves formidable, and appeared, from the predilection of their partisans, invincible. But, as might naturally be expected, native Americans, and especially those of the middle and northern States, conceived a disgust at these

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 \* The following passage has been taken from its place in the text, and assigned to a note, since very few individuals of the present day would feel an interest in it, and it could have been mentioned by my father only from his recollection of the politicks of his earlier years. EDIT.

The gentleman, whose character has been handed to posterity in such a dubious light, and who was alternately bepraised and calumniated, as the current of the times happened to set, the illustrious JEFFERSON, for I will not call him great, was one, whom party politicians accused, as leaning very far to an indissoluble connexion with the country, which had <30> assisted the Americans in their struggle for independence. I do not take it upon myself to exculpate him, for a review of his measures tends too evidently to a conviction, that he indulged severe prejudices against England. And the times, in which he lived, admitted of but two dispositions in public men, as regarded foreign nations. I fully believe, however, he sincerely wished well to his country ; and if he erred, am willing to impute his errors to a too speculative view of her great interests. But had he died Secretary of State, his name would have been transmitted to after times, as indisputably one of the greatest men, whom America produced.

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measures. They found themselves neglected, and openly predicted the consequences of the steps then taken. And since politically as well, as philosophically, action and reaction are equal, this conduct created resentment, and paved the way for a separation of interests.

Virginia, as a state, found protection against her negro population in the troops before mentioned, which, for obvious reasons, were quartered in the South, She had ever been indifferent to the Federal Union except when she herself was the acknowledged head of it. And now finding that the partiality her citizens had manifested toward the French alienated the confidence <32> of the northern States, she set up, by her writers, the hue and cry of "British influence." British influence indeed would naturally be exerted, could it find its objects, wherever French influence was apparent; for such conduct it is reasonable to expect from rival nations. It was now too late to recede, and the cry of war resounded from the south. They too, who were disaffected to Virginia and her interests, demanded war. Numerous publications of mutual defiance issued from northern and southern presses. Virginia was now openly charged, as she had often been before, though less directly, with wilfully taking measures to dissolve the national compact. The charge was not denied. She claimed her right; and appealing to the world, and especially to France, placed at the head of her interests a man devoted to the Empire, and cast the gauntlet of civil war at the feet of the yet confederated States.

But this was not all. France, to whom the appeal was made, demanded a price for her friendship. It was declared by her resident therefore to Virginia and her friends, that the urgency of the times, and the circumstances of the nation required a decided balance to the English power; that indeed a strong aid would be requisite to assure to them a defence against the uncertainties of domestick war; but that France must have some adequate compensation for her sacrifices; yet, as she exceedingly wished the happiness of her beloved allies, would in kindness wave that question, and, as an earnest of her good will, and of the paternal regard of her Emperour, would condescend, that the Southern Division of the States, which had seceded from the late <33> Union, should be the future care of a son of her Imperial family, one allied to the Americans by blood and every tender consideration; and that, in consequence of these gracious determinations, she formally appointed the respectable chief, whom Virginia had elected, her Imperial praefect for that purpose, to govern and enlarge the domain, as lieutenant of the kingdom, for the few years that its lawful heir should remain in his minority.

Your affectionate Father.

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## LETTER V.

It is now time, my Son, after having rapidly drawn for you the preceding outline of national degradations, for I have omitted many intervening facts, because the narration gave me pain; it is now time to advert to the North Eastern States, and bring down their history to the period, at which we left the affairs of the South.

Had that valuable library of domestick history, collected by the friends and associates of Belknap and Minot, survived the troubles of civil war, it would have been needless for me to leave you any hints of the antient history of New England. It was doubtless a politick measure of his Majesty's lieutenants to suppress also the publication of those patriotick details of history, which could serve only to renew the memory of a different form of government from the present, and of purer times, than those, in which we live. But I have always spoken and will still speak to you the truth. For should I now forfeit the favour of my Sovereign by concealing facts and sentiments? Should I leave your name branded with my derelictions? It is true I am left alone. Perhaps his Majesty has been inclined to respect in my aged person the Republick, whose existence was once incompatible with his safety, but which he has

long since ceased to fear, because he has <36> taught its citizens, now his dutiful subjects, to esteem and to love him. Or, perhaps, he bestows his notice on me from an innate nobleness, prompting him with tenderness toward the hoary head.

The States east of the Hudson were peopled by a body of men distinct, in several respects, from the generality of the colonists. It was not thirst of gain nor desire of conquest, which instigated the fathers of New England to leave their native home. Considerations of religion were the ground of their removal; and the majority of the early settlers were men of a rigid indeed, but distinguished piety. Several of them descended of respectable families, who had early embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and had dissented from the English Church establishment. Others were themselves the first of their families to dissent. They were moderately Republican in principle, but nevertheless loyal subjects. Not a man of their company, perhaps, entertained views of a distinct, independent sovereignty. They were attached to the country, which a son\* of one of their number emphatically called "the land, of our father's sepulchres," and gloried in the rights and privileges of freeborn Englishmen. Their first permanent settlement was at Plymouth, where a venerable band established themselves; and in my day several of their descendents held a distinguished rank in the churches and in the state. The next was at Salem, which issued in the formation of the colony of Massachusetts-bay. Then followed New Hampshire and <37> Rhode Island, from different views and causes indeed, for the former was settled through interested speculations, and the latter by persecuted religionists. Connecticut received her inhabitants principally from the colonists of the Massachusetts, and among her civil and religious fathers boasted the brightest ornaments of the times. Maine was patented to a noble family, and, like New Hampshire, obtained her European population through permission of an individual proprietary. All these separate colonies were, at one period of their history, united by a federation, of which the traces continued ever after.

But as the New Englanders, so named, were a healthy, hardy race, and possessed a tract by no means the most fertile of the United territories, many of them migrated into other States, and especially after the revolutionary war, which separated them from England. New York received in this manner the greater part of her western subjects, and even the capital of that name embraced in it many, who, deriving their descent from New English ancestors, retained a memorial of it in annual celebrations. These were common in New England, and subserved the purposes of attaching the inhabitants to each other, of rendering them regardful of the religious and political character of their fore-fathers, and of transmitting to posterity the recollections of deeds of old. A few distinguished individuals, may be, used them as means of attracting personal notice, and thus of obtaining influence and aggrandisement. <38>

In later times there was a peculiar sympathy between the inhabitants of New England and New York, grounded on commercial connexions. The grand mart for a great portion of the produce of the western lands of New England was the flourishing city of New York. Hence that State was ranked with the old confederation of the East in those alarming calculations of population, wealth, military strength and general resources, which, under the third President, were very imprudently and rashly brought forward by individuals, who were no friends, it is true, to Virginian politicks. I say imprudently and rashly, because the question of separation ought never to have been debated. Behold now the consequences! To utter the idea should, from the first, have been deemed implicit treason; and the man, who broached the plan of it, should have been held up, as an enemy to his country, whether he were a Virginian or New Englander. On that question depended the fate of the country. And subsequent events have proved that, the commencement of its consideration was the æra of our calamities.

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\* President Mather.  
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In the political contests and discussions of that day the disputants seemed to have forgotten, that the government was decidedly and legally a creation of the majority, and that of course it was the duty of a minority to submit with cheerful loyalty. Those too, who were in power, should have used that power with a Christian moderation. But was the want of this quality the fault of Americans, as such? It was human nature; and therefore the framers of our constitutions wisely provided the means of a change of administrators, <39> that mutual dependence might beget and nurture mutual charity. But it tended rather to embitter domestick and civil life. Party rancour prevailed soon after the formation of a permanent general government. And I was accustomed to think that they, who were denominated Federalists, might thank themselves for the rage of its venom. For when they had power, their opponents were absolutely trampled upon. Nothing was too base to impute to them. Hence their increase of numbers and influence; and, as mankind naturally favour a persecuted body, hence they became the dominant party. But as their political predecessors generally possessed the wealth of the nation, there arose a struggle between the aristocracy of money and the aristocracy of office, in which each party was equally tenacious of its rights. Could there have been an aristocracy of honour, to check and balance these two parties, possibly the form of government might have subsisted much longer.

Men love distinction; and distinction they will obtain, though in some instances it be by the hardihood of villainy. Few of the nations of the earth have exhibited a greater love of it, than the Americans; though among few could it ever be less indulged with prudence. This circumstance, however, tended but to smother, not to extinguish the passion. Rank and titles were eagerly courted, and pertinaciously kept, from the corporal to the captain-general, and from the tide-waiter to the President. I am, notwithstanding contrary appearances, inclined still to think, that the love of titular distinctions was prevalent among the New Englanders <40> more, than among the Virginians and their associates. The latter were generally bred in habits of superiority, and accustomed to deference from early years, owing to the great prevalence of slavery in those times. The former were commonly accustomed to stand on the ground of individual character, and had few adventitious circumstances to enhance their personal merits. Far from being the mere appendage to his estate, the New-Englander was generally, under Providence, the creator of whatever fortune he enjoyed. Multiplying rapidly, from the fecundity consequent on their climate and habits, the people of New-England saw their property liable to frequent and indefinite subdivisions; while the single heir of the rich southern planter often surveyed from the same "maison seigneuriale" the hereditary and undiminished fields of his family for several generations.

Hence the planters were, in fact, a kind of lords; and so too were the merchants, another body of "honourable men;" and between the two there obtained not only a domestick rivalry, but a civil competition.

I think that, when Switzerland threw off the yoke of Austria, she enacted sumptuary laws for her citizens. Whether she did or not however, I can conceive of no better method, if practicable, to restrain within bounds one species of show and parade, to which the emulation, I have named, naturally tends. Our Americans were rarely desirous of rivalling the antient Republicans of Rome in their poverty. They emulated rather their power and personal influence. And as to means of obtaining them, these were such, as happened to be in <41> fashion. Were I to decide, my Son, between the respective aristocracies of honour and of wealth, I think I should give the former a preference, because it naturally produces civility, since it depends on publick estimation; whereas the other is the very parent of arrogance. And I never knew any men demand more notice, and practise more ostentation, as I think I observed to you before, than the "hommes parvenus," who grew up, like mushrooms, with sudden exuberance, in the rank soil of commercial prosperity.

There were families, who cultivated and boasted a family interest. But this dangerous idea sprang from an excess of wealth above the general mediocrity, and it tended to events the most important. For no sooner did it appear, from the measures of Virginia and her associates, that a political sovereignty, of whatever name, was about to be formed in the South, than every exertion was made among influential

men of the North, to increase their influence, and form a separate dominion. For this purpose there was a sufficiency of means, which were now collecting with diligence.

During these discussions and attempts, the Middle States, as they were named, persevered in a steady course of Republicanism, with great firmness. The society of Friends, which religious sect had gained a preponderance both in wealth and power in the State of Pennsylvania, united their views and exertions with those of the sober, frugal, industrious Germans, and stood unmoved by either the threats or flatteries of their neighbours. Similarity of interests attached to them the yet disconnected States of their immediate vicinity, and the whole body were equally deaf to Northern and Southern overtures. They afforded thus a desirable and safe asylum to all, who preferred the antient state of affairs to any innovation; and though several, entertaining opinions different from those of the majority, quitted their territory, the republican immigrants considerably exceeded them in number. These immigrants consisted of persons of every condition, and their motion was continually westward, for the western country increased greatly in value and importance.

Under such a state of things the antient confederation of the colonies of New England was brought forcibly to view. The hostility manifested by Virginians to commerce, in which consisted the life of the Northeastern States; their hostility also to England and the new Viceroyalty of the North, with both of which the New Englanders were necessitated to maintain a close connexion, and still further, their devotedness to the views of France, to which the men of the north could never brook a subserviency, all joined to sever the bonds of connexion, and to prepare the way for a new and distinct government.

I will not enter into a detail of the debates of that eventful period. I look on all the scenes I have related with horror; and you, my dear Son, must esteem it the strongest proof I can give you of the sincerest love, that I sit down to a narration which awakens unheeded and ineffectual regrets, and will ever be the theme of mortification and sorrow.

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But perhaps it was best, indeed I doubt not it was best that events should have issued as they did. The contests between rival families, rival systems of government, and rival competitors were long and violent. At length a Presidency for life was agreed on; and since in New England there was a mutual interest, sufficient of itself to attach the several members, this high and responsible office was bestowed on the meritorious Head of one of the most powerful and opulent families of the former State of New York. As a compensation however to the original Confederation, the old metropolis of New England was constituted forever the capital of this new and most interesting Commonwealth.

Your aged Father.

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## LETTER VI.

HAVING carried you, my Son, thus far, shall I not now give vent to my feelings? But, alas, of what avail would it be! I am declining to the grave. I have survived my country. I am among the last of those, who saw the golden days of Republican freedom. Yet if kingly power can in any hands conciliate esteem, and reverence, and duty, certainly these are due to our gracious Sovereign. Never, perhaps, could a people look back on so natural a series of events, as have formed the progression of the northern colonies to a free, sovereign, independent and powerful monarchy. But I, the inhabitant, as it were, of another country, and the relict of another race, look back with peculiar sensations. The immortal names of Carver, Bradford, Winthrop, Haynes, Hooker, Cotton, Higginson--and a long train of worthies, men of piety, of learning, and of the purest patriotism, swell my bosom with indescribable emotions. The ebbing blood thrills through these withered veins with a momentary glow; and when I shall be permitted to rest from a wearisome pilgrimage, O spirits of my ancestors! "Sit anima mea, Puritani,

vobiscum!"

The choice of a President of the new Republic for time allayed the contentions of parties, but for a short <45> time only. As we had no royal,\* nor any incontestibly noble blood among us, and were not in the state of a conquered people, the principal citizens caballed for distinction. They regretted the work of their own hands; that they had been accessory in the elevation of one like themselves to a rank pre-eminently splendid, and had done all in their power to establish an hereditary sway, consigning themselves and their posterity, by this action, to a despotism, that state, which is the first and the last in the progress of civilised man.

But these complaints availed little. They served only to cause an understanding between the President and the British Prince, who had now assumed the style and power of a Monarch. These strengthened the bonds of their alliance, and it was intimated by the former, that an offensive and defensive treaty could alone assure them both against the arts and arms of France and her Virginian ally. Wary, cautious, vigilant and indefatigable, the King, as was his interest, acceded cordially. And occasions soon offered of testing their strength. The malcontents of the north held a close correspondence with His Virginian Majesty, and stimulated him with the hope of recovering the whole territory, that had antiently been the domain of the United States.

In the north a vigorous preparation for war immediately commenced. Rebellion had begun, and was rife in New England. But why should I relate the <46> murders, sieges, devastations and cruelties of a mode of warfare ever the most bloody? Why paint to you the rage, barbarity and brutal violence of a contest so deplorable and fatal?

His Virginian Majesty issued a manifesto which laid all blame on the Northern Court. This was accused of plotting with the President of New England the subjugation of that Republic; and no circumstance was omitted, which could serve to represent it in colours the most detestable.

While these great events were transacting, the metropolis of the kingdom, the Petersburg of America, enjoyed the greatest privileges and prosperity. Her commerce was immense, taking its rise principally from that period, when a ruinous embargo cramped every commercial town of the United States, and she had then and since attracted to herself mechanics, merchants, professional men, without number, employing them, and rewarding their talents with merited affluence. Like London, Quebec was now the mart not only of trade, but of literature; the "Royal American board" of which, under the fostering patronage of a discerning Prince, became highly instrumental in the promotion of science. Canals had joined the waters of the St. Lawrence to the Atlantick by the North River of New York and the Kennebeck, while the great bay of Hudson by like means supplied the capital with a communication as extensive, as important, throughout all that northern tract.

Not many years intervened before the States of New England were compelled by imperious circumstances <47> to form an indissoluble Union with His Majesty of the North. To this their habits of thinking and living, a community of language and similarity of religious belief, with a mutual good will\* among their religious teachers now combined to incite. And this, the effect at length of a more intimate alliance with the President, by the marriage of his daughter to the reigning Sovereign, seemed to promise tranquillity.

But the war raged. Those, who were dissatisfied, or compelled to quit the territory, retired to the West. And it is far more than probable, that there will be the last stand of American Republicanism. Nor should I be surprised, if, notwithstanding present appearances, and the animosity of the Northern and Southern Courts, they should yet find their interest in uniting their force to exterminate its last traces.

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<45> \* The imperial blood of Powhatan, it will be recollected, ennobled the veins of no Northern family. ED.

<47> \* For, either by a long maturing design, or through the changes of times, the Independent discipline of the New-England churches was now abrogated, and a clerical office, like that of a Lutheran superintendent, established in favour of a native of Connecticut. The Episcopalians were of course prepared for Union. ED.  
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Perhaps, my Julius, you may live to see all things settled. Quiet may be restored to this unhappy country in all its parts, a quiet, which for fifty years and more has been prostituted and abandoned. Perhaps you may live to bless the period, when a people, who had neither the wisdom nor virtue to protect the government of their first and deliberate choice, submitted to receive a system imposed by arms, and then rendered dear, by a remembrance of the woes, from which it rescued. But for myself, as I never ceased repeating <48> to my former compatriots, "Quo, miseri cives, ruitis?" so I shall ever say of those, who were once the happy subjects of the United States,

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint!"

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TO JULIUS DE BARRI, *Ld. Jurssenkells*,

SIR,

THE Publishers deem it a duty they owe you, to apologise for the liberty they have taken in partially deviating from your directions, in issuing these truly valuable letters of your much honoured father. They conceived, however, this form would give them a more extensive circulation, and would by no means injure their value.

They embrace this mode of tendering you a publick acknowledgment for so valuable a present, and assure you, Sir, they will ever keep in view your patriotick request.

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